District of Columbia Minimum Wage Cases

Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM, 1922

No. 795 AND No. 796.

JESSE C. ADKINS, *et al.*, CONSTITUTING THE MINIMUM WAGE BOARD OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, APPELLANTS,

vs.

THE CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, A CORPORATION.

JESSE C. ADKINS, *et al.*, CONSTITUTING THE MINIMUM WAGE BOARD OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, APPELLANTS,

vs.

WILLIE A. LYONS.

BRIEF FOR APPELLANTS
Vol. I

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ERRATA

Page 44, line 9, $9.64 should read 9.94.

Page 46, line 8, $1.05 should read $1.00.

Pages 186-7.

Omitted to state Orders 2, 3, 4 and 5 were effective August 1, 1919.

Page 428.

Excise Sir Lynden Macassey. Labour Policy False and True. London, August, 1922.

Page 429. Set at end of first paragraph after "(Page 250)" as title

Labour Policy False and True. SIR LYNDEN MACASSEY. *London, August, 1922.*

Pages 763, 766.

Excise charts.

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SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES

OCTOBER TERM—1922

Nos. 795 and 796

JESSE C. ADKINS, *et al.*, constituting the Minimum Wage Board of the District of Columbia,
Appellants,
vs.
THE CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

JESSE C. ADKINS, *et al.*, constituting the Minimum Wage Board of the District of Columbia,
Appellants,
vs.
WILLIE A. LYONS

BRIEF FOR APPELLANTS

Statement of Cases

These are appeals from the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, which sustained final decrees of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia, entered by direction of the Court of Appeals of the District, granting bills by the Children's Hospital and Willie A. Lyons, respectively, (hereinafter called plaintiffs), to vacate an order of the Minimum Wage Board of the District of Columbia, (hereinafter called the Board), and to enjoin its enforcement, because of the unconstitutionality of the

Act upon which the order was based, viz., the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Law (40 Stat. 960).

These bills were originally dismissed by the Supreme Court and the decrees of the Trial Court affirmed by the Court of Appeals. From these decisions "rehearings" were "directed," resulting in reversals of the prior decisions of the Court of Appeals. These reversals are here challenged. The jurisdiction of the Court of Appeals in the "rehearing" proceedings resulting in the present decrees, as well as the constitutionality of the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Law, are in issue.

Facts

The fact, briefly, are these:

1. After hearings by Committees of both Houses of Congress, followed by debate in both Houses, Congress passed the Act of September 19, 1918 (40 Stat. 960). "The purposes of the Act," as defined by Congress, are

> "To protect the women and minors of the District from conditions detrimental to their health and morals, resulting from wages which are inadequate to maintain decent standards of living. . ." (Sec. 23.)

The Act establishes a "Minimum Wage Board" as the machinery for determining

> "Standards of minimum wages for women in any occupation within the District of Columbia, and what wages are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to any such women workers to maintain them in good health and to protect their morals" (Sec. 9),

and for enforcing such "standards of minimum wages" promulgated by order of the Board (Secs. 9-12). By Sec. 13 the Act provides

"That for any occupation in which only a minimum time-rate wage has been established, the Board may issue to a woman whose earning capacity has been impaired by age or otherwise, a special license authorizing her employment at such wage less than such minimum time-rate wage as shall be fixed by the Board and stated in the license."

2. Pursuant to the requirements of the Minimum Wage Law, including the report of a Conference on the Hotel, Restaurant and Hospital Industries, such Conference being composed of an equal number of representatives of the employers and employees affected, and after public hearing, the Minimum Wage Board made the following order:

"1. No person, firm, association, or corporation shall employ a woman or minor girl in any hotel, lodging house, apartment house, club, restaurant, cafeteria, or other place where food is sold to be consumed on the premises or in any hospital, at a rate of wages of less than 34½ cents per hour, $16.50 per week, or $71.50 per month. This shall not be construed to include nurses in training.

2. When *bona fide* meals are furnished by the employer to any woman or minor girl employed in the establishments named in Section 1 of this order as part payment of the wages of such employee, not more than 30 cents per meal may be deducted by such employer from the weekly wage of such employee. A record shall be kept of the number of meals furnished each woman and minor girl per week and of the deductions made from the weekly wage for the same; otherwise the full minimum wage rate shall be paid in cash.

3. When lodging is furnished by the employer to any woman or minor girl employed in the establishments named in Section 1 of this order as part

payment of the wages of such employee not more than $2 per week shall be deducted by such employer from the weekly wage of such employee.

4. Tips and gratuities shall not be construed as part of the legal minimum wage." (R.)

3. The plaintiff, The Children's Hospital, is engaged in maintaining a hospital for children in the District of Columbia (R., fol. 4).

The plaintiff, Lyons, is a woman employee of the Congress Hall Hotel Company, a corporation engaged in the business of conducting a hotel in the District of Columbia, working as an elevator operator, at a wage of $35 a month and two meals a day (R., fol. 25).

The plaintiffs did not challenge the facts, as found by the Board, upon which the order was based; nor did either plaintiff seek to review the findings of the Board as arbitrary or unfounded in fact, and therefore without basis in law, which right of review is provided by Sec. 17 of the Act. There was and is no claim that the minimum fixed by the Board, to wit, 34½ cents per hour, or less than $16.50 per week, or less than $71.50 per month, is more than "the necessary cost of living to any such women workers [in the District of Columbia] to maintain them in good health and to protect their morals." Nor did either plaintiff invoke the provision of Sec. 13 of the Act for a "special license" authorizing employment at less than the rate fixed by the Board. On the contrary, without challenging the correctness of the facts found by the Board, nor attempting to avail themselves of the provision for exemption from the Board's order by "license," the plaintiffs brought separate suits, (though in fact one suit, with the same pleadings, filed by the same counsel and supported by the same brief),

to enjoin the enforcement of the order of the Board (R., pp. 2, 19). The complaints were answered, and, after hearing, decrees dismissing the suits were entered by the Supreme Court (R., pp. 13, 26).

4. On appeal to the Court of Appeals the constitutionality of the Law was sustained and the decrees of the Supreme Court were affirmed, on June 6, 1921, in an opinion by Mr. Chief Justice Smyth, with a separate concurring opinion by Mr. Justice Stafford, Mr. Justice Van Orsdel dissenting. (R., pp. 31, *et seq.*). Motions for rehearing were filed on June 14, and on June 22, were overruled. At the same time an order was made withholding the mandates to afford plaintiffs a reasonable opportunity for review by this Court. (Facts set forth by Mr. Chief Justice Smyth, R., pp. 66-70.)

5. At the time these cases were first called for hearing before the Court of Appeals, Mr. Justice Robb was unable to sit in them because of illness. Pursuant to sec. 225 of the Code of Law for the District of Columbia the other Justices designated Mr. Justice Stafford of the Supreme Court to take his place (R., fol. 40). Mr. Justice Stafford sat as a member of the Court of Appeals when the motions for rehearing, on June 14, were submitted, and his right to participate in the disposition of these motions had in nowise been challenged by the plaintiffs when these motions were overruled on June 22, 1921. Thereupon the members of the Court separated for the summer vacation.

Three days after the motions for rehearing had been overruled, on June 25, Mr. Justice Robb, in a letter to the Chief Justice, for the first time called into question the power of Mr. Justice Stafford to sit upon the motions for rehearing. The Chief Justice, in reply, pointed out that

the motions had already been passed upon and suggested "reasons which then occurred to him for believing that Justice Stafford had acted within his authority when he united with the Chief Justice in overruling the motions. To this no answer was made but on July 1 Justice Robb wrote, saying: 'After mature consideration I have decided to vote for a rehearing in the Minimum Wage Cases, and I am advising counsel to that effect, as well as Justice Van Orsdel.' Thereafter, in pursuance of directions from him and Mr. Justice Van Orsdel, the Clerk entered an order granting a rehearing in both cases, the Chief Justice dissenting." (Dissenting opinion, Mr. Chief Justice Smyth, R., p. 66).

On July 10, plaintiffs moved to set aside the denial of the motions for rehearing, and "this was the first time the right of Justice Stafford was questioned by any pleading or other paper filed in the Cases, or by any other method addressed to the Court." (R., fol. 99.) These motions were sustained, Mr. Justice Robb and Mr. Justice Van Orsdel concurring and the Chief Justice dissenting. (R., fol. 99). The Board duly objected to this order setting aside the order of June 22, which overruled the motions for rehearing, and asserted the continued jurisdiction of the Court as constituted at the time of the original decisions of these Cases, including the temporary Justice from the Supreme Court, until the final disposition of the Cases. (R., fol. 88.) Over the protest of the Board the Cases were thereupon heard upon the "rehearing," on October 10, 1921, and on November 6, 1922, the Court of Appeals held the Law unconstitutional, in an opinion by Mr. Justice Van Orsdel, Mr. Justice Robb concurring and the Chief Justice dissenting. (R., pp. 56, *et seq.;* 284 Fed. 613.)

Questions Raised

Two questions are involved in these appeals:

First: The jurisdiction of the Court of Appeals.

Second: The constitutionality of the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Law.

A decision on the merits will, in effect, determine the fate of minimum wage legislation affecting women, which has been in operation, in most cases for about ten years, in various states throughout the country, namely the laws of Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Dakota, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin. Proposals for similar legislation are now before the Legislatures of such important industrial states as New York, Ohio and Missouri. Therefore, the constitutional power of the States is at stake, as well as the constitutional power of Congress to legislate for the District.

AS TO JURISDICTION OF COURT OF APPEALS

The majority opinion below is wholly silent on the challenge to the Court's jurisdiction, although the grounds of objection are vigorously pressed by the Chief Justice. We shall rest, substantially, on the arguments and authorities presented by the Chief Justice, partly because of their persuasiveness, but also because the relevant facts to which they are applied were largely in the possession of the members of the Court and not known to Counsel until set forth in the Chief Justice's dissent.

Two objections are raised to the jurisdiction of the Court of Appeals upon the "rehearing":

> I. Only the Court of Appeals as a *Court,* and not Mr. Justice Robb as an individual member of the Court, had power to pass on the jurisdiction of Mr. Justice Stafford to participate in the disposition of the original motions for rehearing.
>
> II. Mr. Justice Stafford, by lawful designation, was a member of the Court of Appeals for purposes of these cases, and continued to be such a member until the full and final disposition of the causes, including motions for rehearing, which he was designated "to hear and decide".

I. Only the Court of Appeals as a Court, and not Mr. Justice Robb as an individual member of the Court, had power to pass on the jurisdiction of Mr. Justice Stafford to participate in the disposition of the original motions for rehearing.

In light of the facts set forth by Chief Justice Smyth it appears that a majority of the Court of Appeals failed to observe that a Court is a corporate body, which deliberates and decides as a collectivity. "Court" is not the sententious label for its individual members, acting as scattered individuals, without collective deliberation or decision. Yet, in these cases, Mr. Justice Robb decided by himself that prior orders of the Court of Appeals, denying rehearing in these cases, were to be nullified by disqualifying Mr. Justice Stafford. Let Chief Justice Smyth speak for this aspect of the question:

> "Before discussing the constitutionality of the act, it is necessary to consider matters not referred to in the majority opinion, and which are essential to a correct disposition of the cases.

"These cases were decided on the 6th day of June, 1921, and motions for rehearing denied on June 22, same year. In my opinion both cases were finally disposed of then, and the court is without jurisdiction to render the present decisions.

"At the time the causes were first called for hearing Mr. Justice Robb was unable to sit in them because of illness. Pursuant to section 225 of the Code, the other justices designated Mr. Justice Stafford of the Supreme Court to take his place. The order designating him provided that he should "sit as a member of this court in the absence of Mr. Justice Robb in the hearing and desision of the following cases," among which were those now under consideration. Mr. Justice Stafford took his seat on the bench, participated in the hearing of the cases, and in their consideration and final disposition by the court. On June 6 the court sustained the constitutionality of the act, and affirmed the decrees of the trial court. The opinion was by the Chief Justice, Mr. Justice Stafford announcing a short concurring opinion and Mr. Justice Van Orsdel dissenting. A motion for rehearing in each case was filed by the appellants on June 14, and on June 22 was considered and overruled by a majority of the court, consisting of the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Stafford, Mr. Justice Van Orsdel being absent. Section 225 of the Code provides that where one member of the court is absent or disqualified, a majority may rule on motions. At the time the motions for rehearing were overruled, an order was made that the mandates be withheld until the appellants had a reasonable opportunity to apply to the Supreme Court of the United States for a review. About this time the members of the court separated for the summer vacation. The motions for rehearing did not challenge in any way the right of Mr. Justice Stafford to participate in the disposition of them, and the question as to his right to do so was not before the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Stafford at the time they overruled the motions, and

never was submitted to them, nor had any member of the court been asked to pass on it prior to the overruling of the motions, so far as I know.

"June 25, three days after the motions for rehearing had been overruled, Mr. Justice Robb wrote to the Chief Justice, as follows: 'Within fifteen days after the decision was announced in the Minimum Wage cases counsel sent me their application for a rehearing, and insisted, and still insist, that I vote thereon. While I incline to the view that Justice Stafford no longer has any jurisdiction in these cases, I wish to look up the authorities, if any there be, before deciding definitely.' In answer the Chief Justice said the motions had already been passed upon and he ventured to suggest reasons which then occurred to him for believing that Justice Stafford had acted within his authority when he united with the Chief Justice in overruling the motions. To this no answer was made, but on July 1 Justice Robb wrote, saying: 'After mature consideration I have decided to vote for a rehearing in the Minimum Wage cases, and I am advising counsel to that effect, as well as Justice Van Orsdel.' Thereafter, in pursuance of directions from him and Mr. Justice Van Orsdel, the clerk entered an order granting a rehearing in both cases, the Chief Justice dissenting.

"About ten days after Mr. Justice Robb had notified the Chief Justice of his intention to vote, motions were filed to set aside the order made by Justice Stafford and the Chief Justice. These motions were based upon the ground that the order was not passed by a majority of the court as constituted at the time the order was made. This was the first time the right of Justice Stafford was questioned by any pleading or other paper filed in the cases, or by any other method addressed to the court. These motions were sustained July 13, Mr. Justice Robb and Mr. Justice Van Orsdel concurring and the Chief Justice dissenting.

"It would seem from the foregoing that the ap-

pellants, finding themselves defeated, sought a justice who had not sat in the case but who, they believed, would be favorable to them, and induced him, by an appeal directed to him personally, to assume jurisdiction and join with the dissenting justice in an attempt to overrule the decisions of the court. I shall not characterize such practice—let the facts speak for themselves.

"What arguments, if any, were advanced to Mr. Justice Robb by counsel for appellants when they made their application to him, I do not know, nor am I aware of the basis on which he rested his conclusion that he had a right to vote on the motions. But from what I have said, it is manifest, I think, that he proceeded upon the assumption that he alone had the power to decide the question; in other words, that it was not a matter for consideration by the court. I am unable to agree to this. Whether or not he had such power involved a construction of the Code authorizing the calling in of a substitute justice. Of course, where the question is as to whether or not a judge is prejudiced against one of the parties, or interested in the subject of the litigation, it is usual for him to decide the matter for himself, except in cases controlled by section 20 of the Judicial Code. But the question here involved relates not only to the power of Justice Robb, but also to that of Justice Stafford. Acting by virtue of the statute, two members of this court had designated Justice Stafford to sit 'in the hearing and decision of these cases,' which, of course, included the disposition of the motions for rehearing, for the cases would not be decided finally until those matters were ruled upon. Mr. Justice Robb attempted to set aside that order and displace Justice Stafford. I submit he was without power to do so. The question was for the court—not for one member of it only." (R., pp. 66-68.)

II. Mr. Justice Stafford, by lawful designation (R., fol. 40), was a member of the Court of Appeals for purposes of

these cases, and continued to be such a member until the full and final disposition of the causes, including motions for rehearing, which he was designated to "hear and decide".

If Mr. Justice Stafford properly participated in disposition of the original motions for rehearing in these cases, because he was designated to, and did, sit as a member of the Court that originally decided them, the orders of June 22, denying such motions, finally disposed of the cases. As Mr. Justice Robb indicated in his letter to Chief Justice Smyth, the crucial question is Mr. Justice Stafford's continued power to sit upon the motions for rehearing. This, it would seem, is one of those questions which is answered by its statement. The power to "decide" means to decide finally. Fairness to litigants and fairness to Courts—due regard for the administration of justice—require that all the judges, who constituted the Court when a case was decided, (if still alive and in office), should have the right as well as the duty to consider a motion for a rehearing of the decision in which they participated. Certainly, so far as the Court of Appeals of the District is concerned reason, the Code, precedents and the practice of the present members of that Court in all other cases, except the two here, unite to support the jurisdiction of Mr. Justice Stafford to participate in the disposition of the original motions for rehearing, and, in consequence, establish the want of jurisdiction of the Court of Appeals in the proceedings which give rise to these appeals.

We shall again let Chief Justice Smyth state the argument in detail:

> "But had Justice Stafford jurisdiction of the cases when he voted on the motions? The Code section to which reference has already been made pro-

vides that the substitute justice shall temporarily fill the vacancy created by the absence of the regular justice and shall sit in the court 'and perform the duties of a member thereof while such vacancy or vacancies shall exist.' When does the vacancy cease to exist? When the regular justice is able to return to his duties, when he actually does so, or when the substitute justice has completed the work which he had properly entered upon before the return of the regular justice? It seems to me the latter must be the time. Unless this view is taken, great inconvenience would follow, and the business of the court would be much retarded. Suppose that at the time the regular justice returns to the court, the substitute justice had participated in the hearing of twenty-five cases then under advisement, can it be that his authority to further act, so far as those cases are concerned, would be thereby brought to an end? If so, the cases would have to be restored to the docket for reargument before a court comprising the three regular members. I do not believe the act means this. My opinion is that, while the substitute justice may not enter upon any new work after the return of the regular justice, he has the authority, and it is his duty, to complete the work undertaken while the regular member of the court was absent. This has been the practice, without a single exception, save the present case, since the organization of the court. Shore v. Splain, 49 App. D. C., 6, 258 Fed., 150, 47 Wash. Law Rep., 328. After the motions for rehearing were granted in these cases, Mr. Justice Robb refused to consider a motion for rehearing in a case in which he had not sat (Clement v. Roberts, 273 Fed., 757), and it was necessary to send for Mr. Justice Hitz, who took part in the hearing and decision of the case, to vote on the motion, there being a division of opinion among the other justices. At this moment a substitute justice is considering cases in the hearing of which he participated, though the justice whose place he took has

returned to the court and is engaged in the discharge of his duties.

"Recently the court, after a very careful consideration of the authorities, unanimously decided a similar question (Shore v. Splain, *supra*), and the ruling is in accordance with the views I have just expressed. An act of Congress approved February 17, 1909 (35 Stat., 624, c. 134), authorized the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the District to designate a judge of the Municipal Court to sit in the police court during the 'sickness, vacation, or disability' of one of the regular judges. A judge designated pursuant to this act tried a criminal case. The defendant having been convicted moved for a new trial. The judge took the motion under advisement, and sometime later, after the regular judge had returned and taken his seat on the bench, overruled the motion and sentenced the defendant. It was contended that he had no power to do so, and a writ of habeas corpus was sought to test the question. In rejecting the contention we said: 'It was undoubtedly the intention of Congress in providing for a temporary judge, that he should perform the duties of the position during his incumbency and complete any work entered upon by him before he withdrew from the place; otherwise, as in the case of a trial, much of his effort might come to naught if the return to duty of the regular judge had the effect of terminating his authority, and thus the purpose of Congress in providing for a substitute judge would be defeated in many cases.' To support our views of the law we cited State v. Stevenson, 64 W. Va., 392; State v. Bobbitt, 215 Mo., 10, 30; Bohannon v. Tabbin Ky., 76 S. W., 46, 49; Bedford v. Stone, 43 Tex. Civ. App., 200, 95 S. W., 1086; State ex rel. v. Williams, 136 Mo. App., 330, 336, 117 S. W., 618; Mayer v. Haggerty, 138 Ind., 628, and Fisher v. Puget Sound Brick, etc., Co., 34 Wash. 578.

"In State v. Stevenson, a criminal case involving the death sentence, the defendant pleaded guilty be-

fore a special judge who took time thereafter to consider of his judgment. While he was doing so the regular judge returned, assumed the bench, and sentenced the prisoner. The statute under which the special judge was appointed provided that he should serve in the absence of the regular judge. It was argued that the moment the regular judge appeared, the authority of the special judge ceased; therefore, that the sentence by the regular judge was valid. But the court, after reviewing the decision of its own state and others upon the question, ruled, 'That the return of the regular judge would not oust the special judge of jurisdiction to try and finally dispose of any case begun before him.' The court in Bohannon v. Tabbin expressed a like view. It said: 'The fact that the regular judge returned before the case was finally disposed of by the special judge in no wise nullified the jurisdiction of the latter. It would create inextricable confusion if, after a special judge, elected because of the absence of the regular judge, had commenced the trial of a case, his jurisdiction to further try it should be ousted by the return of the regular judge. It needs no argument to demonstrate the hardship and expense to litigants which would arise upon the adoption of such a principle.'

"In addition to the authorities cited in the Shore case, the following are pertinent: Dupoyster v. Clarke, 121 Ky., 694; State v. Tomlinson, 74 N. W., 995; State v. Towndrow, 180 Pac., 282; State ex rel. v. Fidelity & Deposit Co., 117 S. W., 618, 620; Johnson v. State, 97 Pac., 1059, 1064. In State ex rel. v. Fidelity & Deposit Co. the court said that the substitute judge having tried the case, 'his jurisdiction and authority over it continued until the motions consequent upon the trial were disposed of.'

"Cases where a judge's term of office had expired and his successor acted upon unfinished business, or where a special judge withdrew leaving work to be done, have no application. In such cases public policy

required that the unfinished work be disposed of, but here no question of that kind existed, for Justice Stafford had completed the work for which he had been assigned before Mr. Justice Robb had decided to act.

"The Shore case is directly in point. Why was it not followed? No explanation is offered. If we are not to respect our own decisions, their publication is an idle ceremony and must have a tendency to mislead the profession.

"Under the Organic Act this court consists of only three judges. No litigant has a right to have his case adjudged by a greater number, but the appellants, by the projection of Mr. Justice Robb into the case, have secured the judgment of four judges. There is no authority in the statute for such a thing.

"Considering the law, then, as it is, I am convinced that Mr. Justice Stafford's authority and jurisdiction continued until the motions for rehearing had been disposed of, that both cases were finally adjudicated on June 22, 1921, and that the court has no jurisdiction over them at this time." (R., 68-70.)

ON THE MERITS.

The plaintiffs brought these suits solely upon claims of unconstitutionality under the Fifth Amendment, to wit, that in passing the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Law Congress deprived the plaintiffs of "liberty" and "property" "without due process of law." And the constitutionality of the Law and like laws throughout the country, is the broad question before this Court. It has been here before, resulting in a decision by a divided Court (*Stettler* v. *O'Hara,* 243 U. S., 629).

The Issue.

But there is no general theory of wage-fixing by legislation involved, no question of "the initial step toward

unlimited Federal price-fixing legislation" before this Court. Those were the issues that the second majority of the Court of Appeals insisted on framing for itself, in disregard of the actual situation presented by specific gressional legislation.[1] For the cases present a specific state of facts, depending upon a specific scheme of legislation solely applicable to women and minors. Our discussion will be focussed on this specific controversy—none other is before the Court. The following, we believe, accurately formulates the precise issue:

> *After hearings as to the practical necessity for such legislation, an Act having been passed by Congress "to protect the women and minors of the District from conditions detrimental to their health and morals, resulting from wages which are inadequate to maintain decent standards of living" which seeks to attain these objects through the requirement of standards of minimum wages for women, adequate to supply the necessary cost of living to women workers in respective occupations and to maintain them in health and to protect their morals, to be ascertained by a Minimum Wage Board; and such minimum wage for hotel, restaurant and allied industries having been ascertained and fixed by the Board at thirty-four and one-half cents per hour or $16.50 per week, or $71.50 per month, an amount concededly not in excess of said living necessities, and so fixed in accordance with the findings of a Conference of the particular industry in which both the employers and employees were represented and had full opportunity for hearing; and said Act having a provision that even these minimum requirements should not be required if the Board issues "to a woman whose earning capacity has been impaired by age or otherwise, a special license authorizing her employment at such*

[1] The futility of abstract considerations in so-called "police power" cases, and the necessity of adjudicating them on the facts and circumstances of each case find striking application in the recent decision of *Wolls* v. *Midland Carbon Co.*, 254 U. S. 300, 314.

wage less than such minimum time-rate wage as shall be fixed by the Board and stated in the license"; and said Act having a provision that "there shall be a right of appeal from the Board to the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia from any ruling or holding on a question of law included or embodied in any decision or order of the Board; and on the same question of law, from such court to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia"; and the plaintiff, The Children's Hospital, having continued to employ women workers not alleged or shown to be women "whose earning capacity has been impaired by age or otherwise" at wages less than the minimum fixed by the Board, without having applied for or been denied such special license from the Board; and the plaintiff, Lyons, having continued to accept from her employer wages less than the said minimum without having applied for or been denied such special license and without now alleging or showing that she is "impaired by age or otherwise"; are they entitled to decrees enjoining the enforcement of the order of the Board on the ground that the Congressional Act is arbitrary, wanton or spoliative, and therefore, in excess of the legislative power of Congress over the District, as limited by the Due Process Clause?

Marshall's Canon.

The controversy, we submit, reduces itself to an application of Marshall's canon of constitutional construction to the concrete facts of modern industrial life, and, more particularly, to those in the District.

> "Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but consist with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional" (*M'Culloch* v. *Maryland,* 4 Wheat, 316, 421).

Outline of Argument.

We shall contend:

I.—The presumption to be accorded an Act of Congress,—that it be respected unless transgression of the Constitution is shown "beyond a rational doubt",—amply sustains the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Law, particularly in view of the circumstances of its enactment.

II.—Congress by this legislation aimed at "ends" that are "legitimate and within the scope of the Constitution."

III.—The "means" selected by Congress are "appropriate and plainly adapted" to accomplish these "ends."

IV.—No right of the plaintiffs secured under the Constitution "prohibits" the use of these appropriate means so adopted by Congress to accomplish these legitimate ends.

V.—The majority opinion of the Court of Appeals erects notions of policy into constitutional prohibition.

POINT I.

The presumption to be accorded an Act of Congress,—that it be respected unless transgression of the Constitution is shown "beyond a rational doubt," —amply sustains the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Law, particularly in view of the circumstances of its enactment.

In considering this legislation, Congress was dealing with a practical problem which had been pressing upon the attention of many legislatures. Congress was acting upon an experience which had amply justified itself in different parts of the country. Possessed, under Art. I., Sec.

8, par. 17, of the same power for, and charged with the same duty of, legislating within the District as that which States exercise within their respective boundaries (*Shoemaker* v. *United States*, 147 U. S., 282; *Parsons* v. *District of Columbia,* 170 U. S. 45, 52), Congress followed the example of a number of States in passing the Act in question. The legislation had not only justified itself in practice, but it had been uniformly sustained by the courts against attacks of unconstitutionality.

Twelve States—Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, North Dakota, Oregon, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin—have laws relating to a minimum wage for women.* Three States—Ohio, California and Nebraska—have authorized minimum wage legislation by specific constitutional provisions.

Here is a body of legislation coming from States in different parts of the country, States as varied in their conditions as Massachusetts and Washington, Arkansas and Wisconsin. Despite all other differences, ten have adopted a common type of legislation, indicating that it deals with needs common to every variety of State, with problems which concern all industry wherever women and children are employed. If the Federal legislation is bad under the Due Process clause of the Fifth Amendment, then, of course, the legislative and constitutional provisions of fifteen States are bad under the Due Process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The extensive enactment of a statute is a fact "of vast significance" (*Halter* v. *Nebraska,* 205 U. S. 34, 40). A far more impos-

*Arizona and Utah (as well as Porto Rico) have a flat rate of minimum wages fixed for all industries by statute. In all the other states there is administrative machinery for determining, after hearing, the minimum wage appropriate for each separate industry. Congress followed the latter type of legislation. Massachusetts, unlike all other states, relies upon the coercive power of public opinion, through publication of the names of offenders, for enforcement of the orders of its Minimum Wage Commission.

ing body of enactments is presented by the minimum wage laws for women than that which very recently led this Court, as to another statute, to find proof of "a widespread belief in the necessity for such legislation" (*Prudential Ins. Co.* v. *Cheek,* 259 U. S. . .; decided June 5, 1922).

But Congress had even stronger confirmation for its action than this volume of State legislation. One other case has been before this Court showing a similar widespread adoption of a statute by different States. That was the *Coppage Case* (236 U. S. 1). But while the *Coppage* statute was almost uniformly declared unconstitutional by the State Courts,[1] Congress acted upon the uniform validation of minimum wage legislation for women by the State Courts. To paraphrase the language of this Court in the *Coppage Case, supra,* as applied to the facts at bar, "it is not too much to say that such laws have by common consent been treated as constitutional, for while many state courts of last resort have adjudged them valid, there is no decision by such a court invalidating legislation of this character, and no decision by any court, excepting that which is now under review, the same court, differently constituted, having previously sustained it." The legislation has been sustained in these decisions:

State v. *Crow,* 130 Ark., 272;
Holcombe v. *Creamer,* 231 Mass., 99;
Williams v. *Evans,* 139 Minn., 32;
Miller Telephone Co. v. *Minimum Wage Commission,* 145 Minn., 262;

[1] "It is not too much to say that such laws have by common consent been treated as unconstitutional, for while many state courts of last resort have adjudged them void, we have found no decision by such a court sustaining legislation of this character, excepting that which is now under review."—*Coppage v. Kansas,* 236 U. S. 1, 21-22.

Stettler v. *O'Hara,* 69 Or. 519; *Simpson* v. *O'Hara,* 70 Or. 261; affirmed by divided Court, in 243 U. S. 629;
Larsen v. *Rice* 100 Wash, 642;
Spokane Hotel Co. v. *Younger,* 113 Wash. 359;
Poye v. *State,* 89 Texas Crim. Rep. 182.*

But Congress did not casually follow State legislation. It was not content to rest upon a body of State laws, uniformly sustained by the courts and vindicated, since 1913, by the trial of experience. The Senate and House Committees on the District of Columbia held hearings on the needs of this legislation, *in view of the conditions prevailing in the District.* (Hearings before Subcommittee of House Committee on the District of Columbia on H. R. 10367, 65th Cong. 2d Sess., April 16, 1918; Hearing before Subcommittee of Senate Committee on the District of Columbia on S. 3993, 65th Cong. 2d Sess., April 17, 1918). No one appeared in opposition to the bill. "A remarkable circumstance which has probably never occurred in any previous legislation hearings on a measure affecting wage legislation in this country was the appearance of the official organized body of employers—the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of the District, who sent their representative to make a statement indorsing the bill and urging its passage." (H. Report No. 571, 65th Cong. 2d Sess., p. 2). The Committees of both Houses unamimously recommended the legislation. (H. Report No. 571, 65th Cong. 2d Sess.; S. Report No. 562, 65th Cong. 2d Sess.). The Constitutional question raised by the proposal was frankly considered by the Committees. With full consciousness of the issue, after consideration of the objections now urged,

*This case is included in the interest of completeness, despite its restricted value as authority.

Congress, without opposition in the House, and with only twelve nays in the Senate (not based on constitutional grounds), deemed the legislation here assailed within its constitutional competence and required by the proved needs of the District, (Vol. 56, Cong. Rec. Pt. 9, pp. 8875 ff.; Pt. 10, pp. 10278 ff.; Pt. 12, pp. 604 ff).

In addition to all these grounds which moved and justified Congressional action, the judgment of Congress is now vindicated by the results of over four years of the actual operation of the Law and ten years of extensive experience with such legislation in California, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Oregon, Washington and Wisconsin (Part First, pp. 1-214). In brief, it is overwhelmingly clear that unfair depression in the wages of many women workers has been significantly reduced, without operating adversely to industry or efficiency, and without appreciably diminishing employment for employables. The Legislation has also successfully weathered the severest strains of "hard times." We venture to suggest, with confidence, that no such body of laws, "attesting a widespread belief in the necessity for such legislation," supported by uniform judicial approval (excepting the last opinion of the Court of Appeals), subjected to so long, extensive, fair and favorable a test of actual experience, has ever been before this Court to vindicate the reasonableness of the legislative intervention, and to negative the claim that Congress was guilty of "a purely arbitrary or capricious exercise of that [legislative] power" (*Truax* v. *Corrigan*, 257 U. S. 312, 329).

POINT II.

Congress by this legislation aimed at "ends" that are "legitimate and within the scope of the Constitution."

The first requisite of Marshall's canon is that the end sought by legislation must be "legitimate and within the scope of the Constitution." That this primary requirement is met in this case cannot be, and practically is not, denied. But we proceed briefly to explain the purposes sought by Congress in enacting the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Law.

First.—Charged with the responsibility of safeguarding the welfare of the District of Columbia, Congress was confronted with facts which made it its duty "to protect the women and minors of the District from conditions detrimental to their health and morals, resulting from wages which are inadequate to maintain decent standards of living."

We do not invoke the usual and proper presumption to be accorded to Congressional declarations. This Congressional statement of the purposes of the Act is based upon indisputable facts. In summary of the overwhelming array of details set forth in Part Third of this Brief, it is only necessary to say here that the minimum cost in the District, for the rudimentary needs of a woman worker, as disclosed by investigations preceding this legislation and corroborated by many authoritative findings from all over the United States, was:

Cost of Living of Working Women in the District of Columbia in December, 1916.*

Items		Yearly Cost 1916	Weekly Cost 1916
Board and Room	....	$312.00	$6.00
Clothing	....	125.00	2.40
Sundries:			
Laundry	30.00	....	...
Sickness	14.00	....	...
Dentistry	6.55	....	...
Oculist	1.99	....	...
Amusements	7.14	....	...
Vacation	13.16	....	...
Fruit and Candy	5.70	....	...
Insurance	9.65	....	...
Other incidentals	18.45	....	...
Charity	1.79	....	...
Religion	4.54	....	...
Labor organizations	.30	....	...
Other organizations	.49	....	...
School tuition	1.70	....	...
Carfare (to and from work)	10.85	....	...
Carfare (other)	7.84	....	...
Books and magazines	2.81	....	...
Gifts	14.96	....	...
Total Sundries	....	152.22	2.93
Total	....	$589.22	$11.33

This being the bare living cost for women workers in the District, it appeared before Congress, as disclosed in the Report of the House Committee which proposed the legislation (Rep. No. 571, H. R., 65th Cong., 2nd Sess.) that 46% of 600 women workers interviewed earned less than $8 per week and 64% less than $10 per week. This low wage was not owing to their youth and inexperience, for 72% were twenty-one years of age, or

*This budget appears on page 954 of Part Third of this brief; only the weekly cost, a mere arithmetic computation, is here added.

older, and one-half of those earnings less than $9 per week had been at work for five years and more.* Congress, dealing with the situation it found in the summer of 1918, had, of course, to consider the enormous increase in the cost of living. The actual amount of such increase had been studied and determined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The findings of comparative cost increases between 1916 and 1918, made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and acted upon by the Minimum Wage Board preceding its order, follow:

*See page 688-695 of Part Third of this Brief.

Comparison of Cost of Living of Working Women in the District of Columbia in December, 1916, and in December, 1918.*

Items	Yearly Cost 1916		% Increase 1916 to 1918		Yearly Cost 1918		Weekly Cost 1918	
Board and Room...		$312		50%		$468		$9
Clothing		125		59.4		199.25		3.83
Sundries								
Laundry	30.00				30.00		.58	
Sickness	14.00		30		18.20		.35	
Dentistry	6.55		11		7.25		.14	
Oculist	1.99		76		3.50		.07	
Amusements	7.44		58		9.60		.18	
Vacation	13.16				13.16		.25	
Fruit and Candy.	5.70				5.70		.11	
Insurance	9.65				9.65		.19	
Charity	1.79				1.79		.03	
Religion	4.54				4.54		.09	
Labor Organizations	.30				.30		.005	
Other Organizations	.49				.49		.01	
School Tuition ..	1.70				1.70		.03	
Carfare (to and from work)...	10.85		20		13.00		.25	
Carfare (other)..	7.84		20		9.40		.18	
Books and Magazines	2.81		46		3.45		.07	
Gifts	14.96				14.96		.29	
Other Incidentals	18.45				18.45		.35	
Total Sundries ...		152.22		8.5		165.14		3.175
Total.....		589.22		41.3		832.39		16.005

*This table will be found on page 954, Part Third of this Brief.

These findings as to the cost of the barest necessaries are to be compared with the Report made by the Minimum Wage Board into the wages of women in hotels, restaurants and allied industries (including hospitals). The Board found that

"1300, or 58 per cent, of the 2209 women for whom wage data were obtained were receiving less than $16 or its equivalent per week. A general average

in this instance tends to conceal the real wage situation. A classification according to type of establishment gives a much clearer picture of the facts. Of the women employed in the industry, 72.2 per cent in hotels, 42.6 per cent in restaurants, 82.3 per cent in hospitals and 100 per cent in apartment houses were receiving less than $16 a week or its equivalent. In the general average the higher rates prevailing in restaurants offset the lower rates in hotels and hospitals. The apartment house employees included in this study were too few in number to affect the general figures."*

It thus appears that Congress, in its responsibility for the District, was confronted with the evils flowing from a deficit between the minimum cost necessary for women workers to live without detriment "to their health and morals," and the wages which were actually being paid *below this minimum* to a considerable percentage of the women workers of the District. The matter was thus put in the testimony of Dr. W. C. Woodward, the Health Commissioner of the District:

"That there is a very definite relation between wages and health, and between wages and morals, I think will be conceded by every one who at any time has had to earn his own living, and who has even the slightest knowledge of hygiene or health. We know that in any organized community we can not get ordinary shelter without paying for it; that to clothe the body costs money; that food costs money; that provision for ordinary protection against illness requires money; and that protection of life—if you will, provision for recreation facilities—requires the expenditure of money; and we know that the wage earner depends on her wage to get that money. It stands to reason, therefore, that

*Bulletin No. 3 of District of Columbia Minimum Wage Board, October 10, 1919, quoted on pages 5-10 of Part First of the Brief.

inadequacy of wage means either of two things: On the one hand it may mean inadequacy of shelter, inadequacy of clothing, inadequacy of food, inadequacy of recreational facilities on the one hand it may mean any one of those conditions, or it may mean all—with resultant impoverishment of health—or, on the other hand, it means that from some source or other the wage must be supplemented, with possible resort to wrongdoing to accomplish that end. I am very loath, however, to connect up minimum wages with moral questions. The most I care to say there is that when one is tempted the lack of physical stamina and the necessity for maintaining life increase the weight of the inducement certainly make yielding easier.'"*

Congress, as its reports disclose, found that alarming public evils had resulted, and threatened in increasing measure, from the widespread existence of the deficit between the essential needs for a decent life and the actual earnings of large numbers of women workers of the District. In the judgment of Congress, based on inquiry and sustained by unchallenged facts, the health of a considerable section of the present generation was impaired by undernourishment, demoralizing shelter and insufficient medical care. Inevitably, the coming generation was thereby threatened. Economic efficiency and productiveness were wastefully limited; the fruitful use of economic resources was needlessly restricted. In its immediate effects, financial burdens were imposed upon the District, involving excessive and unproductive taxation, for the support of charitable and quasi-charitable institutions engaged in impotent amelioration rather than prevention.

Here, if ever, was presented a community problem of

*See Hearings before Sub-Committee of the Committee on the District of Columbia, House of Representatives 65th Con. 2nd Sess. on H. R. 10,367, p. 29, quoted in Rep. No. 571 H. R. 65th Con. 2nd Sess. and printed on page 390-1 of Part First of this Brief.

a most compelling kind, calling for legislation "greatly and immediately necessary to the public welfare" (*Noble State Bank* v. *Haskell*, 219 U. S., 104, 111). At least, the judgment of Congress that such legislation was necessary cannot, in reason, be stigmatized as "unreasonable."

Second.—The purpose of the Act was to provide for the deficit between the cost of women's labor—i. e., the means necessary to keep labor going—and any rate of women's pay below the minimum level for living, and thereby to eliminate all the evils attendant upon such deficit on a large scale.

No one claims, surely not the plaintiffs, that Congress, in this legislation, was actuated by a desire to gratify venom, or a feeling of oppression, against individuals, in order to injure them, or indulged in reckless caprice, indifferent to the interests of the District. There is no dispute that Congress was honest, was acting in good faith, after mature deliberation, in avowing the purposes which it did in the enactment of the Minimum Wage Law, to wit:

> "to protect the women and minors of the District from conditions detrimental to their health and morals, resulting from wages which are inadequate to maintain decent standards of living."

In a word, the ends towards which this legislation was directed were, within the area of Congressional power, the ends of the very life of the Nation, namely the health and civilized maintenance of this generation, and a healthy and civilized continuance of generations to follow. The only complaint is the want of adaptation of the means chosen by Congress for the attainment of ends which, undisputably, it could pursue. We shall at once consider (Point III) the justification of the choice of

means exercised by Congress. For the moment we are concerned with the question whether Congress could act *at all.* Was the subject-matter—conditions detrimental to the health and morals of women workers—within the field of Congressional legislation for the District? If the subject was within the power of Congress, the specific Act is still open to the challenge that the manner in which Congress exercised its power was "purely arbitrary or capricious." But in order to appraise adequately the means chosen by Congress, it is important to realize with conviction not merely the abstract legitimacy of the ends at which Congress was aiming, but also the concrete situation that confronted Congress in discharging its constitutional duty to legislate for the District.

POINT III.

The means selected by Congress "are appropriate" and "plainly adapted" to accomplish the legitimate ends.

The second part of Marshall's canon states the broad scope of the question:

> "All means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to the end. . . ."

Later cases, without changing Marshall's central point of view—"it is *a Constitution* we are expounding"—have phrased it in a slightly different form. "Plainly adapted," they indicate, means "not plainly unadapted". This has been the spirit of the later formulas. The recurring adjectives are "arbitrary," "wanton," "spoliative" and "capricious," and this is the thought that underlies the decisions (*e. g., Jones* v. *Brim,* 165 U. S., 180, 182; *Booth* v. *Illinois,* 184 U. S., 425, 429; *Lemieux* v. *Young,* 211 U. S., 489, 496; *McLean* v. *Arkansas,* 211

U. S., 539, 548; *Grenada Lumber Co.* v. *Mississippi,* 217 U. S., 433, 411-2; *Noble State Bank* v. *Haskell,* 219 U. S., 104, 110-11; *Chicago, Burlington & Quincy Co.* v. *McGuire,* 219 U. S., 549, 567-8; *Central Lumber Co.* v. *South Dakota,* 226 U. S., 157, 160-1; *Schmidinger* v. *Chicago,* 226 U. S., 578, 588; *Erie R. R. Co.* v. *Williams,* 233 U. S., 685, 699, 704; *Coppage* v. *Kansas,* 236 U. S., 1, 11, 14; *Chicago & Alton R. R.* v. *Tranbarger,* 238 U. S., 67, 77; *Tanner* v. *Little,* 240 U. S., 369, 386; *Truax* v. *Corrigan,* 257 U. S., 312, 329; *Chic. & Northwestern Ry. Co.* v. *Nye Schneider Fowler Co.,* decided Nov. 13, 1922; *Sioux City Bridge Co.* v. *Dakota County,* decided Jan. 2, 1923).

These cases, however, do not raise any issue as to possible differences resulting from difference in emphasis between "plainly adapted" and "not plainly unadapted". The controlling powers of negation of this Court are only invoked within the restricted, vital, area of immutable principles, leaving the field of policies to Congress and the legislatures. The Minimum Wage Law clearly satisfies Marshall's requirement of appropriate correlation of means to end.

First.—From among the alternative means which Congress might have adopted for accomplishing these public ends the particular one adopted was reasonable and appropriate.

The object of Congress was, as we have shown, to provide for a disastrous deficit between women's labor cost and their labor pay, so as to eliminate grave public evils and also to promote decent standards of life. The possible alternative courses of action which were open to Congress in this situation may be summarized as follows:

(1) It could have refrained from action, and submit to the evils as inevitable human misfortunes, subject

to no prevention, but only to alleviation through public and private charity.

(2) It could have provided a direct subsidy out of the public treasury to pay a wage equal to the necessary cost of living, just as for other reasons of policy subsidies have been granted or proposed to manufacture and industry.

(3) It could have adopted the Massachusetts method, which seeks to compel for women workers a minimum wage adequate "to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain the worker in health," through the pressure of public exposure of offending employers; or

(4) It could have taken the method it did take, which involved a prohibition of the use of women's labor for less than its cost, except by special license from the Board.

There was cumulative testimony, both in the belief of those entitled to express an opinion and in the actual record of experience, that these evils are not inevitable human misfortunes. Congress was entitled to disprove that lazy gospel of fatalism, as other English-speaking countries, equally jealous of safeguarding "liberty" and "property" and many American States had disproved it. From the point of view of effectiveness in accomplishing its purposes (which alone is here relevant), the choice of Congress, among the three remedial methods, surely was not "arbitrary" or "unreasonable." It had the support of a great body of public opinion (*Jacobson* v. *Mass.*, 197 U. S., 11, 31, 34-5; *Muller* v. *Oregon*, 208 U. S., 412, 420; *McLean* v. *Arkansas*, 211 U. S., 539, 548, 549; *Tanner* v. *Little*, 240 U. S., 369, 385-6), crystallized in the extensive and successful experience of English countries with such legislation (Part First, pp. 214, *et seq.*), in the fact of such legislation in other States (pp. 533, *et seq.*),

in the successful working of such legislation (*infra*, pp. 1 *et seq.*). In other words Congress rested on the appeal "from judgment by speculation to judgment by experience" (*Tanner* v. *Little*, 240 U. S., 369, 386).

There is now before this Court not only the persuasive volume of accredited opinion and the experience of other States and countries (not unlike our own either in industrial conditions or legal traditions) vindicating the reasonableness, not to speak of the absence of unreasonableness, of the Congressional legislation, but also the proved effectiveness of the experience of the District under this Act (*infra*, pp. 1 *et seq.*). This is now sought to be upset as beyond the power of Congress in coping with evils which are yielding under the enforcement of this Act and these benefits are secured without any adverse effect upon industry. Where a law has been long on the statute books speculative claims of injustice must yield to the results of actual experience. (*Cf. National Union Fire Ins. Co.* v. *Weinberg*, decided Nov. 13, 1922.)

Second.—Therefore, even though this Court might think that some other means would have greater chance of effectiveness, it was open to Congress to try this method unless it was affirmatively prohibited by the Constitution.

POINT IV.

No rights of plaintiffs secured under the Constitution of the United States prohibit the use of the means so adopted by Congress to accomplish these legitimate public ends.

"The ends" then are "legitimate" and "within the scope of the Constitution" and "the means" are "appropriate and plainly adapted" (and *a fortiori* not plainly unadapted) to the ends. The only remaining question

is: are these means "prohibited" and do they "consist with the letter and the spirit of the Constitution?"

It is not the burden of Congress to demonstrate affirmatively that the Constitution explicitly authorizes the use of these appropriate means for accomplishing its public ends; rather it is for the plaintiffs to show some explicit withdrawal of that power from it. The only alleged obstruction to the power exercised by Congress is the Due Process Clause: does Congress "deprive" The Children's Hospital or Lyons of "life, liberty or property, without due process of law?"

There are two questions to every issue under the Due Process Clauses and it will make for clarity if they are kept distinct. (1) Has there been deprivation of "life, liberty or property?" (2) If so, what is the justification, *i. e.*, the "due process" of the deprivation?

On the issue of deprivation, we assume, for the purpose of this discussion, that any interference whatsoever, with even the most capricious wish of an individual, however justified by those considerations of the public welfare covered by the term "police power," is a deprivation of "liberty" (using the word in an unqualified sense and not restricting its meaning so as to limit it to a "liberty" regulated by "due process"). In that absolutist sense we concede there has been deprivation here. So long as there is a deprivation of "liberty," it is immaterial whether there is also a deprivation of "property"; but in so far as unrestrained liberty of business action is to be regarded as also a property right, we likewise assume even a formal deprivation of "property."

The only point, then, for consideration here is whether the deprivation, such as it was, is "without due process of law."

This Court has consistently recognized the futility of attempting an inclusive definition of "due process."

The Due Process Clauses embody a standard of fair-dealing to be applied to the myriad variety of facts that are involved in modern legislation. That is why this Court, it is ventured to infer, has refused to draw lines in advance. The impact of facts must establish the line in each case. For the application of the Due Process Clauses is not a mechanical process. In the last analysis it is a process of judgment by this Court. In the application of the varying facts to the test of fair dealing before this Court the ultimate question is: does legislation, or its actual operation, "shock the sense of fairness the Fourteenth Amendment was intended to satisfy in respect to state legislation"? *Chic. & Northwestern Ry. Co.* v. *Nye Schneider Fowler Co.*, decided Nov. 13, 1922.) During the fifty years of extensive judicial unfolding, the central ideas that inhere in this constitutional safeguard have become manifest. A careful study of the long line of cases involving an interpretation of the Fourteenth Amendment, (that Amendment rather than the Fifth has given most material for determination of what is involved in "due process") beginning with the *Slaughter-house Cases* (16 Wall., 36), shows two dominant ideas conceived to be fundamental principles: (1) freedom from *arbitrary* or *wanton* interference, and (2) protection against *spoliation* of property. "Arbitrary," "wanton" and "spoliation" are the words which are the motif of the decisions under the Due Process Clauses. That is as close as we can get to it; it is close enough, when dealing with the great questions of government. What it means, what all the cases illustrate, is that the Fourteenth Amendment intended to leave the States the free play necessary for effective dealing with the constant shift of governmental problems, and not to hamper the States except where it would be obvious to disinterested men that the action was arbitrary and wanton and

therefore spoliative and unjustified. Of course, exactly the same freedom of action, the same scope for legislation, belongs to Congress when dealing with the District.*

> "The citizen may have the right to make a proper (that is, a lawful) contract, one which is also essential and necessary for carrying out his lawful purposes. The question which arises here is, whether the contract is a proper or lawful one, and we have not advanced a step toward its solution by saying that the citizen is protected by the Fifth, or any other amendment, in his right to make proper contracts to enable him to carry out his lawful purposes. . . .
>
> "Notwithstanding the general liberty of contract which is possessed by the citizens under the Constitution, we find that there are many kinds of contracts which while, not in themselves immoral or *mala in se*, may yet be prohibited by the legislation of the States or, in certain cases, by Congress."
>
> *United States* v. *Joint Traffic Association*, 171 U. S., 505, 572-3.

First.—It is not arbitrary, wanton or spoliative for Congress to require the consent of the Board before allowing a wage contract affecting women at below cost, but a valid exercise of the "police power" because of the actual handicaps of women in industry.

In his recent essay on "American Individualism" (Doubleday, Page & Co.) Mr. Secretary Hoover states, in layman's language, the general considerations upon which legislation like the Minimum Wage Law is based:

> "Individualism cannot be maintained as the foundation of society if it looks to only legalistic justice based upon contracts, property and political equality. Such legalistic safeguards are themselves not enough. In our individualism we have long

*Wherever the scope of the Fourteenth Amendment, limiting the States to Due Process, is discussed in this Brief, it will be assumed that the same considerations apply as to Congress under the Fifth Amendment.

since abandoned the laissez faire of the 18th Century —the notion that it is every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost. We abandoned that when we adopted the ideal of equality of opportunity—the fair chance of Abraham Lincoln. We have confirmed its abandonment in terms of legislation, of social and economic justice. . . . We have learned that the impulse to production can only be maintained at a high pitch if there is a fair division of the product. We have also learned that fair division can only be obtained by certain restrictions on the strong and the dominant (pp. 10-11)."

This has special application to women workers.

It is idle to cite authorities. Quotation could be piled on quotation. This was one of the principal grounds of the State Courts in sustaining this legislation.

"The legislature has evidently concluded that these conditions prevail even in Oregon; that there are many women employed at inadequate wages; the employment *not secured by the agreement of the worker at satisfactory compensation, but at wages dictated by the employer. The worker in such a case has no voice in fixing the hours or wages, but must accept it or fare worse.*" (*Stettler* v. *O'Hara*, 69 Or., 519, 537, italics ours.)

"There is a notion, quite general, that women in the trades are underpaid, that they are not paid so well as men are paid for the same service, and that in fact in many cases the pay they receive for working during all the working hours of the day is not enough to meet the cost of reasonable living. Public investigations by publicly appointed commissions have resulted in findings to the above effect. Starting with such facts, there is opinion, more or less widespread, that these conditions are dangerous to the morals of the workers and to the health of the workers and of future generations as well.

It is a strife for employer and employee to secure proper economic adjustment of their relations so

that each shall receive a just share of the profits of their joint effort. *In this economic strife, women as a class, are not on an equality with men.* Investigating bodies, both of men and of women, taking all these facts into account, have urged legislation designed to assure to women an adequate working wage. The legislatures of 11 states have passed laws having the same purpose as the one here assailed.

It is not a question of what we may ourselves think of the policy or the justification of such legislation. The question is, is there any reasonable basis for legislative belief that the conditions mentioned exist, that legislation is necessary to remedy them, and that laws looking to that end promote the health, peace, morals, education or good order of the people and are 'greatly and immediately necessary to the public welfare?' If there is reasonable basis for such legislative belief, then the determination of the propriety of such legislation is a legislative problem to be solved by the exercise of legislative judgment and discretion. *Holden* v. *Hardy,* 169 U. S., 366, 398, 18 Sup. Ct., 383, 42 L. ed., 780." (*Williams* v. *Evans,* 139 Minn., 32, 40-1, italics ours.)

The line of cases upholding State statutes which limit freedom of contract with women in various ways, rest upon realization of the fact that the mass of women employees cannot secure terms of employment needful from the point of view of public welfare without the weight of legislation being thrown into the scale. (*Muller* v. *Oregon,* 208 U. S., 412; *Riley* v. *Massachusetts,* 232 U. S., 671; *Hawley* v. *Walker,* 232 U. S., 718; *Miller* v. *Wilson,* 236 U. S., 373, 380-1; *Bosley* v. *McLaughlin,* 236, U. S., 385; *Dominion Hotel Co.* v. *Arizona,* 249, U. S., 265; and numerous State decisions, of which *Ritchie & Co.* v. *Wayman,* 244 Ill., 521 and *People* v. *Schweinler,* 214 N. Y., 404, are significant examples).

Second.—It is not arbitrary, wanton, or spoliative for Congress to require employers to pay the cost of woman's labor.

Plaintiff's theory, which prevailed upon the "rehearing," is something like this:

For the sake of conserving the health and morals of women workers, and thereby the next generation, Congress wishes them to have more money. In order to provide this, Congress forbids an employer to employ a woman worker unless he gives her this additional money. Inasmuch as (according to his theory) there is no relation between himself and her need of this additional money, his "liberty" is being limited by purely arbitrary conditions, just as if Congress should require this, say, of John D. Rockefeller, who is not her employer, nor concerned with her in any way. This line of thought has pervaded the entire argument of the plaintiffs.

The short answer to this central claim of plaintiffs is that her employer employs the woman and no other person does. He alone has the use of her working energy, to produce which a cost of not less than $16.50 per week is essential.

From this vital difference of relationship, inherent in his peculiar status as her employer, follow the vital consequences which differentiate him from any other citizen, and furnish the justification for the imposition of her minimum living cost upon him, as distinguished from any other person. The legal significance of the relationship of employer and employee has very recently been expressed by the Chief Justice, in *Truax* v. *Corrigan*, 257 U. S., 312, 329.

> "The broad distinction between one's right to protection againt a direct injury to one's fundamental property right by another who has no special

relation to him, and one's liability to another with whom he establishes a voluntary relation under a statute is manifest upon its statement."

It is the employer, and the employer alone, who receives the benefit of the woman's working energy, which cannot be produced or maintained by less than the reasonably ascertained minimum *cost* of her labor. It provides only for such quantity of food as will preserve her working energy and for such shelter and clothing and maintenance as will save her from deterioration or impairment. This fact is not disputed by the plaintiffs and has been authoritatively and conclusively determined by overwhelming evidence. The significance of this is that the expenditure of a reasonable minimum upon an employee goes to the operation of the industry and merely provides for the cost of that operation. It goes to the maintenance of the energy purchased by the employer and devoted to the industry.

Suppose this minimum wage even allows a pitiably small balance for civilized demands of the human personality over and above the necessities of preserving the working energy in its mere animal aspect. The human being is not mere animal. How is it possible to say that there is no relation between the employer's industry, which uses all the working energy of the worker's life, and the necessary cost of keeping that life, as a civilized being, at work? How is it possible to say that it is "arbitrary," "wanton" or "spoliative" for Congress to require the employer to pay the cost of woman's labor *if he chooses to use it?* Congress does not compel him to use it; all that it says to him is that if he chooses to take its benefit he must pay at least its cost. Even thus limited in its requirement Congress is not rigid. It has made provisions for variations from the normal, it allows for di-

versities among women, and so it grants the employer the right to use labor even at less than its cost, if he can show to the Board a reasonable justification for the issue of a special license.

To legislatures faced with such problems as have confronted Congress and the legislatures of more than a dozen States the requirement that a man pay at least the bare cost of what he uses has been an application of that practical common-sense by which alone human relations can be efficiently adjusted.

Third. The action of Congress was not arbitrary, wanton or spoliative because the direct interest of the District in these particular wage contracts affecting women gave it a special justification for controlling them.

A contract in which a mere living wage for women workers is at stake is not merely the private concern of the employer and the employee, but a tripartite affair involving (1) employer, (2) women employees and (3) the public.

If the employer and women employees, whose wages are below the established minimum, were completely isolated from all reliance upon the outside public no bargain for employment at less than a living wage would be possible, because the deficit between the proposed payment for the labor and the cost of its production and maintenance could not be supplied—or, certainly, could not be supplied for long and maintain American standards of civilization. Without assistance from the public in some form or other no employer could obtain labor below cost nor could any woman give it. In other words, a contract for labor below its cost must inevitably rely upon a subsidy from outside, or result in human deterioration. To the extent of this subsidy, or the deterioration, the public is necessarily concerned; thereby

the public is drawn into the situation; it is not an intermeddler.

This may become still clearer if we frame the implicit terms of the negotiation which the employer demands the unconditional right to make with women employees.

Employer:

> I am to pay to you and you are to receive from me $35.00 a month (and board). You are to give to me and I am to receive from you *all* your working energy.

Woman Employee:

> But, sir, this working energy, of which you are to receive the total, costs at the very least $16.50 a week. How are *we* to get the balance?

Employer:

> We can get it at least in one of three ways: (1) members of your family engaged in other industries will supply it rather than see you starve, or (2) you can "go without" or (3) you can get it from public or private charity.

This is a plain case of relying upon a public subsidy for a private interest, and a State or Congress, acting for the District, has, therefore, a special right to impose conditions upon which the industry or the employee may enjoy the subsidy or even to refuse it absolutely. Congress does not refuse it, but merely imposes conditions upon the grant. It demands to be shown that the subsidy is just and necessary to the satisfaction of a Board acting for the people of the District. Employer has no more Constitutional right to insist upon this grant in aid of his business than a man who undertook to raise bananas in Connecticut would have to demand, as of right, a public subsidy by way of a tariff. Nor has a woman any absolute "right" to give her energies to the employer if

she cannot keep her side of the bargain without public subsidy, or without incurring physical or moral impairment.

There are three possibilities:

(1) If her output really is worth the cost of her labor, then surely there can be no claim for outside assistance.

(2) If her output is not worth its cost because of her inefficiency, such inefficiency usually means that she has not been trained to the best use of her capacities. Surely a State or Congress may induce such training, stimulate efficiency on the part both of employer and employee, and thereby add to the wealth of the community. Experience demonstrates that in fact such efficiency is powerfully stimulated and productivity enhanced by establishing a minimum wage for women. (Part First, pp. 301-334.)

(3) If the worker cannot be trained to yield an output that does pay the cost of her labor, then she can either avail herself of the license conditions imposed by the statute for such cases, or accept the status of a defective to be segregated for special treatment as a dependent. The State or Congress may determine how defectives shall be supported, and not be compelled to grant an indirect subsidy. One of the most baffling problems of the modern state is the treatment of those who are incapable of carrying their own weight. The first step in the solution is to know who is self-supporting and who is dependent. Congress, therefore, may use means, like the present Law, for sorting the normal self-supporting workers from the semi-employables, or the unemployables and then deal with the latter appropriately as a special class, instead of permitting an indiscriminate, unscientific lumping of all workers, with a resulting wasteful confusion of standards.

Fourth.—It is not arbitrary, wanton or spoliative for Congress to require the employer to obtain a license from the Board before he can buy a woman's labor at less than cost, because that is a reasonable means of preventing cut-throat and unfair competition between manufacturers.

If Congress had found that wage contracts involving purchase and sale of women's labor will not be made in any substantial number of cases for less than cost, then Congress could feel that its requirement of prior scrutiny by the Board is unnecessary, because if all wage contracts were for the fair value of the produce they would not affect competitive conditions. Experience, however, proved that Congress could not safely rely on such an assumption, and that legislation, therefore, may fill the gaps caused by the ignorance or helplessness of women workers and the ignorance or avarice of some employers. As against competing employers who accept the dominant standard of dealing towards their female employees, and who have a more enlightened view of the far-reaching consequences upon industry, public health, living standards, etc., of wages below the human minimum, the unscrupulous and narrow-minded employer may obtain at least a temporary advantage by getting women's labor at less than its cost. Such an employer takes advantage of a situation so as to draw upon a public subsidy as a fund which enables him to undersell competitors.

In reply to all this, plaintiff asserts an absolute "freedom of contract," based on a theoretic equality of *all* who enter into contracts, whatever the actual conditions of life may be and however much the facts may disprove such equality. Women to him are men; and to the indisputable testimony of the actual conditions that confront women workers, to the proved handicaps under which they are needlessly suffering, to the differences between men

and women in industry, due to physical differences and to the instability and youth of women workers, Congress must turn a deaf ear because these facts falsify a theory —the theory of abstract equality and of a non-existent "freedom" of choice to work or not to work under the terms imposed by the minority of exploiting or ignorant employers. The plaintiff would avert what Huxley called the tragedy of a fact killing a theory, by putting constitutional sanction behind a false dogma.

For plaintiff's position *is* nothing more than insistence upon a discredited doctrine. In effect, it asserts not merely its individual belief in the doctrine of philosophic anarchy, *i. e.*, that improvement cannot to some extent be achieved by legislation, but it is asking this court to say that such a doctrine of philosophic anarchy is incorporated in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments.

Surely it is much too late to yield to such a doctrine. From the very beginning of the subjection of anarchy to law, step by step, legislation has restricted the field of unregulated competition by prohibitions enforced through a great variety of remedies. It has not left right standards to prevail solely through their inherent reasonableness or through enlightened self-interest.

The Chief Justice broadly stated the course of this evolution in *Standard Oil Co.* v. *United States*, 221 U. S., 1.

> "It will be found that as modern conditions arose the trend of legislation and judicial decision came more and more to adapt the recognized restrictions to new manifestations of conduct or of dealing which it was thought justified the inference of intent to do the wrongs which it had been the purpose to prevent from the beginning." (p. 57.)
>
> "It is equally true to say that the survey of the legislation in this country on this subject from the

> beginning will show, depending as it did upon the econnomic conceptions which obtained at the time when the legislation was adopted or judicial decision was rendered, that contracts or acts were at one time deemed to be of such a character as to justify the inference of wrongful intent which were at another period thought not to be of that character. But this again, as we have seen, simply followed the line of development of the law of England." (p. 58.)

Throughout this whole course the State has been putting its power more and more on the side of what the prevailing opinion of the time conceives to be right dealing. "Prevailing opinion" in this case was not a transient or careless expression. A massive body of legislation, conservatively conceived and carefully safeguarded, has now the sanction of time and experience.

The assertion by the state of this power is the history of legislation since the time of Edward I. It is impossible for the state to remain neutral in a contest between men who desire to deal fairly and those who desire to deal unfairly; the state must choose between encouraging unfair conduct by keeping hands off or discouraging it by insisting upon fair play.

There is a substantial mass of legislative recognition both of the illegality of unfair competition in general and of selling below cost, in particular, *e. g.*, The Federal Trade Commission Act; The Clayton Act (Secs. 2 and 3); The Interstate Commerce Act (Sec. 29); State statutes prohibiting price cutting and selling below cost or fair market value collected in the report issued by the Bureau of Corporations in March, 1915, entitled "Trust Laws and Unfair Competition," showing that the following States have adopted such laws: Idaho, Nebraska, South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Texas,

Arkansas, North Carolina; and general laws covering Oklahoma and Wisconsin. (pp. 192 *et seq.*)

That such legislation is constitutionally founded, has of course, been frequently held, in a variety of cases, of which *Central Lumber Company* v. *South Dakota,* 226 U. S., 157, is illustrative:

> "It might have been argued to the legislature with more force than it can be to us that recoupment in one place of losses in another is merely an instance of financial ability to compete. If the legislature thought that that particular manifestation of ability usually came from great corporations, whose power it deemed excessive and for the the reason did more harm than good in their State, and that there was no other case of frequent occurrence where the same could be said, we cannot review their economics or their facts." (p. 161.)

Fifth.—It is not arbitrary, wanton or spoliative for Congress to require the consent of the Board before allowing a woman employee to sell labor below cost, because that is a reasonable means for preventing unfair competition between women employees.

Similar considerations apply to competition between employees, because an employee who sells her labor for less than its cost, availing herself of outside subsidies, is unfairly competing against other seekers for similar employment. Congress might even have prohibited such contracts altogether, because of the effect that such bargains have in dragging down the general standard and encouraging wider and unnecessary dependence upon the subsidies.

Congress, however, did not go to that extreme. It only required that contracts which endangered general standards in this manner must first be approved by the Board. The underlying principle is the same as that

which eliminates prison labor from competition against free labor, and prevents the output of State and charitable institutions to compete without control against self-supporting business.

The essential purpose of the Law is to compel employers to pay the living cost to all their women employees whose product is worth it, and thereby correspondingly protect the efficient against a ruinous competition.

Sixth.—It is not arbitrary, wanton or spoliative for the state to require the consent of the Board before allowing wage contracts of women workers at below cost, because that is a reasonable exercise of power to foster the productivity of industry.

The very preservation of the State and its citizens depend upon the efficiency of its industries to carry the cost of living. That is the primary function of industry. No industry which fails to supply even the bare minimum living requirements of its own workers can possibly be sound. Such an industry instead of aiding in the work of supporting life can be only a burden upon it by precisely the amount of subsidy which it drains from other industries. The fundamental policy represented by this Act is the stimulation of individual enterprise, the prevention of taxation upon sound industries for the artificial support of unsound ones. The aim it encourages is to make industries self-supporting.

In truth this is a measure of conservation and preservation of the human resources of the State, which is of even deeper and more primary importance to human self-preservation than the conservation of the natural resources. And so its constitutionality follows, *a fortiori*, from the line of cases which support statutes passed for

the preservation and effective utilization of natural resources. *Hudson Water Co.* v. *McCarter,* 209 U. S., 349; *Mount Vernon Cotton Co.* v. *Alabama Power Co.,* 240 U. S., 30; *Pacific Live Stock Co.* v. *Oregon Water Board,* 241 U. S., 440; *Walls* v. *Midland Carbon Co.,* 254 U. S., 300.)

Even if the Law had gone beyond the mere protective necessity into the realm of affirmative public welfare, it would still be constitutional within the principle laid down in *Bacon* v. *Walker,* 204 U. S., 311:

> "That power [the police power] is not confined, as we have said, to the suppression of what is offensive, disorderly or unsanitary. It extends to so dealing with the conditions which exist in the State as to bring out of them the greatest welfare of its people" (p. 318).

Industry under modern conditions has come to be one of the most important fields in which the interrelation of human beings requires supervision by the state. To-day the center of gravity of the state is industry, just as in feudal days it was land. The common law met the demands of the feudal period by working out the incidence of feudal tenure as a body of reciprocal rights and duties between lord and man flowing from the relationship of tenure. In fact, the conception of rights and liabilities as dependent on relationship rather than upon the unregulated desire of individuals is at the very center of the whole common law system. ("If we must find a fundamental idea in the common law it is relation, not will." Dean Pound's "Interpretations of Legal History," Cambridge University Lectures, III, pp. 56, *et seq.* (1923); and see *Truax* v. *Corrigan,* 257 U. S., 312,

329, *supra.*) All that is necessary is to recognize these true common law principles, to recognize the common law concept of relation, and to make the detailed application in the change from an agricultural to an industrial society. This harmonizes modern decisions and legislation, and makes them consistent with a true conception of our inherited common law. (See Dean Pound's "Spirit of the Common Law," Lecture I, pp. 1, 31.)

The ability of the community to modify the legal rules which represented prior community standards must still remain. Millions of women industrial workers—working not for pleasure, but to earn a livelihood—is a new phenomenon.* Our Constitution is equal to the problems this raises. It is of the very essence of the common law system—including the minor judicial and the major legislative modifications—to regard the law-making energies of the state as progressive activities to meet needed changes.

> "It is more consonant to the true philosophy of our historical legal institutions to say that the spirit of personal liberty and individual right which they embodied was preserved and developed by progressive growth and wise adaptation to new circumstances and situations of the forms and processes found fit to give, from time to time, new expression and greater effect to modern ideas of self-government.
>
> "This flexibility and capacity for growth and adaptation is the peculiar boast and excellence of the common law. . . . .
>
> "The Constitution of the United States was ordained it is true by descendants of Englishmen, who inherited the traditions of English law and history;

*See "The Occupational Progress of Women", Bulletin No. 27, Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor. Government Printing Office, 1922. Introduction and Summary, pp. 1-6, and Table XIII, p. 33.

but it was made for an undefined and expanding future, and for a people gathered and to be gathered from many nations and of many tongues. . . . .

"There is nothing in Magna Charta, rightly construed as a broard charter of public right and law, which ought to exclude the best ideas of all systems and of every age; and as it was the characteristic principle of the common law to draw its inspiration from every fountain of justice, we are not to assume that the sources of its supply have been exhausted. On the contrary, we should expect that the new and various experiences of our own situation and system will mould and shape it into new and not less useful forms." (*Hurtado* v. *California*, 110 U. S., 516, 530-1; see also *Holden* v. *Hardy*, 169 U. S., 366, 385-387.)

We are here dealing with an exercise of the same public power as that of the common law in the past. With its exercise in the past we are familiar. Its application to the needs of a changing present gives an illusion of novelty to the new exercise of an old power. This novelty must not be allowed to deceive; the unfamiliar must not now, any more than in the past, be denied as "unconstitutional." New circumstances call for new effort, and the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments have left unimpeded the power of conscientious statesmanship to grapple with new difficulties.

Seventh.—The so-called "liberties" of which the plaintiffs claim to have been deprived were merely fanciful and theoretical and not substantial. Therefore it was not "arbitrary," "wanton" or a "spoliation" for Congress to allow great public interest to prevail over them.

To be sure, the "liberty" protected by the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments leaves a man, within limits,

to do what he likes and be sole judge of his wishes and interests. But before these rights can be entitled to constitutional protection they must be susceptible of translation into terms of substance and human satisfaction and not merely theoretical caprices, unrelated to real action in a finite world. In balancing individual rights against the power of Congress or a State the Constitution is not "formal rather than vital," and its limitations are not mere "mathematical formulas having their essence in their form" rather than "organic living institutions transplanted from English soil" (*Gompers* v. *United States,* 233 U. S., 604, 610).

What is the "liberty" which these plaintiffs assert and show to be really curtailed? It is nothing but the "liberty" of not being required to get leave of the Board before making contracts below a living wage.

It is true that plaintiffs claim they have been deprived of the actual liberty of making the contract itself, but this is to assume, without any basis whatever, that the Board would have rejected any applications that might have been made. Neither of the plaintiffs asserts that his case is not within the scope of the license clause (Sec. 13), or that application has been made and refused.

Children's Hospital alleges that "said women employed in said hospital for children, who receive less than $16.50 are incompetent by reason of age, inability or otherwise to earn more" (Children's Hospital, R., fol. 8). Similarly, Lyons makes no allegation that she is not within the class to whom licenses are available under Sec. 13, *i. e.,* those "whose earning capacity has been impaired by age or otherwise." In the absence of proof to the contrary, the Court will, of course, assume that the Board will grant an appropriate request (*Gundling* v. *Chicago,* 177 U. S., 183, 186; *Mutual Film*

Corporation v. *Industrial Commission,* 236 U. S., 230, 245-6; *Lehon* v. *Atlanta,* 242 U. S., 53). Without any showing that applications for licenses would have been fruitless, or were made and denied, plaintiffs are in no position to assert a loss of the right to do what, for all that appears, they might have been permitted to do.

But their claim is still more fragile. Children's Hospital complains that the Act will necessarily restrict it

> "to the employment only of women who are capable of performing labor sufficient to earn said sum of $16.50 per week or more" (Children's Hospital, R., p. 7, fol. 8).

In other words, the so-called "liberty" which Children's Hospital claims is merely a "liberty" to employ less-than-$16.50-women for less than $16.50 instead of $16.50-women for $16.50. It may well be that it is to the advantage of Children's Hospital to employ the more efficient because that may make for greater stability, less labor turn-over and increased effectiveness, and thereby economy, in the management of the Hospital. Nor must it be lost sight of that Congress necessarily must deal with the generality of instances; with business in general, and not with the isolated case of a private hospital. The inclusion or exclusion of the rare case in a general classification is always a difficult matter for legislative discretion. But, necessarily, law is intended for and must be judged by its general operation. And the evidence is overwhelming that the minimum wage laws have made for greater stability for business and increased profits. (See Part First, pp. 301-544.)

Similarly, the "liberty" which Lyons asserts is fictitious, unreal and against her own interest. She makes

the remarkable allegation that $35 a month and two meals a day are

> "the best wages and compensations for her labor that *she is able to receive* for any employment of labor that she is capable of performing," (Lyons R., p. 21, fol. 27, italics ours).

This carefully framed language avoids any allegation that her labor is not worth at least $16.50 or costs her less to produce. Moreover, it is perfectly plain that Lyons presents an "inspired" case, filed not in her own interest but in support of that of The Children's Hospital. The Court will take note of identity of pleadings, identity of counsel in the two suits and the submission, below, of the Lyons case upon the brief submitted in behalf of The Children's Hospital. Palpably, the Court has before it "a friendly suit" to overturn an Act of Congress.

> "The theory upon which, apparently, this suit was brought is that parties have an appeal from the legislature to the courts; and that the latter are given an immediate and general supervision of the constitutionality of the acts of the former. Such is not true. Whenever, in pursuance of an honest and actual antagonistic assertion of rights by one individual against another, there is presented a question involving the validity of any act of any legislature, State or Federal, and the decision necessarily rests on the competency of the legislature to so enact, the court must, in the exercise of its solemn duties, determine whether the act be constitutional or not; but such an exercise of power is the ultimate and supreme function of courts. It is legitimate only in the last resort, and as a necessity in the determination of real, earnest and vital controversy between individuals. It never was the thought that, by means of a friendly suit, a party beaten in the

> legislature could transfer to the courts an inquiry as to the constitutionality of the legislative act.'"*
>
> *Chicago St. Ry. Co.* v. *Wellman,* 143 U. S. 339, 345.

Of course, in determining whether the "liberty" asserted is real, the Court considers the substantiality of the claim in its ordinary operation. In this particular situation, the Court will not be blind to the fact that the only possible financial advantage, which would accrue from the invalidation of the Act, depends upon the hypothesis that it prevents the employer from getting labor at less than the true value of its product. For it is preposterous to suppose that an employer would really exercise or value, in his actual business operation, the "liberty" which he here claims, namely, a "liberty" to employ an inefficient woman in place of an efficient one, if he proposed to pay in either case what the output is really worth.

Clearly, therefore, the claims of "liberty" urged by the plaintiffs do not reach the level of those protected by the Constitution.

Eighth.—The alleged deprivations of "property" are either merely nominal like the so-called "liberties," or hypothetical and unsubstantiated; and therefore, were not dealt with arbitrarily or wantonly or as a spoliation.

As to "property" Lyon shows no deprivation whatever that can be distinguihed from her claim in regard

*Apropos of the allegation by Children's Hospital that "less competent employees will be prevented from laboring for this plaintiff" (Children's Hospital R., p. 7, fol. 8), the following observation from *Holden* v. *Hardy,* 169 U. S. 366, 397, is pertinent:

"It may not be improper to suggest in this connection that although the prosecution in this case was against the employer of labor his defence was not so much that his right to contract has been infringed upon, but that the Act works a peculiar hardship to his employees, whose right to labor as long as they please is alleged to be thereby violated. The argument would certainly come with better grace and greater cogency, from the latter class."

to "liberty." Therefore, no further special consideration of her case is necessary on this point.

The Children's Hospital claim is that "to be compelled to pay said wage fixed by said Board to all of its said employees would so increase its cost of operation that it could not attempt to conduct its said Hospital within its income." (Children's Hospital R., p. 7, fol. 8.)

Before considering other decisive answers to this claim, let us point out one which disposes of it at the threshold, namely, that the statute itself provides plaintiff the means of avoiding any property loss by the provision of Section 13 already discussed, in respect to special licenses. Whatever claim may be urged that this requirement of application for licenses amounts to a deprivation of "liberty," however fantastically conceived, it certainly cannot be said that it amounts to any deprivation of "property." The plaintiff cannot possibly suffer a loss if he applies for and obtains a license. The Act itself safeguards the right for which plaintiff asks this Court gratuitously to strike it down. (*Gundling* v. *Chicago*, 177 U. S., 183; *Lehon* v. *Atlanta*, 242 U. S., 53).

Mere prophesies of disaster cannot prevail. Until an adverse experience is shown, plaintiff is without grievance to nullify the legislation of Congress or state. This Court will not overturn the legislative judgment on a mere guess, when, in fact, experience may disprove the guess.

As to this Law experience *has* disproved the guess. The plaintiffs ask this Court to substitute their hypothesis for the vindicated judgment of Congress. A great variety of industries in the District—the printing, publishing and allied industries, the mercantile industry, hotel, restaurant and allied industries, laundry and dry cleaning

industry,—have for some time, and under the crucial test of "hard times," been carrying on under the operation of the Law. There has thus been an opportunity to test by experience the claim of arbitrariness, of spoliation, which is what the claim of unconstitutionality means—and it means nothing short of that. No adverse experience has been disclosed. The facts, of which this Court will take judicial notice, show the beneficial effects of the Law's operation, without hardship to industry or hindrances to employment (Part First, pp. 1, *et seq.*). The prophecies of disaster or injury have been falsified wherever the legislation has been tried—and ten years of such experience is now before this Court (Part First, pp. 481-7, 501).

The general operations of a law must determine whether it "shocks the sense of fairness" enforced by the Due Process Clauses, so long as discrimination is not designedly practised against isolated instances. Here there is no claim of discrimination against the individual instance, but a challenge against a Law, fair and beneficial in its operations, because of a fear of possible hardship in a single case, at best of unusual circumstances. Such individual claim, even if proved, cannot prevail against an Act of Congress passed, as was this, within the scope of its legislative power. But in this case we have a total absence of proof that the operation of the Law puts the plaintiff to loss, *i. e.*, measurable diminution of wealth or arbitrary restriction of enterprise.

Of course equity may be invoked to prevent irreparable injury, before loss. To make such a case, however, the imminence of the injury must be something more than a mere guess, something more than a mere partisan claim of a litigant in a situation which involves so "many elements of uncertainty in the calculation." (*Northern*

Pacific Railway Co. v. *North Dakota,* 216 U. S., 579, 580-1.) If an individual instance can give rise to a constitutional challenge at least the imminence of the injury must be demonstrable as an unavoidable result of the operation of the Law.

The attitude to be observed towards a hypothetical claim of harm towards a speculative assertion of unconstitutionality has thus been indicated in another but applicable case (*Chicago Railway* v. *Wellman,* 143 U. S., 339):

> "The silence of the record gives us no information, and we have no knowledge outside thereof, and no suspicion of wrong. Our suggestion only indicates how easily courts may be misled into doing grievous wrong to the public *and how careful they should be not to declare legislative acts unconstitutional upon agreed and general statements, and without the fullest disclosure of all material facts.*" (p. 346.) (Italics Ours.)

The present record wholly fails to show any actual existing loss. The plaintiff merely dolefully predicts loss, and the prediction is based upon a construction of the Act which it does not bear, or upon a gloomy theory of industrial economics which all available experience disproves.

The claim of Children's Hospital, quoted above alleges its inability to conduct the Hospital within its income "along the lines the same as now conducted" (Children's Hospital, R., p. 7, fol. 8) if it "be compelled to pay the said wage fixed by said Board to all of its said employees." But the Act imposes no such compulsion; it does not require the Hospital to increase the wages of these particular women. As we have seen, it only forbids continued employment at less than the fixed minimum

without leave of the Board, the granting of which, upon appropriate request, this Court will presume in absence of a showing to the contrary. (*Gundling* v. *Chicago*, 177 U. S., 183, 186, *supra; Mutual Film Corporation* v. *Industrial Commission*, 236 U. S., 230, 245-6 *supra.*) If the terms of the Act had prevented employers from getting employees on a self-supporting basis, or if the complaint had alleged that it is impossible to find such a supply, we might then have had a case at least of certain deprivation of property in the future, the loss of which equity could forestall in a proper case.

There are two short answers to such a claim. In the first place, the Act in no wise imposes such a restriction, and in the second place, Children's Hospital in no wise alleges that its property will be so affected. The reason it makes no such allegation is that it would thereby call into question the basic assumption of our social structure. For, in effect, it would be tantamount to saying that labor cannot earn its cost,—which means that society cannot be self-supporting, even if human energy is adequately employed and properly directed to productive ends.

POINT V.

The majority opinion of the Court of Appeals erects notions of policy into constitutional prohibitions.

Our argument, thus far, has dealt affirmatively with the clear justification of Congress in passing this Law, and thereby has met the relevant considerations of the opinion of Mr. Justice Van Orsdel. A central fallacy, we submit, envelopes his opinion—its failure to consider the specific Law passed by Congress and the only Law be-

fore the Court with its history, its purposes, its operation. Instead of dealing with *the* Minimum Wage Law for women, called into question, illumined by the facts which gave rise to it and to the experience to which it has given rise, Mr. Justice Van Orsdel considered an abstract and not a judicial question: "The general power of Congress to fix wage contracts between private individuals." (R., 58.) No such "general power" has been exercised by Congress, no such power is here involved. The argument means, in essence, that a specific statute aimed at women's —and, therefore, society's—welfare is to be disregarded because some other statute, *not dealing with women* (which neither Congress nor any State legislature has evinced the slightest intention of passing) would be unconstitutional. That is "pressing the broad words of the Fourteenth Amendment to a drily logical extreme" (*Noble State Bank* v. *Haskell,* 219 U. S., 104, 110) with a vengeance. This error permeates, we submit, the opinion of the two justices who reversed their two colleagues.

Specifically:

I. There is no constitutional prohibition against legislation affecting the wage contract as such.

Mr. Justice Van Orsdel assumes a specific constitutional prohibition against interference with a wage contract. Only such a constitutional provision would make relevant his argument:

> "If Congress may establish a minimum wage for women, it may establish a maximum wage, or it may name a fixed wage. If it may regulate wages for women, it may by the exercise of the same power establish the wages to be paid men. The power of

> Congress to fix wages between private individuals is either constitutional or unconstitutional. There is no leeway for legislative or judicial discretion. A fundamental principle is involved; and it does not lie in the courts to declare a law fixing the wages of women constitutional and a law fixing the wages of men unconstitutional." (R., 58.)

But, of course, this wholly misconceives the scope and limitations of the Constitution. There is no specific prohibition against dealing with the wage contract as such. There is only the guarantee of fair dealing, the satisfaction of "the sense of fairness" of the Due Process Clauses. And, so we find, that the wage contract *has* been interfered with by legislation with the sanction of this Court—legislation which directly affected the money value of the wage contract, operated to the financial advantage of one side and of alleged cost to the other. Payment in cash as against store orders (*Knoxville Iron Co.* v. *Harbison,* 183 U. S., 13); payment on basis of coal mined before being screened (*McLean* v. *Arkansas,* 211 U. S., 539); semi-monthly cash payments (*Erie R. R.* v. *Williams,* 233 U. S., 685)—all these requirements affected money terms, cash value, all involved legislative interferences with wage contracts, all were sustained because each was found a not unreasonable means to safegaurd a public interest. Each case was decided not on any absolutist assumption of immunity of wage contracts from legislative interference but quite the opposite: the concrete circumstances of each case negatived *arbitrary* restraint. So, by the circumstances which give meaning to the Minimum Wage Law for women *it* must be judged. And those circumstances, as Parts First, Second, and Third show, overwhelmingly prove that Congress enacted a reasonable regulation.

II. Congress may and did protect women in industry because they are women. The political equality of woman is an irrelevant factor.

The great fact that this legislation applies solely to women has no relevance for Mr. Justice Van Orsdel. "If it [Congress] may regulate wages for women, it may by the exercise of the same power establish the wages to be paid men" (R., 58). "No reason is apparent why the operation of the law should be extended to women to the exclusion of men, since women have been accorded full equality with men in the commercial and political world. Indeed, this equality in law has been sanctioned by Constitutional amendment . . ." (R., 61). The argument was long ago anticipated and answered, in classic language, by this Court. Men and women remain men and women eternally.

> "Though limitations upon personal and contractual rights may be removed by legislation, there is that in her disposition and habits of life which will operate against a full assertion of those rights. She will still be where some legislation to protect her seems necessary to secure a real equality of right. Doubtless there are individual exceptions, and there are many respects in which she has an advantage over him; but looking at it from the viewpoint of the effort to maintain an independent position in life, she is not upon an equality. Differentiated by these matters from the other sex, she is properly placed in a class by herself, and legislation designed for her protection may be sustained, even when like legislation is not necessary for men and could not be sustained. . . . . Even though all restrictions on political, personal and contractual rights were taken away, and she stood, so far as statutes are concerned, upon an absolutely equal plane it would still . . . . justify legislation to protect her from the greed as

well as the passions of men. The limitations which this statute places upon her contractual powers, upon her right to agree with her employers as to the time she shall labor, are not imposed solely for her benefit, but also largely for the benefit of all. Many words cannot make this plainer." (*Muller* v. *Oregon*, 208 U. S., 412, 422-23, quoted in *Miller* v. *Wilson*, 236 U. S., 373, 380-81; see also the recent decision in *First Wisconsin Nat. Bank* v. *Milwaukee Patent L. Co.*, 190 N. W., 822; Wis. , decided Dec. 5, 1922.)

III. "Adair v. United States" (208 U. S. 161) and "Coppage v. Kansas" (236 U. S. 1) are wholly inapplicable.

The true significance of these cases brings into sharp relief the considerations of public health, morals and general welfare which are the very basis and immediate aims and accomplishment of the Minimum Wage Law for women *and which were not asserted or presented by the statutes involved in the earlier cases.* Their meaning was only recently summarized, by the Justice who wrote for the Court in the Coppage case:

"*Adair* v. *United States*, 208 U. S., 161, 174-175; *Coppage* v. *Kansas*, 236 U. S., 1, 17, dealt with statutes—the former with an Act of Congress making it criminal for a common carrier in interstate commerce to discharge an employee because of his membership in a labor organization; the latter with a state law making it criminal to prescribe as a condition upon which one might secure or retain employment that the employee should agree not to become or remain a member of any labor organization while so employed; and this in the absence of contract between the parties, coercion on the part of the employer, or incapacity or disability on the part of the employee. In accord with an almost unbroken current of authority in the state courts holding stat-

utes of that character to be invalid, this court came to a like conclusion. In the latter case there was a direct interference with freedom in the making of contracts of employment *not asserted to have relation to the public health, safety, morals or general welfare beyond a purpose to favor the employee at the expense of the employer, and to build up the labor organizations,* which we held was not properly an exercise of the police power." (*Prudential Ins. Co. of America* v. *Check,* 259 U. S., ; decided June 5, 1922. Italics ours.)

IV. Neither in reason nor in experience does the Minimum Wage Law for women imply power "to fix the prices of all commodities entering into the determination of an equitable wage." (R., 59).

The contention of the majority opinion is conclusively met by Mr. Chief Justice Smyth:

> "It is argued that in order that a fair minimum wage may be fixed, it is necessary to ascertain the cost of rent, clothes, food, and recreation. Not at all. As well say that a railroad rate can not be determined by the Interstate Commerce Commission until the price of iron, steel, land, coal, clothing, etc., used by the railway has been found. No such course has ever been followed in fixing a railroad rate, nor is it necessary that it should be. The body charged with fixing the rate may assume that the prevailing prices with respect to the other things are reasonable, in the absence of any showing to the contrary." (R., 78.)

V. No basis whatever for claim that "experience has demonstrated that a fixed minimum wage means, in the last analysis, a fixed wage; since the employer, being compelled to advance some to a wage higher than their earning capacity, will, to equalize the cost of operation, lower the wage of the more competent to the common basis." (R., 64).

Whatever "the last analysis" may prove "experience," with all respect to Mr. Justice Van Orsdel, demonstrates just the opposite of what he suggests. The proof is absolutely conclusive and uniform, as a result of long trial under all kinds of circumstances—"good times" and "hard times"—in many jurisdictions.

On all these questions we appeal from "judgment by speculation" to "judgment by experience". (*Tanner* v. *Little,* 240 U. S., 369, 386.) Experience will be classified as follows:

Part First.—The Successful Working of Minimum Wage Legislation.

Part Second.—The Minimum Wage Laws.

Part Third.—The Need for Minimum Wage Legislation in the District of Columbia and Generally in the United States.

FIRST PART.

THE SUCCESSFUL WORKING OF MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION.

1. Unfair Depression of Lowest Wage Levels of Women Workers Lessened or Removed.

Minimum wage legislation has raised the wages of the workers at the bottom of the wage scale. The level attained varies from state to state according to the determination of each wage board or commission upon the facts and after hearing as to the necessary cost of living sufficient to maintain the worker in health.

The evidence is presented by states under the following headings:

(1) Minimum Wage Orders.

(2) Wage Investigations and Minimum Ordered.

(3) Reinvestigations for Compliance with Minimum Ordered.

(4) Peculiar Local Experience.

District of Columbia.

(1) Minimum Wage Orders. [Summarized.]

No. 2. *Printing, Publishing and Allied Industries.* Effective August 13, 1919. Experienced females, $15.50. Learners: 3 months at $8, 3 months at $9, 3 months at $11, 3 months at $12.

No. 3. *Mercantile Industry.* Effective October 28, 1919. Experienced females, $16.50. Learners: 3 months at $12.50, 4 months at $14.50. Minors (under 18): 4 months at $10, 4 months at $11.50, 4 months at $13, 6 months at $14.50, thereafter $16.

No. 4. *Hotel, Restaurant and Allied Industries.* Effective May 26, 1920. Any female, 34½ cents per hour, $16.50 per week, or $71.50 per month. Deductions permitted: for bona fide meals, 30 cents, for lodging, $2 per week. (Tips are not legal wages.) (Nurses in training are not included.)

No. 5. *Laundry and Dry Cleaning Industry.* Effective March 19, 1921. Experienced females, $15. Learners, 2 months at $9, 2 months at $11, 2 months at $13.

(2) Wage Investigations and Minimum Wages Ordered.

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. A Study of the Work and Wages of Women in Printing, Publishing and Allied Trades in the District of Columbia. January, 1919.

There were approximately 45 commercial and 5 non-commercial printing, publishing, bookbinding, engraving, lithographing, multigraphing and duplicating firms in the District of Columbia employing women during the month of January, 1919. (Page 1.)

	Wages of 318 Women Employed in 36 Job Printing and Publishing Plants in the District of Columbia				Official Minimum Wage Based on the Cost of Living*
	Rate (Cumulative)		Earnings (Cumulative)		
	No.	Percent.	No.	Percent.	
Less than $ 6	0	0	42	13.2	
Less than $ 9	24	7.6	89	28	
Less than $11	96	30.2	150	47.2	
Less than $13	195	61.3	219	69	$15.50
Less than $15	218	68.6	247	77.7	Aug. 13, 1919
Less than $16	282	88.7	281	88.4	
$16 and over	36	11.3	37	11.6	
Total	318		318		

This disparity between rates and earnings was due in some cases to bad time-keeping on the part of the workers, in other cases to sickness, and in still others to irregularity of employment. (Page 2.)

*See Order No. 2, June 13, 1919, for additional rates for learners.

Ordinarily the printing trade is seasonal in character, but during the past year almost all plants were running at more than full capacity. There was work for all who were willing to take the wages offered.

The difference between rates and earnings, therefore, was largely due to illness or bad time-keeping. In either case it is worthy of study. In so far as illness is due to lack of nourishment or proper clothing and shelter, an adequate living wage would reduce this factor of irregularity in attendance and make for greater efficiency. Bad time-keeping has often been traced to inefficiency in management and to low wages. The wage data in possession of the Board are insufficient to draw conclusions therefrom as to the correlation between low wages and irregularity of employment. (Page 3.)

United States. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. Wages of Women and Minors in the Mercantile Industry in the District of Columbia. June, 1919.

Women Employees in 109 Mercantile Establishments Receiving Each Classified Weekly Rate or Under, by Kind of Establishment. (Cumulative Per Cent.)

Kind of Establishment	No. Investigated	Percent. of Women with Rates of—									Official Minimum Wage Based on the Cost of Living*
		$8 and under	$9 and under	$10 and under	$11 and under	$12 and under	$13 and under	$14 and under	$15 and under	$16 and over	
Department stores	3,190	12.2	17.0	31.7	33.9	58.2	61.1	67.8	79.6	20.4	
5, 10 and 15 cent stores	254	7.9	21.7	50.4	58.3	81.1	83.7	85.8	94.1	5.9	
Millinery stores	67	7.5	7.5	14.9	16.4	23.9	23.9	26.9	49.3	50.7	
Dry goods stores	24	.....	.....	29.2	45.8	62.5	62.5	66.7	87.5	12.5	$16.50
Ladies' specialty stores	631	3.5	8.1	13.8	15.5	28.8	32.2	36.9	59.9	40.1	Oct. 28, 1919
Fruit and grocery stores	73	.....	.....	1.4	2.7	5.5	5.5	8.2	31.5	68.5	
Miscellaneous stores	370	4.1	7.0	14.3	15.4	27.0	28.6	34.6	51.6	48.4	
Total	4,609	9.8	14.7	28.2	30.6	51.6	54.3	60.4	74.3	25.7	

A comparison of the wage rates (compiled from Tables 2 and 3) (Pages 193-4) brings out some interesting facts. In 5, 10, and 15 cent stores 81.1 per cent of the

*See Order No. 3, August 29, 1919, and Supplement to Order No. 3, October 14, 1919, for additional rates set for apprentices and minors.

women employed had a weekly rate of $12 and under and only 5.9 per cent a rate of $16 or over. In department stores 58.2 per cent had rates of $12 and under and 20.4 per cent rates of $16 or over. In contrast 40.1 per cent of the women employed by the ladies' specialty stores were receiving $16 or over per week and 63.1 per cent were receiving $15 or over. In the millinery establishments one-half of the woman employees received $16 and over per week and almost 75 per cent $15 and over. The seasonal character of the millinery trade must, however, be considered in connection with these wage figures. No woman employed in fruit and grocery stores received less than $10 per week and 68.5 per cent received $16 and over. In miscellaneous establishments almost 50 per cent of the women had rates of $16 or over. These rates in fruit and grocery and miscellaneous stores were due in large measure to the preponderance of office employees, a more highly paid group of workers. (Page 194.)

Woman Employees in 109 Mercantile Establishments Receiving Each Classified Weekly Rate or Under, by Occupation. (Cumulative Per Cent.)

Occupation	No. Investigated	Percent. of Women with Rates of—									Official Minimum Wages Based on the Cost of Living*
		$8 and under	$9 and under	$10 and under	$11 and under	$12 and under	$13 and under	$14 and under	$15 and under	$16 and over	
Saleswomen	2,471	2.3	6.6	22.9	25.3	52.2	54.6	61.0	74.6	25.4	
Office employees	810	1.5	2.2	9.4	10.6	26.8	30.7	38.6	54.3	45.7	
Alteration workroom employees	346	.....	1.4	8.1	9.0	29.8	33.5	42.5	73.1	26.9	
Millinery workroom employees	85	9.4	10.6	15.3	18.8	29.4	30.6	31.8	58.8	41.2	$16.50 Oct. 28, 1919
Miscellaneous employees—white	481	31.2	38.3	57.0	61.1	72.6	74.0	78.4	87.5	12.5	
Miscellaneous employees—colored	416	53.8	71.6	82.2	85.8	95.0	97.6	99.0	99.8	.2	
Total	4,609	9.8	14.7	28.2	30.6	51.6	54.3	60.4	74.3	25.7	

(Compiled.) (Pages 195-196.)

From the data it is evident that approximately 50 per cent of all saleswomen, as contrasted with 26.8 per cent of

* See Order No. 3, August 29, 1919, and Supplement to Order No. 3, October 14, 1919, for additional rates set for apprentices and minors.

the office employees, received $12 or under per week. In the group $16 and over the percentages were 25.4 per cent for saleswomen and 45.7 per cent for office employees. The weekly rates for millinery workroom employees fell a little below those for office employees, 29.4 per cent receiving $12 and under and 41.2 per cent $16 and over. The comparatively large proportion of employees in millinery workrooms receiving $8 or under per week may be explained by the low rates paid to apprentices or learners. None of the alteration workroom employees had rates of less than $9 per week; one-fourth received $16 or over; and a majority of the remainder received either $12 or $15 per week. Rates received by miscellaneous employees fell considerably below the rates received in the specified occupations, 57 per cent of the whites and 82.2 per cent of the colored receiving $10 or under per week. (Page 195.)

This survey of the wages paid in the mercantile industry may be summarized as follows: One-half of all women employed in this industry were receiving $12 or less per week. This large proportion of low-paid workers was not made up of unskilled employees alone, for 54 per cent of them were saleswomen. It is obvious that a wage of $12 is far below that required by a self-supporting woman to meet the necessary cost of living and to maintain herself in health and comfort. (Page 205.)

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Bulletin No. 3. Wages of Women in Hotels and Restaurants in the District of Columbia. October 10, 1919.

Before proceeding to an analysis of the wage situation three important characteristics of the hotel and restaurant industry should be noted: the excessive labor turnover; the practice of tipping; and the prevalence of forms of compensation other than money wages. (Page 4.)

It was found that the only group who received an appreciable amount in tips—the waitresses in restaurants—received much higher wages than did the groups

who were not in a position to augment their earnings by this method. In general, it may be said that the low wages of women prevailing in hotels and restaurants in the District are not offset by tips. (Page 5.)

In order to ascertain the wages actually received by these women, some estimate must be made of the value of this additional compensation. The minimum cost of room and board for a self-supporting woman in the District of Columbia was estimated by the Conference on the Printing and Publishing Industries as $9 per week, by the Mercantile Conference as $9.30 per week.

Computing the cost of board as two-thirds of the total for room and board, $6 is arrived at as the approximate minimum expenditure for this item. (Page 6.)

We have attempted to show in the foregoing analysis that the value to the employee of the room or board or both tendered by the employer in lieu of wages is not so great as that placed upon these necessities by the conferences, namely $9 and $9.30 a week. We have also shown that the cost of these items to the employer measured by the charge made employees for the same was considerably less than $9 a week. The question arises which is to determine the allowance made for these accommodations, the value to the employee or the cost to the employer. (Pages 7-8.)

Therefore, although in this case the facts show these figures to be too high, to avoid all questions of having minimized the cost to the employer or the value to the employee of the extra compensation received by the women concerned we have allowed the full weekly amounts of $9 for room and board and $6 for three meals per working day and a proportionate amount where less than three meals per day were received. Thus in this report a weekly wage of $7 in addition to room and board, of $10 in addition to three meals per working day, of $12 in addition to two meals per working day, of $14 in addition to one meal per working day is considered equivalent to a $16 straight money wage. (Page 8.)

Table III. Number and Per Cent of Women Employees in Hotels and Restaurants Receiving Each Classified Weekly Rate, by Compensation Received per Working Day in Addition to Wages.

Number

Compensation in Addition to Wages	Women Employees with Rates of—												Official Minimum Wage Based on the Cost of Living*
	Under $7	$7 and under $8	$8 and under $9	$9 and under $10	$10 and under $11	$11 and under $12	$12 and under $13	$13 and under $14	$14 and under $15	$15 and under $16	$16 and Over	Total	
Room and three meals	86	4	11	10	5	3	1	7	.....	1	10	138	
Three meals	213	55	195	228	219	60	238	44	70	49	68	1439	
Two meals	42	26	44	14	10	16	23	5	5	2	9	196	
One meal	26	5	11	2	1	2	.....	.....	1	1	7	56	
Nothing	20	8	59	172	25	11	4	17	.....	6	56	380	
Total	387	98	320	426	260	92	266	73	76	61	150	2209	
Percent. (Cumulative)													$16.50 May 26, 1920
Room and three meals	62.3	65.2	73.2	80.5	84.1	86.3	87.0	92.1	92.1	92.8	7.2	100	
Three meals	14.8	18.6	32.2	48.0	63.2	67.4	83.9	87.0	91.9	95.3	4.7	100	
Two meals	21.4	34.7	57.1	64.2	69.3	77.5	89.2	91.8	94.4	95.4	4.6	100	
One meal	46.4	55.3	74.9	78.5	80.3	83.9	83.9	83.9	85.7	87.5	12.5	100	
Nothing	5.3	7.4	22.9	68.1	74.7	77.6	78.7	83.2	83.2	85.3	14.7	100	
Total	17.5	21.9	36.4	55.7	67.5	71.7	83.7	87.0	90.4	93.2	6.8	100	

(Computed.) (Page 9.)

Using the estimates of the value of room and board which we have accepted as a working basis, we find from these figures that 1300, or 58 per cent, of the 2209 women for whom wage data were obtained were receiving less than $16 or its equivalent per week. A general average in this instance tends to conceal the real wage situation. A classification according to type of establishment gives a much clearer picture of the facts. Of the women employed in the industry, 72.2 per cent in hotels, 42.6 per cent in restaurants, 82.3 per cent in hospitals and 100 per cent [fourteen employees] in apartment houses were receiving less than $16 a week or its equivalent.

*See Order No. 4, March 26, 1920, for value of other compensation than wages.

In the general average the higher rates prevailing in restaurants offset the lower rates in hotels and hospitals. The apartment house employees included in this study were too few in number to affect the general figures.

A further analysis of Table III reveals striking differences between the wages of those receiving a straight money wage and of those receiving a money wage supplemented by other forms of compensation. Considering the 2,209 women as a whole, we find that those who received only a money wage were the poorest paid, 85.3 per cent of them receiving less than $16 per week. On the other hand, the best paid women were those in the three-meal group, only 48 per cent of them receiving less than the $10 which, when board is provided, we have considered as equivalent to $16 per week. The women receiving both room and board were about halfway between these two groups, 62.3 per cent being paid less than $7 per week, the figure estimated as the equivalent of a $16 money wage. This difference between the real wages of the group receiving only a money wage and of the group receiving additional compensation in the form of meals cannot be accounted for on an occupational basis, for it applies within each occupation as well as to the whole industry. The explanation seems to be that allowances made for additional compensation in this study were greater than those made by employers in their own calculations. (Pages 9-10.)

Using as a base the assumption that a wage of less than $7 a week in addition to room and board, of less than $10 a week in addition to three meals a day, and of less than $16 a week with no other compensation is insufficient to secure the necessities of life to a self-supporting woman in the District of Columbia, an analysis by occupation shows that approximately 5 per cent of the housekeepers, 40 per cent of the linen room girls, 90 per cent of the maids, 91 per cent of the cleaners, 96 per cent of the dishwashers and general pantry girls, 94 per cent of the kitchen girls, 31 per cent of the pantry servers, 72 per cent of the waitresses, 3 per cent of the

office employees, 35 per cent of the telephone operators, 96 per cent of the elevator operators, and 59 per cent of the miscellaneous employees were receiving less than a living wage. (Pages 16-17.)

An analysis by occupation shows that in the restaurant business approximately 21 per cent of the waitresses, 46 per cent of the counter girls, 78 per cent of the bus girls, 14 per cent of the cashiers and checkers, 56 per cent of the pantry girls, 75 per cent of the dishwashers, 11 per cent of the cooks, 76 per cent of the kitchen girls, and 46 per cent of the miscellaneous employees were receiving less than a living wage.

As was stated at the beginning of this report, hospitals have been classed with hotels and restaurants, because the women employed in hospitals, exclusive of the nurses, perform work very similar to that performed by women employed in hotels. This may readily be seen from the following occupational grouping of the 130 women employed in three hospitals. (Page 21.)

The wage situation in these hospitals, as shown in Table XII, is even worse than that found in hotels. Over half, 54.1 per cent, of the women receiving room and board were paid less than $7 a week, and of those receiving board alone 96.7 per cent were paid less than $10 a week. (Page 21-22.)

Table XII. Number and Per Cent of Women Employees in Hospitals Receiving Each Classified Weekly Rate, by Compensation Received Per Working Day in Addition to Wages.

Number.

Compensation in Addition to Wages	Women with Rates of—												Official Minimum Wage Based on the Cost of Living*
	Under $7	$7 and under $8	$8 and under $9	$9 and under $10	$10 and under $11	$11 and under $12	$12 and under $13	$13 and under $14	$14 and under $15	$15 and under $16	$16 and Over	Total	
Room and three meals	30	.....	2	5	3	2	.....	1	.....	.....	4	37	
Three meals	68	11	7	1	2	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	90	
One meal	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	3	
Total	88	11	9	6	5	2	.....	2	.....	.....	7	130	
	Percent. (Cumulative)												$16.50 May 26, 1920
Room and three meals	54.1	54.1	59.5	73.0	81.1	86.5	86.5	89.2	89.2	89.2	10.8	100	
Three meals	75.6	87.8	95.6	98.7	93.9	98.9	98.9	100	100	100	100	100	
One meal	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100	100	
Total	67.7	76.2	83.1	87.7	91.6	93.1	93.1	94.6	94.6	94.6	5.4	100	

(Computed.) (Page 22.)

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Wages of Women in Laundries and Dyeing and Cleaning Establishments in the District of Columbia. April 19, 1920.

Per cent of women with rate of (Cumulative)—

Type of Establishment	No. Investigated	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	Under $13	Under $14	Under $15	Under $16	$16 and Over	Official Minimum Wages Based on the Cost of Living**
Steam Laundries	1116	28.8	53.4	71.1	75.5	81.7	83.0	85.2	89.1	10.9	$15
Hand Laundries	15	33.4	53.4	53.4	66.7	80.0	80.0	80.0	93.3	6.7	March 19, 1921
Dyeing and Cleaning Establishments	59	1.7	5.1	8.5	8.5	22.1	22.1	32.3	40.7	59.3	

(Computed.) (Pages 1, 2.)

*See Order No. 4. March 26, 1920, for value of other compensation than wages.

**See Order No. 5. March 19, 1921, for value of other compensation than wages.

Of the 1190 women 328 or 27.6 per cent were rated at less than $9 a week, 608 or 51.2 per cent at less than $10 a week, 808 or 68 per cent at less than $11 a week, and 1032 or 86.7 per cent at less than $16 a week. Since 94 per cent of the women in these industries were employed in steam laundries special emphasis will be placed upon this branch of the industry. (Page 2.)

(3) Reinvestigations for Compliance with Minimum Ordered.

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Second Annual Report. December 31, 1919.

The two wage orders promulgated by the Board have been in effect such a short time that it is not possible to give a comprehensive statement as to the results of minimum wage legislation in the District. Some immediate effects are of course apparent and even at this early date it may be permissible to draw certain tentative conclusions as to results. (Page 25.)

In the first place pay roll data prove conclusively that there has been a marked increase in the wages paid women and minors in the industries in which wage orders have been established. In the printing, publishing, and allied industries in January, 1919, 62.3 per cent of the women employed received less than $15.50 a week. Figures for these same establishments for the first week in which the order was effective showed that 11.2 per cent were rated at less than $15.50. Similar data for the mercantile industry show that at the time of the original wage investigation, February to March, 1919, 74.3 per cent of the women and minors employed were rated at less than $16 a week. For the first week in November, 1919, the percentage receiving less than $16.50 a week was 24.4 per cent.

A comparison of the rates prevailing in particular groups of establishments under the old and new conditions shows in more detail the actual effects of the wage order. In 36 commercial printing and publishing estab-

lishments in January, 1919, 83.3 per cent of the women employed were receiving less than $15.50 as compared with 23.5 per cent after the minimum rate was set for these industries.

Out of a total of 3,190 women and minors employed in 7 leading department stores in February and March, 1919, 2,538, or 79.6 per cent, were rated at less than $16 a week, and 652, or 20.4 per cent, at $16 and over. In these stores on October 28, 1919, the date when the order became effective, 3,260 women and minors were employed, 1,021, or 31.3 per cent, at rates above $16.50, 1,397, or 42.9 per cent, at the rate of $16.50, and 842, or 25.8 per cent, at rates less than $16.50. The effect of the order was thus to reverse completely the percentage above and below $16.

In the 5 and 10 cent stores the percentage of women and minors employed at less than $16 a week decreased as a result of the order from 93.8 per cent to 45 per cent. Although these figures show a substantial increase in wages, nevertheless the proportion of workers receiving less than the minimum rate is abnormally high. The Board is giving this matter consideration at the present time, and it may be found necessary to limit the proportion of learners allowed in any one establishment, as was done in the printing, publishing, and allied industries. In these industries a large number of the women employed do unskilled work, requiring not more than a week or two to learn. Fearing that these jobs would all be filled by inexperienced workers who would be discharged after the year's learning period, thus in effect nullifying the minimum wage order, the Board limited the proportion of learners to be allowed in any one establishment to one-fifth of the total number of women employed. This has prevented any widespread abuse of the privilege of employing learners at a lower rate. Events have proved that the Board was justified in its action in these industries.

In the mercantile industry the Board considered placing a similar limitation on the employment of learners. It feared that the 5 and 10 cent and other cheap stores

would tend to utilize a very large proportion of these workers who could be obtained at less than the minimum wage.

The merchants objected strenuously to any such limitation. They declared that in a store experienced workers were always preferred to inexperienced and were always employed when obtainable. They affirmed that any limitation would work a great hardship and would necessitate an added expense in bookkeeping. The pressure of public opinion would be sufficient they stated to keep recalcitrant employers in line. After considerable discussion the Board agreed that no limitation would be set at that time but that if future events justified such action it would not hesitate to amend the mercantile order so as to limit the proportion of learners allowed in a given establishment. (Pages 25-26.)

An indirect effect of the minimum rates so far established has been to raise the wages of women in other industries. It is particularly interesting to note that new firms just beginning in other lines of business have recognized the minimum wage set for the mercantile industry. They have found that if they are to attract competent workers they can not pay less than $16.50, the rate established as the minimum for approximately half of the women in private employ in the district. (Page 27.)

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Third Annual Report. December 31, 1920.

Increase in Wages.

The primary purpose of a minimum wage law is to lift up the low end of the wage scale to the minimum cost of living, i. e., to increase wages. Pay-roll data prove conclusively that the orders enacted in the District have served this purpose. To make the low end of the wage scale conform with the cost of living the establishment of a minimum wage has necessitated in each industry an immediate increase in the wages of the women employed. This immediate increase has been followed by a more gradual increase as the industry adjusts itself to new

conditions.[2] In our annual report for 1919 we pointed out the increase in wages which took place as a result of our orders in the printing and publishing industries and in the mercantile industry. Roughly speaking, the immediate average increase in wages was $3.50 per week for women employed in the printing trades and $4.50 per week for women employed in stores. A comparison of the pay-roll data for a representative group of establishments employing a majority of the women in each of these industries immediately after the order went into effect and at certain specified periods thereafter show that since the initial increase in wages took place there has been a gradual upward trend in wage rates. The figures are given in the following tables:

Table IV. Number and Per Cent of Women Employed in 14 Printing Plants Above, At and Below the Minimum Weekly Wage Rate at Certain Specified Dates.

Number.

Date.	Woman employees whose weekly rates of wages were—			Total.
	Above the minimum.	The minimum ($15.50).	Below the minimum.	
August, 1919	71	123	79	273
March, 1920	96	118	31	245
November, 1920	139	30	13	182

Per Cent.

August, 1919	25.9	45.0	29.1	100
March, 1920	39.2	48.2	12.6	100
November, 1920	76.4	16.5	7.1	100

[2] In the section on effects the word "women" is used to cover all persons coming under the provisions of the orders.

Table V. Number and Per Cent of Women Employed in Seven Department Stores Above, At, and Below the Minimum Weekly Wage Rate at Certain Specified Dates.

Number.

Date.	Woman employees whose weekly rates of wages were—			Total.
	Above the minimum.	The minimum ($16.50).	Below the minimum.	
November, 1919	1,021	1,397	842	3,260
March, 1920	1,100	1,326	550	2,976
November, 1920	1,267	1,249	498	3,014

Per Cent.

November, 1919	31.3	42.9	25.8	100
March, 1920	37.0	44.5	18.5	100
November, 1920	42.0	41.5	16.5	100

Figures in both these tables show an increase in the percentage of women rated above the minimum and a decrease in the percentage rated below the minimum; i. e., as learners. From August, 1919, to November, 1920, the percentage of women in the printing trades receiving more than the minimum wage increased from 26 to 76 per cent, while during this same period the percentage of learners decreased from 29 to 7 per cent. To the woman workers themselves is due most of the credit for the increase in wages shown since March, 1920. Through their union they obtained by agreement with the employers a minimum wage of $20 per week for bindery workers with two years' experience. Of the women employed in department stores the percentage rated above the minimum wage of $16.50 increased during the year from 31 to 42 per cent, while the percentage of learners dropped from 26 to 17 per cent. Since in the mercantile industry the proportion of learners allowed in any one establishment is not limited by the order but merely by an informal agreement, the latter figures are particularly gratifying. They indicate clearly that the merchants do

appreciate the value of trained workers and have no desire to fill up their stores with learners.

Not only the department stores recognize this principle; the corresponding figures for the seven largest 5 and 10 cent stores show equally encouraging results. Where a year ago 45 per cent of the woman workers were rated as learners and paid less than the minimum, now we find 27 per cent. At the same time the percentage receiving more than the minimum increased from 13 to 23 per cent. To realize fully what the present wage situation in 5 and 10 cent stores means it should be pointed out that in these same stores before the establishment of a minimum wage one-half of the women employed were getting $10 or less per week, and the average weekly wage was $11.40 per week. In November, 1920, the average wage was $16.25 per week, an increase of 43 per cent.

The wage order covering the hotel, restaurant, and allied industries became effective May 26, 1920. An immediate increase in wages took place, but because of a difference between the allowance made for room and board in the original wage study and in the wage order and because of the development of part-time work it is difficult to determine or even estimate its amount. However, figures available do indicate clearly a marked improvement in the wage situation as a result of our order.

In the summer of 1919, 72 per cent of the women employed in a large group of representative hotels were receiving less than $16 per week. This was on the basis of an allowance of $6 for food and $3 for room where such accommodations were furnished by the employer in lieu of wages.

Table VI shows the rates of wages and actual wages of women employed in two representative groups of hotels in June and December, 1920. The establishments included are not identical for the two periods, hence no comparison of the absolute figures is valid. The distinction made between rates of wages and actual wages is rendered necessary by the prevalence of part-time employment in hotels. Large numbers of women were rated at $16.50, but actually received less because their work-

ing week was less than 48 hours. The figures in this table include an allowance of $6.30 for meals and $2 for room where such were provided.

Table VI. Number and Per Cent of Women Employed in Hotels at Certain Periods Whose Rates of Wages and Actual Wages Were Less Than, At, or Above the Minimum.

Number.

	June, 1920.				December, 1920.			
	Less than $16.50.	$16.50.	Above $16.50.	Total.	Less than $16.50.	$16.50.	Above $16 .50.	Total.
Number of woman employees whose rates of wages were	.....	543	288	831	.. ..	685	399	1,084
Number of woman employees whose actual wages were	457	134	240	831	224	502	358	1,084

Per Cent.

Per cent of woman employees whose rates of wages were	.....	65.3	34.7	100	.....	63.2	36.8	100
Per cent of woman employees whose actual wages were	55.0	16.1	28.9	100	48.3	20.7	33.0	100

As compared with 72 per cent in the summer of 1919 receiving less than $16 per week, we find that immediately after the passage of our order 55 per cent of the women employed in hotels received less than $16.50. By December, 1920, this percentage had dropped to 46 per cent. Strictly speaking, the percentages receiving less than the minimum wage in June and December, 1920, are not comparable with the percentages receiving less than $16 in the summer of 1919. Not only was there a difference in the index figure used—i. e., $16.50 instead of $16 and in the allowance made for room and board in the two instances, but in addition the figures for the later dates represent payment for part-time work whereas the figures for the previous year were for full-time work. If a direct comparison were possible a still greater increase in wages would be shown as the result of the minimum wage.

In compliance with our order, all women employed in hotels after May 26 were rated at $16.50 or more per week. Therefore every person whose actual wage was less than $16.50 per week or its equivalent was employed for less than 48 hours. In other words, using the figures given in Table VI, 55 per cent of the women employed in hotels in June, 1920, and 46 per cent of those employed in December, 1920, were working on a part-time basis. An analysis of the number of working hours of these women indicates the nature of this part-time employment. Of the 1,084 women employed in hotels in December, 1920, 20, or 2 per cent, worked less than 30 hours per week; 195, or 18 per cent, from 30 to 36 hours per week; 35, or 3 per cent, from 36 to 42 hours per week; 252, or 23 per cent, from 42 to 48 hours per week; and 582, or 54 per cent, 48 hours per week. The great proportion of the part-time workers fall into the two-hour groups containing 35 and 42. This may be accounted for by the fact that most of the women working on a part-time basis were maids and cleaners, who were found to be regularly employed for 7 days per week, 5 or 6 hours per day, thus 35 or 42 hours per week.

When we made our initial wage investigation in the summer of 1919 we found practically no women in the hotel industry working less than 48 hours per week. The usual schedule for maids and cleaners was seven hours six days a week and six hours on Sunday. The existence of part-time work is therefore directly attributable to the minimum wage. It represents a desire on the part of the employer to cut his wage bill by employing workers wherever possible for less than 48 hours per week and paying them at the minimum hourly rate for the actual number of hours worked. Because they are employed on a part-time basis, many of the women in the hotels, especially in the housekeeping department, do not receive the full $16.50 per week or $71.50 per month. But even when paid at the minimum hourly rate for the number of hours worked their total earnings are now appreciably more for the shorter workday than they were for a full workday before the establishment of a minimum wage.

Previous to the enactment of our order the most common monthly ratings for maids and cleaners were $35 and $40 without meals for 48 hours' work per week. The maids and cleaners who were put on a part-time basis are now being paid $52.35 per month for 35 hours of work per week, or $62.79 per month for 42 hours work per week. They not only have more leisure in which to make their clothes and supplement their earnings but in addition they have received an actual wage increase varying from 31 to 79 per cent. Not all maids and cleaners were put on a part-time basis. In a number of the larger hotels and in some of the smaller ones they are receiving the full $71.50 per month or its equivalent.

It may be interesting to note the effect of the establishment of a minimum wage in hotels on the "living-in" system. This custom of providing room and meals to employees in lieu of wages has gradually been dying out as the result of constant attacks by labor organizations and social workers. The hotel and restaurant conference recognized that if the allowance fixed for room and board were high enough to make it profitable for the employer to board and room his employees, new life and impetus might be given to this system. It was the aim of the conference to avert such a possibility. From payroll figures recently procured we may conclude that it was successful. The maximum charge of $6.30 for board and $2 for room per week recommended by the conference and adopted by the board has not tended to increase the amount of "living-in." Ten per cent of the women employed in hotels in the summer of 1919 were getting their rooms in lieu of wages and exactly the same percentage were receiving such accommodations in December, 1920. In other words, our order did not affect the situation one way or the other. However, in the same period there was a falling off in the percentage receiving one or more meals from 63 to 51 per cent. This is in accordance with the wishes of the woman workers who prefer to get their meals outside of the establishment where they are employed.

In the restaurants as in the hotels any attempt to

estimate the immediate wage increase due to the establishment of the minimum wage is complicated by the prevalence of part-time employment and by the difference in the allowance made for room and board in the original wage study and in the wage order. When, in the summer of 1919, we made our initial investigation of the wages paid woman restaurant workers, pay-roll records showed that 43 per cent of the 1,055 women employed in 135 restaurants were receiving less than $16 per week or its equivalent. The wage rates and actual wages of women employed in representative groups of restaurants in June and December, 1920, are shown in Table VII. Since the establishments included in the two groups are not identical no comparison of the absolute figures is valid. As in the table for hotels, the distinction between rates of wages and actual wages is necessitated by the prevalence of part-time employment.

Table VII. Number and Per Cent of Women Employed in Restaurants at Certain Periods Whose Rates of Wages and Actual Wages Were Below, At, and Above the Minimum.

Number.

	June, 1920.				December, 1920.			
	Below the minimum.	The minimum ($16.50).	Above the minimum.	Total.	Below the minimum.	The minimum ($16.50).	Above the minimum.	Total.
Number of woman employees whose rates of wages were	.....	780	686	1,466	.....	486	698	1,184
Number of woman employees whose actual wages were	505	449	512	1,466	393	267	524	1,184

Per Cent.

Number of woman employees whose rates of wages were	.....	53.2	46.8	100	.....	41.0	59.0	100
Number of woman employees whose actual wages were	34.5	30.6	34.9	100	33.2	22.5	44.3	100

For the same reasons as were given for hotels, the wage figures presented above are not strictly comparable

with the figures of the preliminary wage investigation. Roughly speaking, they show that the percentage of women receiving less than $16 or $16.50 decreased from 43 per cent to 33 per cent. Here again we must explain that all the women employed in restaurants were rated at $16.50 or more per week and that the one-third receiving less than that figure were working less than the full 48 hours. The existence of this part-time work in the restaurants unlike that in the hotels can not be attributed wholly to the establishment of a minimum wage. Part-time work was common in restaurants before our order took effect. A number of lunch rooms catering to Government employees served only the noon meal and therefore did not require the services of their employees for the full eight hours per day. In addition other restaurants employed cashiers and dishwashers through the rush periods only. It is important to note that in spite of this substantial proportion of women employed less than full time these figures show 44 per cent of the women employed in restaurants to be actually receiving more than the minimum wage. This indicates a level of wages for the restaurant industry which compares favorably with that in other industries covered by minimum wage orders.

In summary, it may be said that pay-roll data for the three groups of industries operating under minimum wage orders show an immediate increase in wages due to the application of the orders and a further gradual increase in the proportion receiving more than the minimum, with a corresponding decrease in the proportion receiving less than the minimum. (Pages 25-30.)

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Fourth Annual Report. December 31, 1921.

Increase in Wages.

The primary result of a minimum-wage order is presumably an increase in the wages paid. The extent of increase following our orders is shown in the following pages.

(*a*) *In the printing and publishing industry.*—Tables V, VI, and VII show the wage increases which have taken place in the printing and publishing industry, since the application of the wage order. In this industry the wage set was $15.50 after a learning period of a year; the order covers women and minor girls. Table V shows the wage situation in 36 identical printing and publishing plants before the wage rate was set, immediately thereafter and approximately two years thereafter. These 36 establishments include practically all the commercial printing and publishing plants which employ women in any numbers and are therefore thoroughly representative of the industry.

[See page 32 for table which also includes the 1922 figures.]

This table shows how great a wage increase followed the minimum-wage order. Prior to its introduction 67 per cent of the women and minor girls in these plants were receiving less than $15 per week. Immediately after it took effect this proportion had dropped to 23 per cent; two years later to 5 per cent. Meanwhile the proportion receiving $16 and over—i. e., more than the $15.50 minimum wage—rose from 17 per cent before the order was issued, to 30 per cent immediately thereafter, and to 72 per cent two years later.

Table VI shows the same tendency in more detail as exemplified in the 14 out of these 36 plants which employ the large proportion of the women. Here we see clearly a steady increase in the percentage getting above the minimum and a steady drop in the percentage employed as learners.

Table VI. Number and Per Cent of Female Employees in 14 Identical Printing Establishments Below, At, and Above the Minimum Weekly Wage Rate at Certain Specified Periods.

Number.

Date	Female employees whose weekly rate of wages were— Below the minimum.	The minimum ($15.50)	Above the minimum.	Total.
August, 1919	79	123	71	273
March, 1920	31	118	96	245
December, 1920	13	30	139	182
October, 1921	10	39	159	208
Per Cent.				
August, 1919	29.1	45.0	25.9	100
March, 1920	12.6	48.2	39.2	100
December, 1920	7.1	16.5	76.4	100
October, 1921	4.8	18.8	76.4	100

Table VII gives a similar comparison of wage rates in 5 noncommercial publishing houses. Since the original wage conditions were better than in the commercial plants the increase is less marked. However, the percentage receiving $16 and over increased from 54 to 90 per cent in the two and one-half years.

(*b*) *In the mercantile industry.*—Tables VIII to XV show similar wage increases in the mercantile industry. The minimum wage in this industry is $16.50 after a learning period of seven months for adults and a longer period for minors (both boys and girls), varying with their age at starting work. Tables VIII to XII show a comparison of wage conditions in the 102 identical mercantile establishments prior to the establishment of a minimum wage and from one and a half to two years after. In Table VIII this comparison is made for the whole 102 establishments; in Tables IX to XII they are divided into various classes, department stores, 5 and 10 cent stores, ladies' specialty stores, and other miscellaneous stores.

Table X. Number and Per Cent of Women and Minors Employed in 11 Identical 5 and 10 Cent Stores Receiving Each Weekly Rate at Two Specified Periods.

Number.

Date.	Woman and minor employees whose weekly rates of wages were—										Total.
	Under $9	$9 and under $10	$10 and under $11	$11 and under $12	$12 and under $13	$13 and under $14	$14 and under $15	$15 and under $16	$16 and under $17	$17 and over.	
February and March, 1919	20	35	73	20	58	4	8	21	2	13	254
March to August, 1921	.....	.....	19	2	17	5	19	1	129	55	247

Per Cent.

February and March, 1919	7.9	13.8	28.7	7.9	22.8	1.6	3.1	8.3	0.8	5.1	100
March to August, 1921	.....	.....	7.7	.8	6.9	2.0	7.7	.4	52.2	22.3	100

Table XI.—Number and Per Cent of Women and Minors Employed in 23 Identical Ladies' Specialty Stores Receiving Each Classified Weekly Rate at Two Specified Periods.

Number.

Date.	Woman and minor employees whose weekly rates of wages were—										Total.
	Under $9	$9 and under $10	$10 and under $11	$11 and under $12	$12 and under $13	$13 and under $14	$14 and under $15	$15 and under $16	$16 and under $17	$17 and over.	
February and March, 1919	21	29	34	11	81	20	30	137	22	222	607
March to August, 1921	.....	.....	3	.....	6	.....	9	1	151	435	605

Per Cent.

February and March, 1919	3.5	4.8	5.6	1.8	13.3	3.3	4.9	22.6	3.6	36.6	100
March to August, 1921	.....	.....	.5	.....	1.0	.....	1.5	.1	25.0	71.9	100

Table XII.—Number and Per Cent of Women and Minors Employed in 61 Identical Miscellaneous Mercantile Establishments Receiving Each Classified Weekly Rate at Two Specified Periods.

Number.

Date.	Woman and minor employees whose weekly rates of wages were—										Total.
	Under $9	$9 and under $10	$10 and under $11	$11 and under $12	$12 and under $13	$13 and under $14	$14 and under $15	$15 and under $16	$16 and under $17	$17 and over.	
February and March, 1919	20	11	40	9	48	5	24	97	29	223	508
March to August, 1921	.....	.....	3	.....	4	2	5	2	89	304	409

Per Cent.

Date.	Woman and minor employees whose weekly rates of wages were—										Total.
	Under $9	$9 and under $10	$10 and under $11	$11 and under $12	$12 and under $13	$13 and under $14	$14 and under $15	$15 and under $16	$16 and under $17	$17 and over.	
February and March, 1919	3.9	2.2	7.9	1.8	9.5	1.0	4.7	19.2	5.7	44.1	100
March to August, 1921	.....	.....	.7	.....	1.0	.5	1.2	.5	21.8	74.3	100

(Page 17.)

These tables show how substantial was the increase in wages effected. Where, in 1919, 52 per cent of these women and minors were receiving less than $13 per week, in 1921 only 5 per cent belonged in that class. In the same period the proportion rated at $17 and over increased from 22 to 49 per cent. The increase is naturally most striking in those classes of establishments where the worst conditions had prevailed. In the 5 and 10 cent stores under unregulated wage conditions 81 per cent of the women and minors employed received under $13 per week. In 1921 under the minimum-wage order this percentage had dropped to 15 per cent. In the same period the proportion receiving more than $17 increased from 5 to 22 per cent. In the ladies' specialty stores wages were originally higher than in the 5 and 10 cent stores, 37 per cent of the women and minors being rated at $17 and over instead of 5 per cent. Nevertheless the introduction of the minimum wage practically doubled the proportion above $17.

The mercantile minimum-wage order did not effect this increase in wages all in one moment. The increase which came at the time the order went into operation has been followed by a gradual upward tendency of almost equal importance. This is well shown in the following comparison of an even larger number of establishments than those given in the preceding tables. The 197 mercantile establishments which are compared in Table XIII include the seven principal department stores, the seven principal 5 and 10 cent stores, practically all the ladies' specialty stores and a large number of representative stores of other types, confectionery stores, groceries, men's furnishing stores, drug stores, etc.

[See page 35 for table which also includes the 1922 figures.]

This table shows wage conditions in the identical stores one week after the order took effect and one and one-half to two years later. In that period the percentage rated as learners dropped from 24 to 11 per cent and the percentage rated above the minimum rose from 39 to 51 per cent.

The same thing is shown in more detail for the department stores in Table XIV, where there is evident a steady decrease in the proportion of learners and a somewhat less marked but still evident increase in the proportion paid more than the minimum wage.

Table XIV. Number and Per Cent of Women and Minors, Employed in 7 Identical Department Stores Below, At, and Above the Weekly Minimum Wage Rate at Certain Specified Dates.

Number.

Date	Woman and minor employees whose weekly wage rates were—			Total.
	Below the minimum wage.	The minimum ($16.50)	Above the minimum.	
November, 1919	842	1,397	1,021	3,260
March, 1920	550	1,326	1,100	2,976
November, 1920	498	1,249	1,267	3,014
October, 1921	384	1,382	1,320	3,086

Per Cent.

November, 1919	25.8	42.9	31.3	100
March, 1920	18.5	44.5	37.0	100
November, 1920	16.5	41.5	42.0	100
October, 1921	12.4	44.8	42.8	100

In the 5 and 10 cent stores as shown in Table XV the point of equilibrium seems to have been reached in 1920. The proportion above and below the minimum was practically the same in October, 1921, as the year before. It should be noted that these stores are members of chains which are operated on a national basis. In the main it appears to be the policy of most of these chains to pay the lowest possible wages. Therefore, although the local managers here have been very ready to live up to the informal agreement which limits the proportion of learners employed at less than the minimum wage, they have been unable to go far beyond that point, due to the direction of the central offices which control them.

Table XV. Number and Per Cent of Women and Minors Employed in 7 Identical 5 and 10 Cent Stores Receiving Below, At, and Above the Weekly Minimum Wage Rate at Certain Specified Periods.

Number.

Date.	Woman and minor employees whose weekly wage rates were— Below the minimum wage.	The minimum ($16.50)	Above the minimum.	Total.
November, 1919	115	109	34	258
November, 1920	66	124	55	245
October, 1921	65	118	52	235

Per Cent.

November, 1919	44.6	42.2	13.2	100
November, 1920	26.9	50.6	22.5	100
October, 1921	27.7	50.2	22.1	100

(*c*) *In the hotel and restaurant industry.*—The increase in wages in the hotel and restaurant industry is not so easy to demonstrate as that in the other industries. To begin with, part-time employment in these industries is so prevalent that the figures showing rates of pay do not give a fair picture of the situation. Although no female employee, adult or minor, can be rated at less than $16.50 per week (i. e., there is no learning period), actually a large proportion of these employees receive less than that sum because they do not work the full 48 hours. Hence, figures of actual wages received are more indicative of real conditions than figures of rates. The actual wage means the amount received for the regular assigned hours for the particular job, not the actual earnings of an individual for any special pay period, which are frequently less, due to time lost.

Table XVI is a comparison of actual wages in the 14 identical hotels at three different dates, before the minimum wage was established, six months thereafter, and one and one-half years thereafter. The 14 hotels include all the principal ones and employ a large proportion of

the women who work in hotels.[1] The wages shown in this table include allowances for meals and room, where such were provided, of 30 cents per meal and $2 per week for room—the amounts permitted under the minimum-wage order.

This table shows the extent of part-time employment, since all those given in 1920 and 1921 as receiving less than $16 per week were necessarily working less than full time. Part-time employment was undoubtedly increased by the introduction of the order; hotel employers avowedly shortened working schedules wherever possible to avoid payment of the full minimum wage. However, despite this increase in part-time work the wage order has brought about a very substantial improvement in wage conditions, as is clearly seen in Table XVI. Moreover, like the tables for the printing and publishing and the mercantile industries, this table shows a decided upward trend in wages in the one and one-half years since the order took effect. Where prior to a minimum wage order 75 per cent of the women and minor girls received less than $16 or its equivalent per week, six months after the order took effect only 55 per cent were so paid, and a year later only 48 per cent. In the same period the proportion receiving less than $13 per week dropped from 39 to 22 per cent, and then to 17 per cent.

Tables XVII and XVIII show the same upward tendency in a larger group of hotels (including the 14 used in Table XVI) and in a large group of restaurants. These tables do not show conditions prior to the establishment of the order but merely the situation immediately after it took effect and at two different dates thereafter. They give both rates of wages and actual wages paid. The 0.2 per cent rated below the minimum in the hotel industry are holders of special licenses. Percentages only are given in these tables because the establishments included are not identical, hence no comparison of absolute figures would

[1] Women employed in steam laundries operated in connection with three of these hotels are omitted since they do not come under the hotel and restaurant order.

be valid. The percentages in each case are based on thoroughly representative groups including all the principal establishments in the industry. The corresponding tables of absolute figures are given in the appendix.

Table XVII. Per Cent of Female Employees in Hotels at Certain Specified Periods Whose Rates of Wages and Actual Wages Were Below, At, or Above the Minimum.

Date.	Female employees whose weekly rates of wages were—			Total.	Female employees whose actual weekly wages were—			Total.
	Below the minimum.	The minimum ($16.50).	Above the minimum.		Below the minimum.	The minimum ($16.50).	Above the minimum.	
June, 1920	.....	65.3	34.7	100	55.0	16.1	28.9	100
December, 1920	.....	63.2	36.8	100	46.3	20.7	33.0	100
October, 1921	0.2	52.9	46.9	100	43.1	23.6	33.3	100

Table XVIII. Per Cent of Women Employed in Restaurants at Certain Periods Whose Rates of Wages and Actual Wages Were Below, At, or Above the Minimum.

Date.	Female employees whose weekly rates of wages were—			Total.	Female employees whose actual weekly wages were—			Total.
	Below the minimum.	The minimum ($16.50).	Above the minimum.		Below the minimum.	The minimum ($16.50).	Above the minimum.	
June, 1920	.....	53.2	46.8	100	34.5	30.6	34.9	100
December, 1920	.....	41.0	59.0	100	33.2	22.5	44.3	100
October, 1921	.....	34.2	65.8	100	32.8	29.5	43.7	100

The prevalence of part-time work among women employees in hotels and restaurants is apparent from these tables. It should be stated that in the restaurants this

practice is not due to the minimum-wage order. Many restaurants serve only one or two meals a day, hence do not employ their workers the full 48 hours a week; others take on extra help for the rush hours. It is probable that the introduction of the minimum wage has caused little change in the working hours in restaurants.

Similar tables for the laundry industry can not be constructed for the reasons given in the section on administration.

(*d*) *Summary.*—In general it may be said that the tables in the preceding paragraphs show two things—(1) an immediate increase in wages following the establishment of a minimum-wage rate, due to the adjustment necessary to bring about compliance with the order, and (2) a steady tendency to increase wages above the minimum level and to decrease the number of persons employed as learners below the minimum-wage rate. (Pages 13-22.)

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Fifth Annual Report. December 31, 1922.

Increase in Wages.

In the first place the payroll figures show a very substantial increase in wages in every industry where a wage rate has been established. The following tables are comparisons of wage conditions in 1919 prior to the establishment of minimum rates and in 1920, 1921 and 1922. They include practically all the establishments for which we have records for the different periods. These comparisons are absolutely valid since they are made up of figures for identical establishments. Tables are given for each industry separately.

(*a*) *In the Printing and Publishing Industry.*

In the printing trades the minimum wage rate is $15.50 with a learning period of a year at lower rates. This order took effect in August, 1919. Figures are given

for January, 1919, before the minimum wage was established, for August, 1919 immediately thereafter, and for 1921 and 1922 approximately two and three years thereafter. The establishments have been divided into commercial and non-commercial because of the different conditions in the two groups.

Table VIII. Number and Per Cent of Female Employees in 29 Identical Commercial Printing Establishments Receiving Each Classified Weekly Wage at Four Specified Periods.

Number.

Date	Female employees whose weekly rates of wages were—											Total
	Under $10	$10 and under $11	$11 and under $12	$12 and under $13	$13 and under $14	$14 and under $15	$15 and under $16	$16 and under $17	$17 and under $18	$18 and under $19	$19 and over	
January, 1919	28	55	17	70	9	10	48	5	4	10	33	289
August, 1919	11	30	4	14	4	2	119	21	11	19	33	268
March to August, 1921	.....	7	.....	5	.....	1	63	9	16	72	94	267
April to September, 1922	2	8	2	4	.....	3	34	7	16	96	91	263

Per Cent.

January, 1919	9.7	19.0	5.9	24.2	3.1	3.5	16.6	1.7	1.4	3.5	11.4	100
August, 1919	4.1	11.2	1.5	5.2	1.5	.8	44.4	7.8	4.1	7.1	12.3	100
March to August, 1921	.....	2.6	.....	1.9	.....	.4	23.6	3.4	6.0	26.9	35.2	100
April to September, 1922	.8	3.0	.8	1.5	.....	1.1	12.9	2.7	6.1	36.5	34.6	100

Table IX. Number and Per Cent of Female Employees in 5 Identical Non-Commercial Publishing Plants Receiving Each Classified Weekly Rate at Four Specified Periods.

Number.

Date	Female employees whose weekly rates of wages were—											Total
	Under $12	$12 and under $13	$13 and under $14	$14 and unde $15	$15 and under $16	$16 and under $17	$17 and under $18	$18 and under $19	$19 and under $20	$20 and under $21	$21 and over	
January, 1919	50	30	56	18	40	47	36	22	17	28	78	422
August, 1919	3	11	3	1	101	110	60	35	34	30	91	479
August to December, 1921	1	1	.....	4	48	53	52	75	38	56	237	564
July to October, 1922	5	2	.....	2	62	53	42	76	45	51	266	603

Per Cent.

January, 1919	11.9	7.1	13.3	4.3	9.5	11.1	8.5	5.2	4.0	6.6	18.5	100
August, 1919	.6	2.3	.6	.2	21.1	23.0	12.5	7.3	7.1	6.3	19.0	100
August to December, 1921	.2	.2	.....	.7	8.5	9.2	9.2	13.3	6.8	9.9	42.0	100
July to October, 1922	.8	.3	.....	.3	10.3	8.6	7.0	12.6	7.5	8.5	44.1	100

Both tables show a very considerable increase in wages immediately following the wage order and thereafter a further more gradual increase. In the commercial plants before the wage order 65 per cent of the female employees were rated at less than $15. Immediately following the order this group was reduced to 24 per cent. By 1922 it constituted only 7 per cent of the total. In the same way the proportion receiving $16 and over (i.e., more than the minimum wage) increased from 18 per cent prior to the minimum wage order to 31 per cent immediately thereafter, to 72 per cent in 1921 and 80 per cent in 1922.

In the non-commercial plants original wage conditions were better; hence the increase is less striking though none the less apparent. Here the proportion receiving less than $15 decreased from 37 per cent prior to the wage order to 4 per cent immediately thereafter, to 1 per cent in 1922, while the proportion receiving $16 and over increased from 54 per cent to 75 per cent to 88 per cent in the same period.

The increase in wages may be summarized by comparing the median wages at the different dates given. In the commercial plants in 1919 under unregulated wage conditions the median wage was $12.64. That means that half the women employed in these plants were receiving less than $12.64 per week. With the establishment of a minimum wage of $15.50 with lower rates for learners the median rose at once to $15.58, by 1921 it had reached $18.45, by 1922, $18.58. In the non-commercial publishing houses the median increased from $16.36 before the minimum wage was established to $17.18 immediately thereafter, to $20.20 in 1921 and $20.30 in 1922.

Credit for increased wages in the printing and publishing industry is not due wholly to the minimum wage; a new agreement negotiated by the women's bindery union in 1920 accounts in part for the wage conditions in the industry.

(*b*) *In the Mercantile Industry.*

Tables X and XI show similar wage increases in the mercantile industry. Here the minimum wage is $16.50 with a learning period of seven months for adults and a longer period for boys and girls varying with their age at starting work.

Table X is a comparison of wage conditions in identical establishments prior to the minimum wage order and at two dates thereafter. It shows clearly how substantial the wage increase has been.

Table X. Number and Per Cent of Women and Minor Employees in 96 Identical Mercantile Establishments Receiving Each Classified Weekly Rate at Three Specified Periods.

Number.

Date	Women and minor employees whose weekly rates of wages were—										Total
	Under $9	$9 and under $10	$10 and under $11	$11 and under $12	$12 and under $13	$13 and under $14	$14 and under $15	$15 and under $16	$16 and under $17	$17 and over	
February and March, 1919	450	226	618	111	956	123	277	625	142	1,015	4,543
March to August, 1921	.....	.....	97	59	67	59	140	21	1,787	2,110	4,340
March to August, 1922	.....	.....	145	51	85	52	106	27	1,958	2,087	4,511

Per Cent.

February and March, 1919	10.0	5.0	13.6	2.4	21.0	2.7	6.1	13.8	3.1	22.3	100
March to August, 1921	.....	.....	2.2	1.4	1.5	1.4	3.2	.5	41.2	48.6	100
March to August, 1922	.....	.....	3.2	1.1	1.9	1.2	2.3	.6	43.4	46.3	100

This table shows that in 1919 prior to the establishment of the $16.50 minimum wage 75 per cent of these women and minors were rated at less than $16.00; in 1922 only 10 per cent were so rated. In the same period the proportion rated at $17 and over increased from 22 per cent to 46 per cent. From 1919 to 1922 the medium wage in the mercantile industry increased from $12.91 per week to $16.91.

This improvement in wage conditions did not come about over night following the introduction of the minimum wage. This is clear from Table XI, a comparison in a slightly different form of wage rates the week after the order took effect and at two later dates. Here we can see that in the week following the wage order 24 per cent of the women and minors employed in the mercantile industry were rated as learners and paid less than the minimum wage. By 1922 this group was reduced to 11 per cent. In the same way the proportion rated above the minimum increased from 39 per cent to 49 per cent in the same period.

Table XI. Number and Per Cent of Women and Minors in 182 Mercantile Establishments Receiving Below, At, and Above the Minimum Wage Rate at Three Specified Periods.

Number.

Date	Woman and minor employees whose weekly wage rates were—			Total
	Below the minimum	The minimum	Above the minimum	
November, 1919	1,292	2,029	2,132	5,453
March to August, 1921	565	1,887	2,543	4,995
March to August, 1922	552	2,061	2,473	5,086

Per Cent.

November, 1919	23.7	37.2	39.1	100
March to August, 1921	11.3	37.8	50.9	100
March to August, 1922	10.9	40.5	48.6	100

(c). In the Hotel and Restaurant Industry.

The increase in wages in the hotel and restaurant industries is not so easy to demonstrate as that in other industries. Part time employment is so prevalent in these industries that figures showing rates of pay do not give a fair picture of the situation. Although no female employee, adult or minor, can be rated at less than $16.50 per week in that industry, actually a larger proportion of these employees receive less than that sum because they do not work the full 48 hours. Hence figures of actual wages are more indicative of real conditions than figures of rates. The actual wage means the amount received for the regular assigned hours for the specified job. It is not identical with actual earnings for a particular period which may be less because of time lost.

Tables XII and XIII are comparisons of actual wages at different periods in the principal hotels and restaurants for which we have records for a period prior to the establishment of the minimum wage and for the years thereafter. The wages shown in these tables include an allowance for meals and room where such were pro-

vided of 30 cents per meal and $2 per week for room, the amounts permitted under the minimum wage order.

Table XII. Number and Per Cent of Female Employees in 11 Identical Hotels Actually Receiving Each Classified Weekly Wage at Four Specified Periods.

Number.

Date	Female employees whose actual wages per week were—										Total
	Under $9	$9 and under $10	$10 and under $11	$11 and under $12	$12 and under $13	$13 and under $14	$14 and under $15	$15 and under $16	$16 and under $17	$17 and over	
June to August, 1919	55	166	18	7	29	60	34	125	25	144	663
December, 1920	3	17	3	26	87	29	110	60	145	156	636
October, 1921	2	.....	3	23	104	31	96	57	186	181	683
October, 1922	1	21	.....	13	111	20	100	36	190	168	660

Per Cent.

June to August, 1919	8.3	25.0	2.7	1.1	4.4	9.0	5.1	18.9	3.8	21.7	100
December, 1920	.5	2.7	.5	4.1	13.7	4.5	17.3	9.4	22.8	24.5	100
October, 1921	.3	.....	.4	3.4	15.2	4.5	14.1	8.4	27.2	26.5	100
October, 1922	.2	3.2	.....	2.0	16.8	3.0	15.2	5.4	28.8	25.4	100

Table XIII. Number and Per Cent of Female Employees in 17 Identical Restaurants Actually Receiving Each Classified Weekly Wage at Four Specified Periods.

Number.

Date	Female employees whose actual wages per week were—										Total
	Under $10	$10 and under $11	$11 and under $12	$12 and under $13	$13 and under $14	$14 and under $15	$15 and under $16	$16 and under $17	$17 and under $18	$18 and over	
June to August, 1919	43	23	27	51	38	28	77	11	64	107	469
December, 1920	32	11	7	15	15	24	16	88	82	144	434
October, 1921	28	5	7	14	16	27	20	67	74	128	386
October, 1922	27	4	5	13	24	11	13	54	76	132	359

Per Cent.

June to August, 1919	9.2	4.9	5.8	10.9	8.1	6.0	16.4	2.3	13.6	22.8	100
December, 1920	7.4	2.5	1.6	3.4	3.5	5.5	3.7	20.3	18.9	33.2	100
October, 1921	7.2	1.3	1.8	3.6	4.1	7.0	5.2	17.4	19.2	33.2	100
October, 1922	7.5	1.1	1.4	3.6	6.7	3.1	3.6	15.0	21.2	36.8	100

These tables show the extent of part time employment since all persons shown in 1920 and thereafter as receiving less than $16 per week were necessarily working less than full time. Part time employment was undoubtedly increased, especially in hotels, by the introduction of the minimum wage order. Hotel employers avowedly shortened working hours wherever possible to avoid paying the full minimum wage. However, despite the increase in part time work the wage order has brought a very substantial improvement in wage conditions. This is apparent from tables XII and XIII. In the hotels the proportion of women actually receiving less than $13 per week decreased from 42 per cent in 1919 before the wage order was established to 22 per cent in 1922, while the proportion receiving $16 and over increased in the same period from 26 per cent to 54 per cent. In the restaurants the original wage conditions were somewhat better. Among women restaurant employees in the same period the proportion at less than $13 decreased from 31 per cent while that at $16 and over increased from 39 per cent to 73 per cent.

Calculating the median wages from these tables we find that in the hotels the median wage was $13.94 prior to the minimum wage order, rose to $15.71 in 1920, $16.14 in 1921 and $16.15 in 1922. In the restaurants the original median wage was $15.32, rose to $17.11 in 1920, $17.14 in 1921 and $17.38 in 1922.

It is interesting to note that although 27 per cent of the women employed in restaurants in 1922 worked less than full time still the median wage for the group was well above $17.

Furthermore, it should be remembered that even the women receiving less than $16.50 in 1922 had been benefited by the establishment of the minimum wage. Even where their cash wage was increased only slightly the curtailment of their hours of work enabled them to supplement their earnings with other employment wherever they so chose. How many of them actually did this it is of course impossible to say.

Similar tables for the laundry industry cannot be constructed because of the large number of laundries which have refused to comply with the law.

(d) Summary.

If we summarize the median wage figures given in the preceding pages we can see how substantial has been the increase in wages in the period since the establishment of minimum wage rates. This summary is given in Table XIV.

Table XIV.—Increase in the Median Wage from 1919 to 1922, by Industrial Groups.

Industry.	1919	1922	Increase.
Printing and publishing			
Commercial	$12.64	$18.58	$5.94
Non-commercial	16.36	20.30	3.94
Mercantile	12.91	16.91	4.00
Hotels	13.94	16.15	2.21
Restaurants	15.32	17.38	2.06

This means that compared with the unregulated wage conditions of 1919 the median wage has increased in every industrial group, the increase ranging from $2.06 to $5.94 per week.

(4) Peculiar Local Experience.

U. S. Senate. 65th Congress. Second Session. Report No. 486. Minimum Wage. Submitted by Mr. Hollis, from the Committee on the District of Columbia. June 7, 1918.

The Committee on the District of Columbia, to whom was referred the bill (S. 4548), to protect the lives and health and morals of women and minor workers in the District of Columbia, and to establish a minimum wage board, and define its powers and duties, and to provide for the fixing of minimum wages for such workers, and

for other purposes, having considered the same, report thereon with the recommendation that the bill pass, with the following amendments:

On page 3, line 20, after the word "salary" insert the following: "not exceeding $2,000 annually."

On page 3, lines 20 and 21, strike out the sentence "none of the members shall receive any salary as such" and insert the following: "The members shall receive their reasonable expenses and $5 for each day of actual service."

On page 7, line 15, after the word "thereof," insert the following sentence: "Each member shall receive his reasonable expenses and $5 for each day of actual service."

On page 12, at the end of line 13, insert the following: "or by imprisonment for not less than ten days nor more than three months, or by both such fine and imprisonment."

The Purpose of the Bill.

The purpose of this bill is "To protect the lives and health and morals of women and minor workers in the District of Columbia." It provides a method for ascertaining what is a suitable wage for women workers and minors in the District of Columbia and makes it unlawful to employ women in the District of Columbia for lower wages than are adequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain them in health and protect their morals. It is further made unlawful to employ minors in any occupation within the District of Columbia for unreasonably low wages.

Interests Represented at Hearing.

A hearing was held on this bill in the Senate Office Building on April 17. Representatives spoke in favor of the bill from many different organizations—from the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of the District of Columbia, from the national and local consumers' leagues, from the national and local women's trades-

unions, and from local charitable and welfare organizations. Commissioner Brownlow and the health officer of the District also appeared, as well as a member of the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission, a former member of a minimum-wage board of the State of Washington, and other persons who have had personal experience of minimum-wage legislation in States where it is in operation. The Commissioners of the District also addressed a letter to this committee strongly indorsing Senate bill No. 4548. The letter is attached to this report as an appendix.

No one appeared before the committee in opposition to the bill and no opposition was expressed at the hearing. The representative of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association explicitly stated that if opposition to the bill existed among employers in the District, his association would have been informed.

In our opinion the favorable action of the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association on this bill is the strongest argument in its favor. This organization is composed of the representatives of 33 different lines of business, including department stores employing 5,000 workers, the 12 largest laundries in the District, cigar manufacturers, etc. After careful consideration of the bill, the secretary of the association was instructed to appear before us and express approval of the measure. This favorable action carries due weight with the committee. Opposition to the legislation of this character would naturally come from employers if they believed that it would jeopardize the business interests of the community. The Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association has, on the contrary, gone on record as favoring Senate No. 4548, because they believe it to be a workable measure and that it would tend to benefit business.

The committee has come to two main conclusions in regard to this measure:

First, that owing to the increased cost of living there is need of readjusting the wages of working women in the District outside of Government employment; and second, that the plan proposed in Senate bill No. 4548 is a

measure which has met with practical success in various States and has demonstrated its usefulness both to employers and employees. (Pages 1-2.)

This bill provides effective machinery for a fair adjustment of the wages of the lowest paid workers. The community clearly has an interest in seeing to it that the earnings of these wage-earners do not fall below subsistence level, and allow them to become public charges through sickness or other disability. Public aid means increased public expenditures, such as charges for hospitals or charities. When wages are too low for decent self-support, the underfeeding and privation which result are well-known causes of ill health, and predispose the workers to succumb readily to exposure or disease. It is for these reasons that the secretary of the Associated Charities of the District and of the Society for the Prevention of Tuberculosis, who appeared before us, stated that all the welfare organizations of the District are a unit in favor of this bill. (Page 3.)

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Fifth Annual Report. December 31, 1922.

The only conference held during 1922 was the reconvened conference in the mercantile industry. This conference was called at the request of the employers' organization, the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, which asked for a reconsideration of the $16.50 rate adopted in July, 1919. The reconvened conference after careful study of the subject voted against any change in the $16.50 rate.

On March 7th the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association asked whether in view of the reduction in the cost of living there might be a reconsideration of the existing rate. Before acting on their request the Board asked the United States Department of Labor to make an investigation of living costs for a self-supporting woman employed in the mercantile industry in the District of Columbia. A detailed study was made by the Women's Bureau during the month of April, 1922. (See

Appendix.) This study reported the actual prices found for the various items but did not contain a budget. The Minimum Wage Board after deliberation decided by a vote of two to one to reconvene the original mercantile conference to consider whether any change should be made in the $16.50 rate which they had unanimously recommended in July, 1919. The member of the Board representing the employees voted against reopening the subject.

Only three of the original members of the Conference were able to serve. The vacancies were filled by appointment by the Board. The two new representatives of the public were selected after discussion of a large number of names in order to find persons upon whom all three members might agree. Employers and employees made nominations for their representatives, the employees making theirs at a meeting called by the Board for the purpose. In addition to the appointed members all three members of the Board served on the conference.

This group began meeting on June 14 and held six meetings. At the outset the representatives of the employers presented a statement in which they asked that the minimum wage be reduced to $15.25 and presented a budget totaling $15.10. In reply the representatives of the employees submitted a budget totaling $18.66, basing their clothing budget on the prices given in the study made by the Women's Bureau and presenting their own estimates for the other items. The following table shows these budgets in summary form and, for the sake of comparison, the budget previously adopted by the conference in 1919.

Table II.—Comparison of Budgets.

	Cost per week in budget adopted July, 1919	Cost per week in budget presented by representatives of employers June, 1922	Cost per week in budget presented by representatives of employees June, 1922
Room and board (including lunch) ..	$9.30	$9.40	$9.64
Clothing	4.00	3.00	3.92
Sundries	3.20	2.70	4.80
Total	$16.50	$15.10	$18.66

Since the employers did not claim any reduction in the cost of room and board that item was passed over and the conference gave its attention to those items of clothing and sundries in which the employers asked reductions from the 1919 figures. As a basis for comparison they accepted the detailed clothing budget presented by Judge Sellers (a member of the Public) in 1919, as constituting the clothing budget adopted by the original mercantile conference although actually the conference had merely adopted its total. In the same way they accepted the sundry budget of the printing trades conference although actually the total amount and the list of items but not the prices formed part of the mercantile conference report.* A comparison of the three detailed budgets is given below.

*The total amount allowed for sundries in the original mercantile budget was 5c more than that allowed in the printing trades, namely $3.20 instead of $3.15.

Table III.—A Comparison of the Clothing Budgets Discussed in the Reconvened Mercantile Conference, June, 1922.

Article	Number of articles and cost per year					
	As accepted as budget of July 1919		As presented by employers June 1922		As presented by employees June 1922	
	Number per year	Cost per year	Number per year	Cost per year	Number per year	Cost per year
Suit	½	$17.50	½	$12.48	½	$19.87½
Coat	½	19.75	½	13.34	½	19.50
Waist	6	12.00	6	9.72	6	12.00
Dress Waist	1	5.50	1	4.56	1	5.00
Wool dress	½	10.00	½	6.65	½	12.50
Wool skirt	1	10.00	1	5 28	1	7.95
Summer skirt	2	5.00	2	5 16	2	7.00
Dress-up dress	½	14.75	½	9.14	½	12.50
Hats	3	15.00	2	8.06	3	12.90
Dress Hat			1	5.21		
Wash dress	2	16.00	2	9.98	2	14.00
Shoes	4	31.50	3	16.80	4	25.90
Gloves	3	4.50	3	3.60	3	5.00
Hose, lisle		5.00	8	.00	8	5.00
Hose, silk			2	3.12		
Corsets	2	5.00	2	4.12	2	5.00
Union Suits:						
Summer	8	5.00	10	.90	8	5.52
Winter	3	4.50			3	3.45
Corset covers and envelope chemises	6	6.00	5	3.65	6	6.00
Gowns	4	4.00	4	3.72	4	4.00
Underskirts:						
White	2	3.00	2	2.28	2	2.00
Colored	1	3.95	1	2.40	1	1.98
Miscellaneous:						
Handkerchiefs	12	1.80	12	1.80	12	1.80
Aprons	2	2.00	2	1.70	2	2.00
Kimona	½	1.00	½	1.00	½	1.50
Purse	1	3.00	1	2.47	1	2.00
Umbrella	1	1.50	½	1.00	½	1.75
Rubbers	1	1.25	1	1.07	1	1.25
Repairing shoes		2.50		2.50		1.75
Repairing suit and skirt		2.25				1.90
Neckwear		1.25		1.25		1.15
Other miscellaneous		2.00		2.00		2.00
Total		216.50		156.66		203.90½
Less		8.50				
		208.00				
Per week		4.00		3.01		3.92

Table IV.—A Comparison of the Sundry Budgets Discussed in the Reconvened Mercantile Conference, June, 1922.

	Cost per week as accepted as budget of July, 1919	Cost per week as presented by employers June, 1922	Cost per week as presented by employees June, 1922
Laundry	$ .75	$ .50	$1.05
Sickness	.50	.50	.50
Dentistry			.15
Oculist			.10
Amusement	.20	.20	.44
Vacation	.25	.25	.40
Savings and insurance	.35	.10	.35
Church and charity	.10	.10	.10
Organizations	.10	....	.20
Self-improvement	.10	.10	.25
Carfare	.60	.80	1.07
Other incidentals	.20	.15	.24
Total	$3.15	$2.70	$4.80

Discussion centered on the fourteen major items of clothing in which the employers tried to show substantial reductions in price. To prove their case they called as witnesses buyers from the principal stores who submitted samples of the various articles of clothing. On the other hand Mrs. Mildred Gordon who had made the study for the Women's Bureau, testified as to the methods used in obtaining the somewhat higher prices given in that study.

The conferees also discussed the sundry items which the employers wished to reduce or eliminate, namely laundry, savings and organization dues.

At the close of the evidence the employers repeated their request for a reduction in the wage while the employees replied with the contention that practically all items in the cost of living had increased since 1919 with the exception of clothing where the decrease was slight and not likely to be permanent. On motion the confer-

ence voted not to reduce the $16.50 rate—the employers' representatives voting in opposition.

Another meeting of the Conference was devoted to a discussion of the learning period which the employers had asked be extended from seven months to twelve. The conference decided that the employers had failed to present sufficient evidence to warrant such change.

The conference then adjourned for the summer. In the fall the employers decided that they did not wish to present further evidence in regard to learners' rates. Therefore the conference met and drew up its report recommending the retention of the $16.50 minimum wage and the seven month learning period. This report was signed by eight of the twelve members.

Arkansas.

(1) Minimum Wage Orders. [Summarized.]

No. 3. *Mercantile in City of Fort Smith.* Effective December 1, 1922. Experienced females, $11.00. Learners: 6 months, at $10.00.

No. 4. *Mercantile in City of Little Rock.* Effective December 1, 1922. Experienced females, $11.00. Learners: 6 months, at $10.00.

(2) Wages and Minimum Ordered.

Arkansas. Minimum Wage and Maximum Hour Commission. Order No. 2. Mercantile Establishments, City of Fort Smith. August 4, 1920.

The commission issued an order on August 4th, effective from and after September 1, 1920, establishing $13.25 as the minimum wage to be paid experienced females, and $11.00 as the minimum wage to be paid inexperienced females employed in mercantile establishments in the city of Fort Smith.

But the commission directs attention to the fact that the award made by the commission is a substantial increase over the wage paid in the mercantile industry in the city of Fort Smith. * * *

Arkansas. Industrial Welfare Commission. Official Statement by T. A. Wilson, Chairman. November 5, 1922.

In announcing the decision of the Commission, [minimum wage of $11.00 in mercantile establishments in Little Rock], Commissioner Wilson said:

"The decision of the Commission was reached at a session at which the entire membership was present, and every feature of the testimony heard was considered. The commission had to take into consideration many features brought out at the hearing. We found that

many of the women employed were paid less than $10 per week, and that a great many were paid more. In the larger establishments, the prevailing wage was more than $10 per week for women employes. Also that in the larger establishments the environments are better; that many of the stores have sick benefit features, in which girls are paid part wages when sick; that they receive from 15 to 20 per cent discount on clothing purchased; that lunch rooms and rest rooms are maintained for the convenience of the women; that meals may be purchased at very low prices. In other establishments, the women receive lower wages, no advantages in the way of discounts or accommodations.

"With the co-operation of the leading business men of Little Rock, three of whom employ approximately 600 women, being equal to the number employed by all the other establishments in the city of Little Rock, the commission fixed the minimum wage to be paid females in the city of Little Rock at $10 per week for inexperienced workers and $11 per week for experienced workers.

"The present legal wage, which was established in 1915, is $6 a week for inexperienced workers and $7.50 per week for experienced workers. It will be noted that the wage fixed by the commission represents a very substantial increase over the present legal minimum. The order fixing the wages does not prevent nor prohibit employer from paying more, and will not restrict advancement nor discourage employes from endeavoring to increase their efficiency and thereby secure a better wage.

"The commission desires to express appreciation to the business men and others interested in the matter for their co-operation. The frank and sincere manner of the business men working with the commission, their efforts to assist the commission in securing information, their willingness to agree to an equitable wage, and their interest in the welfare of their employes, is recognized by the commission, when it was stated that no reduction of wages would follow any order that the commission made;

that the minimum would be met; that employes receiving less than the minimum would be raised, but those receiving more would not be reduced."

Statement of I. H. Nakdimen, Member of the Industrial Welfare Commission of Arkansas. Southwest American. Fort Smith, Arkansas. November 5, 1922.

How are you going to place these two classes of merchants on equality? One takes an interest in his employes and the other does not take an interest, and does not care.

One merchant when he employs a girl, looks forward to the girl working with him and staying with him for years and really hopes for the girl to improve, so he can pay her good wages. The other merchant, who does not care about the welfare of the girl, does not care about the welfare of the community, and all in the world he wants is for the girl to work for him as cheaply as she can, as hard as she can, and as long hours as the law allows.

We find three merchants in Little Rock who are employing 600 girls. That is more girls than all the balance of the stores employ in Little Rock. We find among the 600 girls there are mighty few who are working at low wages.

In order to take all precautions in deciding what the minimum wage should be, in order not to be arbitrary, in order to have the employer and the employes to work harmoniously, and in order for our ruling to be satisfactory to both, we as the commission sent for these merchants who are liberal to the girls and who are employing the majority of them and discussed with them the matter at issue from every angle.

They of course brought out good points. They showed their side. They were not arbitrary and they did not go to an extreme upon their side. After four hours discussion, we came to the understanding, and it was satisfactory to the merchants as well as to the commission, to

raise the minimum wage from $6 in Little Rock to $10 a week.

The commission feels that we have accomplished not only an increase in wages, but increase in good feeling of the girls toward their employers and of the employers toward the girls.

The merchants in Fort Smith have been very liberal with their girls. In fact, we find Fort Smith merchants pay their girls more than Little Rock does, but the reason is because the commission made a minimum wage in Fort Smith of $11 a week in 1920, when conditions were good, when prices were high, and living higher than it is now.

The merchants stated, in testifying before the commission, that no reduction would be made in the wages of employes now at work, and none would be discharged because of salary; that any change in rate of wages would affect only new employees.

(3) Investigations for Effect of Minimum Ordered.

*U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 26. Women in Arkansas Industries. 1923.**

Earnings in Fort Smith.

The higher minimum rate prevailing in mercantile establishments in Fort Smith rendered it desirable to tabulate separately figures for Fort Smith and the rest of the State. This separation makes it possible to note the immediate effect of the minimum wage on earnings in stores, and also the indirect effect on other groups of white workers. The details from which the following medians are taken will be found in Tables I and II in the appendix.

*Copied from proof sheets.

Median Earnings.

	All industries.	All manufacturing.	General mercantile.	5-and-10 cent stores.	Laundries.
Fort Smith ...	$12.35	$10.10	$15.95	$13.30	$10.05
State, exclusive of Fort Smith	11.10	10.10	14.95	9.20	10.30

The foregoing figures show clearly that the higher minimum wage rate for general mercantile and 5-and-10-cent stores in Fort Smith raised the earnings in these industries, but did not affect, even indirectly, the earnings of women in manufacturing and laundry establishments.

The most pronounced effect of the higher minimum rate was shown in 5-and-10-cent stores, where the median was found to be $3.90 higher in Fort Smith than throughout the State. The median for "all manufacturing was lower in Fort Smith than in the rest of the State, but for general mercantile establishments and laundries it was higher. It is impossible, however, to discover whether the higher rate in laundries was due to the competition with the higher pay in 5-and-10-cent stores and mercantile establishments, to the organization of the laundry workers in Fort Smith, or to other causes.

If the Fort Smith minimum mercantile wage of $13.25 for one week is multiplied by 52, the result is a yearly budget of $689. This is very nearly the same as the median earnings of $698 for all women, and brings out the fact that nearly one-half of the white women earned less than the minimum based on the Fort Smith budget.

It is interesting to note in the following statement that in Fort Smith, where there was a higher minimum wage for women in mercantile establishments than elsewhere in the State, no telephone operator had a rate of less than $23, while throughout the State 95 operators were reported with rates under $23. The median rate for telephone operators in Fort Smith was $30.05, a figure $3 higher than that for operators in the rest of the State.

(4) Peculiar Local Experience.

Arkansas. Bureau of Labor and Statistics. Fourth Biennial Report. 1919-1920.

Minimum Wage and Maximum Hour Commission.

Under the chapter of "Proposed Legislation" we have recommended changing the name of the "Minimum Wage and Maximum Hour Commission" and enlarging the *personnel* of the body. These recommendations are made (1) because the present title of the commission is ambiguous and misleading, and (2) as at present constituted representation on the commission is not equitably distributed. The commission is composed of three persons—two women and the Commissioner of Labor. One member is appointed by the Governor and one by the Commissioner of Labor. Both are appointed without reference to representation of either employer or employee.

We are of the opinion that the law under which the commission operates (Act 191, Acts 1915, as amended by Act 275, Acts 1919), should be amended changing the name of the commission to the "State Industrial Welfare Commission," which it is in fact, and should be designated by name that would more clearly define its duties and more specifically identify the purposes.

The law should provide for a membership of at least four, exclusive of the Commissioner of Labor. Two members should be women and two men. Representation of employers and of labor should be equal on the commission, that is, one of the women and one of the men should come from the ranks of employers and a like number from labor.

A commission thus composed would be better balanced and would have the confidence of both employer and of labor, and neither could consistently question the findings of the commission because of any partiality that might be shown in the rulings. Both employer and labor should be represented; both should have confidence in

the work of the commission, and this can best be secured when both have an equal representation.

These recommendations are made without intent to criticise the work of the commission during the period of this report. The commission has worked faithfully, and, we are convinced, impartially and conscientiously. But any possibility of fault-finding should be removed, and this can best be done by amending the law as suggested above.

There should be nothing done to hamper the work of the commission. The protection of the women workers of the State should be advanced. No backward step will be taken, we feel sure. The rule has been established and has been found to the best interest of the State to protect the working women—those who are compelled by circumstances to enter the commercial field and compete with men and with each other. Women must have the protection of the State to care for their health and their material welfare. Society owes them this protection and Arkansas should not be one of those States to fail in its duty to its women workers. (Page 20.)

California.

(1) Minimum Wage Orders. [Summarized.]

No. 3. *Fruit and Vegetable Canning.* Effective June 21, 1921. Experienced females, $16 per week or 33⅓ cents per hour; for overtime rates see page 56, "Emergency Work." Learners for two weeks: adult, $12 per week or 25 cents per hour, overtime rate, 31 cents per hour, double time rate, 50 cents per hour; minors (16 to 18 years), females, $10.56 a week or 22 cents per hour, males, $12 a week or 25 cents per hour.

Piece Rates for Preparation of Fruit and Vegetables for Canning.

Minimum or Least Piece Rate per 100 Pounds.

Cherries	$0.75	Cling Peaches.....	$0.30
Apricots	.48	Pears	.55
Free Peaches	.18		

Tomatoes (finished product), per 12 qts. 5 cents.

Other fruits and vegetables, rates to be fixed by establishments to yield to at least 50 per cent. of the adult women at least 33⅓ cents per hour. If during any given week rates do not so yield, a percentage increase shall be added sufficient to make 50 per cent of the adult women receive at least 33⅓ cents per hour. Provided earnings of women and female minors which fell below 33⅓ cents per hour shall not exceed 33⅓ cents per hour. Elderly and infirm cutters working on permits issued by Commission shall be eliminated from the audit but paid the percentage of increase.

Piece Rates for Labeling.

Each establishment shall fix rates to yield all females for two weeks 25 cents per hour, thereafter 33⅓ cents per hour.

Nos. 5 to 14. *Any ocupation, trade and industry* (exclusive of telephone or telegraph, domestic labor, skilled trades, or harvesting, canning, curing or drying of any

variety of fruit or vegetables). Effective at various dates between June 26-September 25, 1920.

Experienced Females.

Minimum wage of $16 per week or 33⅓ cents per hour

Emergency Work in Fruit and Vegetable Canning, Fish Canning,* Fruit and Vegetable Packing, and Agricultural Occupations, *i.e.*, work performed in excess of 8 hours a day or 6 days in one week. In excess of 8 hours and up to 12 hours at 1¼ time or piece rates provided; in excess of 12 hours, at double the rates; on Sunday or the day of rest, for the first 8 hours at 1¼ time rates, and thereafter at 2¼ time rates.** (Also applies to learners and minors.)

Work on the Day of Rest in General and Professional Offices and Hotels and Restaurants, at 1¼ the rates (excluding hotel and restaurant workers who are employed for 6 hours a day or less). Also applies to learners and minors.)

Less than a Full Week's Employment in Fish Canning, Laundry and Dry Cleaning, Unclassified Occupations and Manufacturing, at 38 cents an hour. (Proportionate increases for learners and minors according to experience.)

Part Time Work in Mercantile, Laundry and Dry Cleaning, General and Professional Offices, Unclassified Occupations, and Manufacturing, *i.e.*, work on an hourly basis for less than 8 hours in one day, at 40 cents per hour. In Hotels and Restaurants, *i.e.*, when employed 3 hours a day or less, at 40 cents per hour; more than 3 hours a day, 38 cents per hour or $16 a week.

Special Work in Mercantile, *i.e.*, on full day basis for less than 6 days a week, $2.66⅔ per day.

Temporary Work in General and Professional Offices, *i. e.*, less than two weeks, $2.66⅔ per day. (Also applies to minors.)

*In fish canning *all* night work, after 10 P. M. and before 6 A. M., is paid for at emergency rates.
**In dried fruit, raisins, *all* Sunday work is paid for at 1¼ the rates.

Continuous Process Work in Manufacturing, after 11 P. M. and before 6 A. M. at 1½ time rates.

Piece Rates in Fruit and Vegetable Packing, not to net less than $16 per week.

Deductions Permitted in Hotels and Restaurants, for bona fide meals; breakfast 25¢, lunch 30¢, dinner 45¢; for room, $3 a week.

Learners and Minors.

No. 5. *Mercantile.* Learners: 6 months at $12, 6 months at $14. Minors (under 18): 6 months at $10, 6 months at $12, 6 months at $14, thereafter $16. Part time workers at 30¢ per hour. Special workers, minors at $2 per day. Learners and minors in seasonal millinery work rooms: first season, 4 weeks at $8, 4 weeks at $9, 4 weeks at $10; second season, 4 weeks at $12, 4 weeks at $13, 4 weeks at $14.

No. 6. *Fish Canning.* Learners and minors: 1 week at $12 or 25¢ per hour, 1 week at $13 or 27¢ per hour, 1 week at $14 or 29¢ per hour, 1 week at $15 or 31¢ per hour. Provided, however, if full week's employment is not provided hourly rates shall be increased 5 cents.

No. 7. *Laundry and Dry Cleaning.* Learners and minors: 3 months at $12, 3 months at $14. Provided if full week's work is not provided, hourly rates shall be during first 3 months at 30¢ per hour, second 3 months at 35¢ per hour.

No. 8. *Fruit and Vegetable Packing.* In citrus, dried fig, layer raisin packing: learners, 4 weeks at $12 or 25¢ per hour; minors, 4 weeks at $10.56 or 22¢ per hour, thereafter $16. In other branches: learners, 2 weeks at $12 or 25¢ per hour; minors, 2 weeks at $10.56 or 22¢ per hour, thereafter $16.

No. 9. *General and Professional Offices.* Learners: 3 months at $12, 3 months at $14. Minors (under 18): 3 months at $10, 3 months at $11, 3 months at $12, 3 months

at $14, thereafter $16. Minor or part time workers at 30¢ per hour.

No. 10. *Unclassified Occupations.* Learners: 3 weeks at $12 or 25¢ per hour; for less than a full week of employment at 30¢ per hour or $12. Minors: 3 weeks at $10.56 or 22¢ per hour, thereafter $12 or 25¢ per hour; for less than a full week's employment, if inexperienced, 25¢ per hour or $10.56, if experienced, 30¢ per hour or $12; part time workers at 30¢ per hour.

No. 11. *Manufacturing.* Learners: 3 months at $12, 3 months at $14; for less than a full week of employment, during first 3 months at 30¢ per hour, during second 3 months at 35¢ per hour. Minors: 3 months at $10, 3 months at $12, 3 months at $14, thereafter $16; for less than a full week of employment, during first 3 months at 25¢ per hour, during second 3 months at 30¢ per hour, during third 3 months at 35¢ per hour, thereafter at 38¢ per hour; part time workers at 30¢ per hour; for 8 hours on Saturday or Holidays, $2 per day.

No. 12. *Hotels and Restaurants.* No special rates for learners or minors.

No. 14. *Agricultural Occupations.* No special rates for learners or minors.

PROVISIONS TO SECURE PAYENT OF MINIMUM WAGE ORDERED.

a. By Disregarding Gratuities.

Order No. 12. Hotels and Restaurants. No person, firm or corporation may construe tips or gratuities as being part of the legal minimum wage.

b. By requiring Commissions and Piece Rates to Net the Minimum Wage.

Orders Nos. 3,* 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 Every person, firm or corporation making payment of wages upon a commis-

*No. 3 applies to labeling.

sion, bonus or piece-rate basis shall guarantee to all women and minor employees not less than the minimum time rates for the wage groups in which they belong. Also in Order No. 11. Manufacturing. Bonuses paid to secure regularity of attendance may not be counted as part of the minimum wage.

Order No. 3. Fruit and Vegetable Canning. For the canning of all varieties of fruit and vegetables, piece-rates may be fixed by the individual establishment, provided that these piece-rates shall yield to at least 50 per cent of the adult women working upon such piece-rates not less than 33⅓¢ per hour. If these piece-rates do not yield 33⅓¢ an hour to 50 per cent of the adult women working upon them in the individual establishment, a percentage of increase sufficient to make the piece-rates so yield, shall be added to the earnings of all women and female minors whose piece-work earnings fell below 33⅓¢ an hour, provided that the piece-work earnings of the women and female minors who fell below 33⅓¢ an hour and the per cent added to their earnings shall not exceed 33⅓¢ an hour.

Elderly and infirm canners working upon permits issued by the Commission shall be eliminated from the audit, but they shall be paid the percentage of increase.

Any person, firm or corporation desiring to pay on a piece-rate basis for the preparation or canning of fruit or vegetables shall file with the Commission his election so to do on or before June 1, 1921, together with his agreement to pay for such audits as may be reasonably required by the Commission in order to insure the yielding power of the piece-rates as required by this Order.

Rates per box shall be based on the maximum weight capacity of the box, which shall be fixed for each product for the season. The maximum weight shall be established upon average weight of sixteen boxes, filled to capacity, one box being placed on another. The rate shall be posted.

Order No. 11. Manufacturing. *Home Work.* Every person, firm or corporation employing home workers in

any manufacturing industry shall report the fact of such employment to the Industrial Welfare Commission, such report to include the statement of the character of work performed and the piece rates paid therefor.

Every person, firm or corporation employing women or minors in any manufacturing industry shall keep a record of the names and addresses of all female and minor employees who are given work to perform at home or outside of the place of business of such person, firm or corporation. This record shall include the amount of work performed and the wages earned weekly by each such worker and the piece rate paid shall be specified.

Every person, firm or corporation employing women on home work or work performed outside of the place of business of such person, firm or corporation, shall pay to such women a piece rate equal to a rate which will yield to sixty-six and two-thirds (66⅔) per cent of the women employed within the factory not less than 33⅓¢ an hour.

c. By Enabling Workers to Check Their Earnings.

Order No. 3. Fruit and Vegetable Canning. All women and minor workers shall be furnished with working checks indicating the hours worked, and the checks of pieceworkers shall also record the amount of work performed.

d. By Preventing Deductions.

Order No. 12. Hotels and Restaurants *Laundering Uniforms.* If an employer requires waitresses to wear a uniform or apron which is not laundered by the establishment, an allowance of 75¢ a week shall be paid in addition to the minimum wage.

Order No. 5. Mercantile, No. 9. General and Professional Offices. *Cash Shortage*: No person, firm or corporation shall make a deduction from the minimum wage of any woman or minor for a cash shortage, unless it be shown that the shortage is caused by the willful or dis-

honest act of the employee, notwithstanding any contract or arrangement to the contrary.

e. By Rules as to Experience in Industries Where Work is Irregular.

Order No. 6. Fish Canning. Women and minor workers are deemed experienced when they have been employed in the establishment for four weeks or 150 hours.

Order No. 8. Fruit and Vegetable Canning. Every employer in the fruit and vegetable packing industry shall, when demand is made by any woman or minor employed, furnish such employee with a statement setting forth the period of employment of such employee in his establishment.

f. By Preventing Undercutting of Experienced Workers by Learners.

Orders No. 5, 7, 9, 11. No person, firm or corporation shall suffer or permit the employment of over 33 1/3 per cent of the total number of females (exclusive of the office force, the millinery workroom force, and the female workers regulated by Order No. 12) as learners, at less than the legal minimum wage of $16.00 a week. In computing the total number of females, special and part-time workers shall not be included. Also in Order 11. Manufacturing.

Provided that, in highly seasonal industries, a permit may be granted by the Industrial Welfare Commission to provide for an increase in the number of learners on proof that a sufficient supply of experienced workers is not available. Such permits will limit the number of learners allowed and the conditions under which they may be employed.

g. By Preventing Undercutting of Experienced Workers by Part Time Workers.

Order No. 5. Mercantile. The total number of adult and minor female part-time workers shall not exceed 10 per cent of the total number of females employed.

h. By Rules to Protect Learners in Regard to Learners' Certificates.

Order No. 5. Mercantile, No. 11. Manufacturing. Every person, firm or corporation employing learners shall make application for the registration of such learners at the end of two weeks' employment, and pending the issuance of certificates of registration, shall pay to all learners not less than the minimum rate for the wage group in which they belong.

All women and minor learners for whom applications for learners' certificates have not been made to the Industrial Welfare Commission at the end of two weeks' employment will be rated by the Commission as experienced workers, to be paid not less than $16.00 a week.

Facility for Learning.

Orders No. 5. Mercantile, No. 7. Laundry and Dry Cleaning, No. 11. Manufacturing. A learner is a woman or minor whom the Industrial Welfare Commission permits to work for a person, firm or corporation for less than the legal minimum wage in consideration of the provision, by such employer, of reasonable facilities for learning the industry.

Dismissal at Promotional Periods.

Orders Nos. 5, 7, 11. Learners' permits will be withheld by the Commission where there is evidence of attempted evasion of the law by firms which make a practice of dismissing learners when they reach their promotional periods.

Students of Vocational Schools.

Orders Nos. 5, 9, 11. Any person, firm or corporation may employ students attending accredited vocational, continuation or cooperative schools at part-time work on special permits from the Commission, and at rates to be determined by the Commission.

Earnings During First Two Weeks.

Order No. 11. Manufacturing. All adult and minor learners during the first two weeks of employment shall be paid not less than their piece-rate earnings; *provided, however,* that learners who remain in an establishment for thirty days shall, at the end of that period, be paid the difference between their piece-rate earnings for the first week and the minimum time rate for the same period; and that learners who remain in an establishment for sixty days shall, at the end of that period, be paid the difference between their piece-rate earnings for the second week and the minimum time rate for the same period. All adult and minor learners discharged within two weeks shall be paid the guaranteed rate for time worked.

Rates Saturdays and Holidays.

Orders No. 5. Mercantile, No. 11. Manufacturing. Minor workers employed for eight hours on Saturdays and holidays shall be paid not less than $2 a day.

i. By Rules Facilitating Law Enforcement.

Records.

Orders Nos. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12. Every person, firm or corporation employing women or minors in the given industry shall keep, in a form and manner approved by the Industrial Welfare Commission, records of the names and addresses, the rates paid, the hours worked and the amounts earned by all women and minor employees, such records to be kept on file for at least one year. Male minors shall be marked "M" and female minors "F" on the pay roll.

Every person, firm or corporation employing women or minors in the mercantile industry, failing to keep records as required in Section 11 (*a*) of this Order, *shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.*

Day of Rest.

Orders Nos. 3, 6, 8, 9. Sunday shall be considered the day of rest for all women and minors unless a different arrangement is made by the employer for the sole purpose of providing another day of the week as the day of rest. In all such cases a written or printed notice shall be posted in the workroom, designating the day of rest for all women and minors:

Report on Emergency Work on Day of Rest.

Order No. 12. Hotel and Restaurants. That firms employing women on their day of rest in case of emergency, shall, within the week in which the emergency occurs, mail to the Industrial Welfare Commission a statement of the nature of the emergency, the names of the women employed on their day of rest, the number of hours worked by them during the day and the amounts paid them.

Permits for Continuous Process Work.

Order No. 11. Manufacturing. No person, firm or corporation employing women in any manufacturing industry shall employ, or suffer or permit any woman to work before the hour of six (6) a. m. or after the hour of eleven (11) p. m. without a permit from the Industrial Welfare Commission. Such permits will define the conditions under which such night work may be performed and will be issued only when the work to be performed is a continuous process which can not be controlled in any other way.

Permits for Time Work.

Orders No. 5. Mercantile, No. 11. Manufacturing. All adult and minor part-time workers shall be registered with the Commission. Registration of part-time workers is accomplished by sending to the Commission, at the end of two weeks' employment, the following information concerning each part-time worker: Name, age, address.

hours to be worked a week, amount to be paid a week, and for minors under sixteen years of age, the kind of working permit.

ANALYSIS OF RATES.

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. Report of California Industrial Welfare Commission, 1919-1920. July, 1921.

Fruit and Vegetable Order Revised—1921.

The list of fruits and vegetables for which rates are fixed is considerably shortened as compared with last year, asparagus, string beans, plums, grapes, and the hand peeling of peaches being omitted, subject to the rates adopted by individual establishments, which must, however, yield 33⅓ cents per hour to 50 per cent of the adult women working in the individual establishments. This is a relaxation from the test under the preceding order, when 66⅔ per cent of the workers must earn the minimum in order to justify its continuance. Another relaxation which favors the employer is that labelers are to be counted experienced after two weeks of employment instead of after a single week as under the prior order. Slight changes were also made in regard to records, etc., of hours of labor, but not affecting working time.

(Page 142.)

(2) Wage Investigations and Minimum Ordered.

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. Report on the Regulation of Wages, Hours and Working Conditions of Women and Minors in the Fruit and Vegetable Canning Industry of California. May, 1917.

The Wage Board unanimously accepted the following minimum rates of pay for cutting and canning of fruits and vegetables:

Cutting.

	Per 100 lbs.	Box 40 lbs.
Apricots	$.225	$.09
Pears	.375	.15
Peaches, cling	.225	.09
Peaches, free	.125	.05
Tomatoes—per dozen quarts		$.03

Canning.

	Per dozen cans
Fruit, No. 2½	$.015
Fruit, No. 10	.036
Tomatoes, No. 2½	.01
Tomatoes, No. 10	.024

I would like to call your attention to the effect of these recommended rates upon the industry, and the gain to the women working in the industry, if the commission accept them.* (Page 45.)

In the season of 1915, 43 per cent of the canneries packing apricots paid a lower rate than $.225 per hundred pounds, or $.09 per 40-pound box. It will mean a gain to the women working in these canneries of from 1 to 4 cents per box of 40 pounds. Sixteen per cent of the canneries packing apricots paid $.225 per hundred pounds and 41 per cent were paying above that rate.

*Rates accepted by Order No. 1, Feb. 14, 1916.

Apricots are 19.1 per cent of the entire fruit pack of the state.

Occupation.	Minimum Piece Rate.
Cutting Apricots,	$0.225 per 100 lbs. (or $0.09 per 40 lbs.)
Cutting Pears,	0.375 per 100 lbs. (or 0.15 per 40 lbs.)
Cutting Cling Peaches,	0.225 per 100 lbs. (or 0.09 per 40 lbs.)
Cutting Free Peaches,	0.125 per 100 lbs. (or 0.05 per 40 lbs.)
Cutting Tomatoes,	0.03 per 12 quarts

Occupation.	Size of Can.	Minimum Piece Rate.
Canning All Varieties of fruit..	No. 2½	$0.015 per doz.
Canning All Varieties of fruit..	No. 10	0.036 per doz.
Canning Tomatoes.....	No. 2½	0.01 per doz.
Canning Tomatoes.....	No. 10	0.024 per doz.

(Page 51.)

Of the canneries packing free peaches, 19 per cent paid less than $.125 per hundred pounds, or 5 cents per box of 40 pounds for peeling. It means a gain to the women 1 cent per box of 40 pounds of fruit. Thirty-eight per cent of the canneries were paying $.125 per hundred pounds, and 43 per cent paid above this rate. Free peaches are 14.9 per cent of the entire fruit pack of the state.

Of the canneries packing pears, 36 per cent paid less than $.375 per hundred pounds, or 15 cents per box of 40 pounds for pteling. It means a gain to the women in these canneries of from 1 to 3 cents per box of 40 pounds. Thirty per cent of the canneries paid this rate, and 34 per cent paid above this rate. Pears are 13.5 per cent of the entire fruit pack of the state.

Of the canneries packing cling peaches, 58 per cent paid less than $.225 per hundred pounds, or 9 cents a box of 40 pounds. It will mean a gain to the women in these canneries of from 1 to 4 cents per box of 40 pounds. Twenty per cent of the canneries paid this rate, and 22

per cent above this rate. Cling peaches are 43.9 per cent of the total fruit pack of the state.

Therefore, the recommended rates of the Wage Board would materially raise the earnings of the women who prepare these four products, which are 91.4 per cent of the total fruit pack of the state.

Of the canneries which reported canning tomatoes, 18 per cent paid less than 3 cents per 12-quart bucket. The tomato pack is 21 per cent of the entire fruit and vegetable pack of the state.

When you consider that these gains have been made by the unanimous recommendation of the Wage Board, and that the canneries affected by one or more rates employ throughout the season over 20,000 women, I think we may feel that this first Wage Board has been highly successful. (Pages 45-46.)

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. What California Has Done to Protect its Women Workers. April, 1921.

During the biennial period of 1919-1920, the Industrial Welfare Commission has twice amended its wage orders in accordance with the increase in the cost of living; it has extended its regulations to include the printing, bookbinding, lithographing and engraving trades, the hotel and restaurant industry and certain field occupations in which women are employed, and has standardized sanitary conditions in mercantile establishments. (Page 8.)

The Commission has limited the working hours of women in further restriction of the hours permitted by the Eight Hour Law, by prohibiting night work in certain industries and by making high overtime rates for overtime work in fish and fruit and vegetable canneries and in fresh fruit packing houses, all of which are exempt from the provisions of the Eight Hour Law. (Page 7.)

Following the adoption of the $16 weekly minimum wage, the Commission amended its wage orders in the fruit and vegetable canning, mercantile, fish canning, laundry and dry cleaning, and fruit and vegetable pack-

ing industries, in general and professional offices, unclassified occupations and in the manufacturing and hotel and restaurant industries, to provide for the new minimum. A minimum wage order was issued for the protection of women engaged in such field work as the cutting and pitting of fruit for dry-yards, and similar occupations. All these orders were issued within a period of three months. In February, 1920, the printing, bookbinding, lithographing and engraving trades, hitherto not regulated by the orders of the Commission, had been classified under the general manufacturing industry, and the minimum wage in these trades was therefore increased on July 27, 1920, to $16.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. News Letter No. 20. California. January 23, 1923.

The $16 minimum wage rate for women in the mercantile industry has been sustained by the Industrial Welfare Commission in accordance with the recommendation embodied in the report from a wage board made up of employers and employees in that industry. This report was unanimously in favor of the retention of the $16 minimum. Statistics of the Industrial Welfare Commission indicate that 31,189 women are employed in stores in California and that of this number about 6 per cent, or 1909 women and minors, are being paid less than $16 a week as regular apprentices. In 1914 about 62.5 per cent of women and minors in this industry received less than $10 a week.

The Industrial Welfare Commission will now proceed to fix the minimum wages for women and minors in other industries. It is expected that the minimum wage will be set for the general manufacturing industry sometime in January, also for the fish canning industry and needle industries. Later the Board will proceed to fix the minimum wage for the fruit canning industry, laundry industry, telephone and telegraph offices, general and professional offices, hotels and restaurants, and the textile industries. (San Francisco Examiner, December 30, 1922.) (Page 1.)

(3) Reinvestigations for Compliance with Minimum Ordered.

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. Third Biennial Report. 1917-1918.

Approximately 85,000 women, or 85 per cent of all women working in industrial life in California, are now under the protection of the Industrial Welfare Commission. Pay roll returns show an addition by the commission rulings of over one million dollars to the wages of women in the mercantile, laundry, and canning industries, to say nothing of the gains to the office workers, fish canning, fruit packing and unskilled occupations of which comparative payrolls were not available.

That this increase in wages is to be credited wholly to the rulings of the Industrial Welfare Commission, the following table indicates:

Cumulative Per Cent of Women Receiving Under $10.

Mercantile industry—	
1914	52.5 per cent
April, 1917	40.8 per cent
September, 1917, ...	20.2 per cent
Laundry industry—	
1914	59.2 per cent
October, 1917	56.3 per cent
January, 1918	22.1 per cent

In the mercantile industry, for the three years from 1914 to 1917, there was only a decrease of 11.3 per cent in the number of women earning less than $10. In the five months from April, before the order went into effect, to September, when the order went into effect, the drop was 20.6 per cent. There was a gain to the workers of not less than $660,000 per annum by the increase of rates paid in September over those paid in April.

In the laundry industry, the period of comparison is even shorter—three months; the gains are that much more definitely to be credited to the commission. For

the three years from 1914 to 1917, the decrease in the number receiving less than $10 was 2.9 per cent, whereas the decrease for the three months from October, before the order became effective, to January when it became effective, was 34.2 per cent. The increase in wages amounted to $236,000 per annum. (Page 12.)

The first orders of 1916 in the canning industry increased rates paid in 50 per cent of the canneries packing cling peaches; in 19 per cent of those packing freestone peaches; in 36 per cent of the canneries packing pears; in 43 per cent of the canneries packing apricots. The amended orders of 1917 further increased rates. In 1918, the minimum piece rates were increased from 10 to 50 per cent and the time rate from sixteen cents to twenty cents. (Page 13.)

Effects of the Mercantile Order.

Weekly Rate of Wages—Identical Establishments.

City	No. Investigated	Per cent. of Women Receiving (Cumulative)— Under $4	Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	$12 and Over	Official Minimum Wage Based on the Cost of Living**
San Francisco (29 establishments)—												
1914	3,556	.6	2.7	10.7	20.4	24.0	35.6	48.5	56.2	65.0	35.0	
April, 1917	3,621	.1	1.2	3.1	5.2	13.3	22.9	37.1	45.4	58.2	41.8	
September, 1917	3,984	.....	.....	.....	3.6	5.6	13.5	21.0	46.3	69.1	40.9	
Los Angeles (17 establishments)—												
1914	3,842	.4	3.9	7.3	13.1	19.9	34.4	47.7	61.7	65.9	34.1	
April, 1917	4,059	.2	1.8	4.4	8.7	15.1	27.1	43.9	62.0	67.3	32.7	
September, 1917	4,309	.....	.....	.....	5.1	7.4	15.9	21.3	60.1	66.1	33.9	$10.00 Sept. 1917
Oakland (10 establishments)—												
1914	1,038	.7	8.1	12.4	30.4	39.2	50.0	59.4	69.8	75.1	24.9	
April, 1917	937	.9	3.7	10.1	19.3	32.5	41.7	52.3	62.3	70.0	30.0	
September, 1917	1,036	.....	.....	.....	6.3	9.6	21.2	*25.9	61.9	69.6	30.4	
San Diego (8 establishments)—												
1914	404	.2	2.4	5.4	21.0	34.8	45.4	55.1	64.0	67.2	32.8	
April, 1917	434	.5	2.3	3.5	16.3	31.3	40.3	50.8	61.6	65.3	34.7	
September, 1917	443	.....	.....	.....	7.2	10.6	19.4	23.9	62.3	66.4	33.6	
Sacramento (9 establishments)—												
1914	785	1.5	3.4	27.9	46.5	48.1	60.1	70.1	76.1	81.3	18.7	
April, 1917	730	.1	1.0	5.2	10.7	27.2	54.0	66.0	72.4	76.7	23.3	
September, 1917	889	.....	.....	.....	7.6	12.4	24.4	*27.8	72.2	77.4	22.6	

*Corrected within the month, the firm at fault reducing the number of apprentices to less than 25 per cent. (Pages 36, 37).

**See Order No. 5, July 6, 1917, for additional rates set for learners and minors.

Five and Ten Cent Stores.

The general results observed in the mercantile establishments were reproduced in a greater degree in the 5 and 10 cent stores. The adjustment necessary for full compliance with the Minimum Wage rulings was very much greater than in any other store. In 1914, 95 per cent received under $10; in April, 1917, 91 per cent; while in September they dropped to the required 25 per cent. In 1914, 70 per cent received less than $6. In April, 43 per cent received under $6, and 73 per cent under $7. In September none received less than $6, and only 8 per cent between $6 and $7; whereas 75 per cent received $10 or over. (Page 46.)

Five, Ten and Fifteen Cent Stores.

Full Time Workers.

Wages	1914		April, 1917		Sept., 1917		Cumulative Percent			Official Minimum Based on the Cost of Living*
	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.	1914	April, 1917	Sept., 1917	
Under $4.00	5	1.0	.....	.....	.....	.....	1.0	.....	.....	
$4.00 to $4.99	161	31.5	62	12.1	.....	.....	32.5	12.1	.....	
$5.00 to $5.99	191	37.5	160	31.2	.....	.....	70.0	43.3	.....	
$6.00 to $6.99	79	15.5	154	30.0	43	8.1	85.5	73.3	8.1	
$7.00 to $7.99	23	4.5	58	11.3	14	2.6	90.0	84.6	10.7	
$8.00 to $8.99	15	2.9	19	3.7	74	13.9	92.9	88.3	24.6	
$9.00 to $9.99	8	1.6	15	2.9	2	1.4	94.5	91.2	25.0	$10.00 Sept. 1917
$10.00 to $10.99	10	1.9	15	2.9	345	64.7	96.4	94.1	89.7	
$11.00 to $11.99	5	1.0	5	1.0	13	2.4	97.4	95.1	92.1	
$12.00 and over	12	2.6	25	4.9	42	7.9	2.6	4.9	7.9	
Totals	509	100.0	513	100.0	533	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

(Page 47.)

Before the commission passed the mercantile order, these stores took advantage of the peculiar character of their business. The range of goods was not great compared to large department stores; the system of display common to variety stores made the goods practically self-selling, so there was no call for trained saleswomen. The savings through low wages, however, were partly

* See Order No. 5, July 6, 1917, for additional rates set for learners and minors.

redistributed because of losses through employees, the result of the type of employee who would work for the law wage, combined with the temptation that always accompanies low wages, to make up for the wage if the opportunity arises. Higher wages raise the self-respect of the employees who are retained and make them more dependable, besides attracting a better class of employee.

Though recognizing the need for a change and the benefits to be gained, business, especially in the matter of wages, chooses always to wait until some movement forces the change on all concerns in the same line. The mercantile order became the impelling force that brought up the 5 and 10 cent stores from their widely criticized position of paying low wages to that of paying a living wage. The changes required were more than in other establishments, yet were produced with no more friction, the management displaying a spirit of ready and willing co-operation. (Pages 47-48.)

Effects of the Laundry Order.

Almost 600 establishments in 92 cities of the state reported as employing women to a total of over 6,300. The period of three months [between investigations] is so short that contributory factors that might influence the rate are largely discounted, and any changes are to be credited almost entirely to the orders of the commission. (Pages 58-59.)

As a check on these results, and to ascertain whether all required adjustments had been made, another pay roll was called for in November, 1918, and the rate of pay analyzed. (Page 59.)

Weekly Rates of Time Workers for Identical Establishments, 1914 and 1916, 1916 and 1917, 1917 and 1918.

Per Cent of Women receiving (Cumulative)

City	No. Investigated	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	$12 and Over	Official Minimum Wage Based on the Cost of Living*
San Francisco—										
1914 (18 establishments)	1,070	.....	.....	.5	31.9	53.2	70.2	80.6	19.4	
1916 (18 establishments)	1,086	.....	.....	.1	32.8	53.8	71.8	80.8	19.2	
1916 (21 establishments)	1,181	.....	.....	.1	34.9	54.8	72.7	81.6	18.4	
1917 (21 establishments)	1,281	.....	.5	.7	1.1	38.6	60.5	75.6	24.4	
1917 (26 establishments)	1,384	.....	.4	.5	.9	39.3	61.4	75.6	24.4	
1918 (26 establishments)	1,428	.....	.....	.1	1.0	16.2	5.7	72.9	27.1	
Oakland—										
1914 (12 establishments)	446	.....	.....	16.6	52.9	68.2	80.1	82.1	17.9	
1916 (12 establishments)	421	.....	.2	14.7	51.3	69.8	80.5	83.6	16.4	
1916 (11 establishments)	403	.....	.2	15.1	15.3	70.4	80.1	83.4	16.6	$10 Jan.,1918
1917 (11 establishments)	410	.....	.....	1.2	17.3	48.8	68.5	76.3	23.7	
1917 (18 establishments)	504	.....	.....	1.8	19.1	47.9	68.1	76.2	23.8	
1918 (18 establishments)	514	.....	.....	.....	7.4	16.9	64.6	74.1	25.9	
Los Angeles—										
1914 (19 establishments)	1,158	.....	11.1	45.9	63.3	80.0	86.7	88.2	11.8	
1916 (19 establishments)	1,307	1.4	10.0	43.5	62.8	80.7	87.4	88.5	11.5	
1916 (19 establishments)	1,307	1.4	10.0	43.5	62.8	80.7	87.4	88.5	11.5	
1917 (19 establishments)	1,357	6.7	12.8	33.1	56.5	75.3	84.6	87.1	12.9	
1917 (31 establishments)	1,704	5.3	11.2	33.1	55.2	74.7	84.1	86.4	13.6	
1918 (31 establishments)	1,762	.....	.2	9.0	23.1	30.8	82.8	86.8	13.2	

*See Order No. 7, Nov. 14, 1917, for additional rates set for learners.

(Page 75, 76.)

Weekly Rate of Wages—October, 1917, January, 1918 (270 Establishments).

Date of Investigation	No. Investigated	Per cent. of Women Receiving (Cumulative)								
		Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	Under $13
October, 1917	6,394	0.0	1.5	4.5	16.1	29.4	56.3	71.2	77.0	89.9
January, 1918	6,327	.0	.1	.2	1.6	12.4	22.4	69.2	76.2	86.8
November, 1918	6,259	.....	.....	.1	.7	5.7	10.9	35.9	52.2	70.9

Above Table—continued

Date of Investigation	No. Investigated	Per cent. of Women Receiving (Cumulative)								
		Under $14	Under $15	Under $16	Under $17	Under $18	Under $20	Under $22.50	Under $25	$25 to $35
October, 1917	6,394	92.4	93.5	96.6	97.6	97.9	99.2	99.6	99.7	0.3
January, 1918	6,327	90.7	92.1	96.9	97.2	97.5	99.1	99.5	99.7	.3
November, 1918	6,259	78.9	83.8	90.5	92.9	94.0	97.1	99.2	99.6	.4

(Condensed)

(Pages 60–65.)

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. What California Has Done to Protect Its Women Workers. April, 1921.

It is the practice of the Commission to call for the filing of certified pay roll reports from employers of women in certain industries immediately following the issuance or amendment of wage orders in those industries. The careful checking of these reports frequently necessitates inspection to secure conformance with the orders of the Commission, and the pay roll data is later tabulated, that the Commission may observe and report on the effect of its rulings.

The following tables show the per cent of women and female minors receiving specified weekly rates of pay in the laundry and dry cleaning industry, in the mercantile industry, and in the manufacturing industry. These three industries, employing 57,000 women in 3,250 establishments, are the industries in which women workers are concentrated in the largest employment groups. In the mercantile and laundry industries, pay rolls were obtained under the $10 minimum wage three months before the $13.50 minimum wage was established, so that the effect of the higher minimum on the wages of the women could be studied. In the manufacturing industry, the $10 minimum wage became effective in January, 1919, so that in that industry the pay roll reports filed after the issuance of the three minimum wage orders show clearly the results of these orders. These tables indicate that upon the adoption of a higher minimum wage the per cent of women in the minimum wage group itself is greatly increased, showing that many of the women in the lower paid groups are raised to the minimum. This increase in the per cent of women in the minimum wage group has not been at the expense of women receiving over the minimum, as the per cent of women in these higer paid groups has increased also. (Pages 8-9.)

Manufacturing Industry.

Per Cent of Female Time Workers Receiving Weekly Rates of—

Period	Date	Less than $10.00	$10.00 and less than $13.50	$13.50 and less than $16.00	$16.00 and less than $17.00	Over $17.00	Total	Number of female time workers	Number of establishments
Under $10.00 Minimum Wage Order.....	Jan., 1919	14.8	52.1	18.5	3.7	10.9	100	[1]9,219	674
Under $13.50 Minimum Wage Order.....	Sept., 1919	2.2	24.8	45.8	6.4	20.8	100	[2]13,302	904
Under $16.00 Minimum Wage Order.....	Oct., 1920	0	5.7	13.0	33.1	48.2	100	[3]14,491	1,050

In addition to these time workers—

[1]4,298 piece workers; all experienced piece workers guaranteed the minimum wage.
[2]5,628 piece workers; all experienced piece workers guaranteed the minimum wage.
[3]5,881 piece workers; all experienced piece workers guaranteed the minimum wage.

Laundry Industry.

Per Cent of Female Time Workers Receiving Weekly Rates of—

Period	Date	Less than $10.00	$10.00 and less than $13.50	$13.50 and less than $16.00	$16.00 and less than $17.00	Over $17.00	Total	Number of female time workers	Number of establishments
Under $10.00 Minimum Wage Order.....	May, 1919	5.0	58.8	21.9	3.6	10.7	100	[1]7,315	481
Under $13.50 Minimum Wage Order.....	Aug., 1919	.3	11.9	54.6	8.9	24.3	100	[2]7,982	528
Under $16.00 Minimum Wage Order.....	Aug., 1920	0	2.7	6.7	31.5	59.1	100	[3]7,562	504

In addition to these time workers—

[1]605 piece workers; all experienced piece workers guaranteed the minimum wage.
[2]656 piece workers; all experienced piece workers guaranteed the minimum wage.
[3]347 piece workers; all experienced piece workers guaranteed the minimum wage.

(Page 2.)

Mercantile Industry.

Per Cent of Women and Female Minors Receiving Weekly Rates of—

Period	Date	Less than $10.00	$10.00 and less than $13.50	$13.50 and less than $16.00	$16.00 and less than $17.00	Over $17.00	Total	Number of female time workers	Number of establishments
Under $10.00 Minimum Wage Order.....	Mar., 1919	10.0	46.4	20.9	4.0	18.7	100	21,627	1,336
Under $13.50 Minimum Wage Order.....	July, 1919	0.3	18.8	48.1	5.0	21.8	100	23,088	1,605
Under $16.00 Minimum Wage Order.....	Aug., 1920	.4	5.5	7.2	40.0	46.9	100	28,645	1,710

(Pages 10-11.)

Inspections.

Over 1,600 inspections for the enforcement of the wage and sanitary orders of the Commission have been made in the year and one-half period from July 1, 1919, to January, 1920. The Commission has had during that period the services of eight agents, whose duties included the making of plant inspections and the checking of certified pay roll reports filed with the Commission. During the year and one-half period, 8,500 such reports were filed. Examination of these records brought to light a large number of cases of non-conformance with the minimum wage orders, which only personal inspection by the agents of the Commission could clear. The violations included nonpayment of the minimum wage, an excess number of learners and incorrect payment of apprentices. Over $30,000 has been collected in back wages during the period, as a result of the inspection of these reports and the field inspections by agents of the Commission.

During the canning seasons of 1919-1920, intensive inspection in the fruit and vegetable canneries was necessitated by the fact that the Commission, at the desire of both employees and employers, sanctioned a piece-rate method of payment for the preparation of fruit and vegetables, with the proviso that the piece-rates should yield to two-thirds of the women working upon them, not less than the minimum hourly rate of 33 1/3 cents. The women whose earnings fell below 33 1/3 cents an hour constituted the apprentice group which the Commission limited in this industry, as in others, to one-third of the number of women and female workers.

In order to insure the adequacy of the piece-rates, it was necessary to make a weekly pay roll inspection and audit of all canneries operating on a piece-rate method of payment for the preparation of fruit and vegetables. The credit for the auditing plan is due to the canners' associations of the state, in that their members proposed that they put special investigators in their establishments at their own expenses, to insure the yielding power of

the piece-rates required by the Commission. The Commission could not accept this, but proposed, as an alternative, regional auditors, chosen by the Commission under regulation of the State Civil Service, and directed by and solely responsible to the Commission, to make weekly inspections of the pay rolls of the women cutters in all canneries operating on a piece-rate basis. Funds from which these auditors were to be paid were to be collected by the canners, deposited with the State Treasurer and audited by the State Board of Control, as are all other state funds. This arrangement was accepted by the canners.

During the two canning seasons, 2,775 such audits were made in canneries employing approximately 30,000 women. The increase in wages resulting from the increased piece and time rates established by the Commission, and the further increase of approximately $200,000 found necessary by the weekly pay roll audit, amounted to over $1,000,000. (Page 14.)

Contributed Funds.

Canners' Audit Fund 1919.....	$6,798.91
Canners' Audit Fund 1920.....	6,702.37
California Walnut Growers' Fund..	500.00
	$14,001.28

(Page 6.)

Owing to a lack of funds, the Commission has not been able to call for the filing of certified pay roll reports in the hotel and restaurant industry, fruit and vegetable packing industry, general and professional offices, unclassified occupations and field occupations. The inspections of these occupations have been practically limited to those made necessary by actual complaint, and the great number of women employed have not received the full measure of protection afforded to women workers in the industries in which women are concentrated in large employment groups. (Page 14.)

$130,985.00 recommended budget for Industrial Welfare Commission. [Biennial period.]

$81,387,692.00 recommended budget for all departments of the State of California. [Biennial period.]

The recommended budget for the Industrial Welfare Commission is one-sixteenth of one per cent of the total recommended budget for all departments. (Page 4.)

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. Statement by Katherine Philips Edson, Executive Commissioner. December, 1922.

Shall we return to the conditions existing in 1914 before any minimum wage was set, when 52.9 per cent of the women in the mercantile industry in the state received less than $10 per week and 59.2 per cent of the laundry workers of the state received less than $10 per week. Today, because of the work of the Industrial Welfare Commission, 61 per cent of the women in the mercantile industry receive $17 a week and over, and 63 per cent of the women laundry workers receive $17 per week and over. Besides this, thousands of dollars in back wages are collected by the Commission's agents for helpless women yearly.

4. Peculiar Local Experience.

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. Statement to the Women's Organizations of California on the Present Status of Minimum Wage Legislation in This and Other States. Katherine Philips Edson, Executive Commissioner. April 22, 1922.

On the 11th day of April, 1922, the Industrial Welfare Commission amended its orders in the manufacturing industry, the fruit, vegetable and fish canning industries, the fruit and vegetable packing industry and in certain unskilled occupations by establishing $15 as the minimum wage in those industries. Those voting for the $15 minimum were Mr. A. B. C. Dohrmann, Mr. Henry W. Louis,

and myself, while Mr. Walter G. Mathewson, State Labor Commissioner, voted no. (Page 3.)

The California minimum wage of $16 has been the highest in the manufacturing industry in the United States, and has been maintained the longest. There are but fourteen states in the Union today that have any kind of minimum wage legislation and in only a few are the laws operating and these on a lower wage level. Massachusetts has just reduced its minmum wage from $15.50 to $14.00 and $14.75 in the manufacturing industries. Moreover, the Massachusetts law provides no penalty for violation and is, therefore, a standardizing agency rather than a real law. The District of Columbia's wage in printing, which is the only industry similar to manufacturing, is $15.50, and the law, now in the courts, is inoperative. Kansas has just made a $12 minimum wage. Oregon and Washington have a minimum wage of $13.20 for adult women. Arkansas' minimum is $7.50. Wisconsin's wage is $13.75 for a fifty-five-hour week, or 25 cents an hour. In cities under 5000, the rate is 22 cents per hour. Minnesota's minimum wage is $12 a week. Utah, from which state our heavy competition in the candy industry comes, has a minimum wage of $7.50 a week. (Pages 3-4.)

The whole question of whether or not women can be protected by state action against starvation wages is at stake. If a minimum wage is to remain only stationary, neither going up nor coming down in accordance with changes in the cost of living, then the legislature should enact a minimum wage by statute. It is extravagant to keep a department of industrial welfare unless there is sufficiently elastic power in it to regulate industry honestly and fairly.

There have been reductions of from 10 per cent to 35 per cent in wages all over this country. The Industrial Welfare Commission has been standing squarely against any reduction since February, 1921, when groups of manufacturers and canners first asked relief from the Commission's orders, but at that time the Commission

had not sufficient evidence of a reduction in the cost of living to warrant a reduction in the minimum wage.

The Industrial Welfare Commission has to proceed, under the law, to provide a minimum wage based upon the necessary cost of proper living. That there is a wide divergence in the conception of what constitutes the minimum cost of proper living is evidenced by two of the budgets presented to the Commission for consideration—the $11.78 budget of the California Manufacturers' Association and the budget of $21.20 presented by the California State Federation of Labor and the San Francisco Labor Council as a "proper budget" for a self-dependent woman. The Commission, in the very beginning of its regulation of the minimum wage, realized that in order to determine the minimum cost of proper living, one standard would have to be set and consistently observed. And so, disregarding the type of woman with some means of support, as well as the type of woman with dependents, the Commission adopted as the basis for the fixing of the minimum wage, the wholly self-dependent woman with no dependents.

When evidence was produced showing that the $16 wage was preventing employers from bidding successfully against Eastern competitors for orders, and that there resulted short weeks of work for women—and in many instances, no work—the Commission was faced with the necessity of making it possible for California manufacturers to get orders to provide work for California women. My own desire has been to keep the highest minimum wage that industry can bear consistent with keeping women employed.

The general wage board held on March 30, 1922, consisting of thirteen women workers, seven of whom represented organized women workers, and thirteen employers, passed the following unanimous resolution: "Resolved: That the minimum wage be decided in accordance with a budget that the Industrial Welfare Commission may decide to be fair, considering the present living conditions."

Although investigations into the cost of living had been commenced immediately following the request for a reduction in the minimum, this resolution necessitated a further inquiry. Data gathered in the month of March, 1922, compared with data gathered in investigations throughout the year, showed that a reduction of 6¼ per cent in the minimum wage of $16 would maintain the standards previously established by the $16 minimum in 1920. No fair person can say that $15 today has not as great a purchasing power as $16 had in 1920.

Following are the budgets upon which the Commission based the $16 minimum of 1920 and the $15 minimum of April 11, 1922:

Comparative Estimates of Minimum Cost of Living. 1920-1922.

Item.	Per Year 1920.		Per Year 1922.
Board	$399.63		$365.00
Room	160.92		180.00
Shoes	(2) 17.50	(2)	12.00
Corsets	(2) 7.00	(2)	5.00
Petticoats	(2) 5.00	(2)	4.00
Stockings	(8) 6.00	(8)	4.00
Nightgowns	(3) 5.40	(3)	3.75
Underwear	9.00	bloomers	
		vests	4.25
	(3)	camisoles	3.00
Dress (silk or wool)	(½) 15.00	(½)	12.50
Apron or house dress	3.50		1.50
Coat	(½) 22.50	(½)	15.00
Suit	(½) 20.00	(½)	15.00
Sweater	(½) 3.75	(½)	1.75
Hats	(3) 15.00	(2)	10.00
Gloves	(2) 4.50	(2)	3.00
Handkerchiefs	2.40	(12)	1.20
Kimono	2.00	(½)	1.00
Waists	10.50	1—$4.00	
		2—$2.00	8.00

Item—(Continued).	Per Year 1920.	Per Year 1922.
Rubbers	.85	.85
Repairing shoes	2.50	3.00
Cleaning and repairing clothing	4.00	4.00
Umbrella		(½) 1.00
Carfare	36.50	36.50
Sundries (toilet)	7.50	7.50
Medical and dental	25.00	25.00
Vacation	25.00	25.00
Amusement	12.00	12.00
Laundry	15.00	15.00
Total per year	$837.95	$779.81
Total per week	$16.11	$14.99

Summary of Items.	1920.	1922.
Board and room	$560.55	$545.00
Clothing	156.40	113.81
Sundries	121.00	121.00

Note—Where (½) is shown it indicates one-half the actual cost of a garment which lasts two years.

A careful analysis of these figures will show that an increase of $1.59 a month has been made in the allowance for a room; that the allowance for food is $1.00 a day as against $1.09 in 1920; that the allowance for sundries, including carfare, toilet sundries, medical and dental care, vacation, amusement and laundry, is identical in the two budgets; and that the greatest reduction is shown to be in the cost of clothing. Comparison of the clothing budgets of 1920 and 1922 will show further that with two exceptions (three hats included in the 1920 budget, two in 1922; one kimono a year in 1920, one kimono to be used for two years in 1922), the standard established by the 1920 budget is maintained with regard to quantity of garments. With regard to quality, garments purchasable today on a minimum budget are superior to those obtainable in 1920.

Of the original Commission of five members appointed in 1913, three members are still serving. Briefly, the Commission has been able to accomplish these results for the working women of the State.

Progress is being made in the maintenance of a high sanitary standard in factories, canneries, laundries and stores, insuring the health and comfort of the women workers. The most notable achievement in this direction has been the adequate seating of the 30,000 women employed in the fruit and vegetable canning industry, where long hours of standing formerly made this occupation an exhausting one.

Secondly, limitation of the hours worked in further limitation of the eight-hour law for women. High overtime rates in the vegetable and fish canning industries and in the fruit and vegetable packing industries have automatically eliminated the 12 to 17-hour working days which were once considered a necessity in the canning industry. A day of rest has been provided for women employed more than six hours a day in hotels and restaurants.

The establishment of a minimum wage of $10 in 1917, $13.50 in 1919 and $16 in 1920, was based on careful investigations into the cost of living. The effect of each minimum wage ruling has been to immediately decrease the number of women receiving less than the minimum established, at the same time increasing the number of women receiving the minimum, while the number of women receiving over the minimum has also increased. In 1914, before this Commission made any rulings, 69 per cent of the women workers in the mercantile industry received less than $12.00 a week, and only 31 per cent received $12.00 and over. At the present time, 2.5 per cent—and these are minor workers—receive less than $12 a week, and 86.9 per cent receive $16 a week and over. In the laundry industry in 1914, 81.4 per cent of the women workers received less than $12 a week, including the organized women in San Francisco. Today, not a woman or minor laundry worker in the State receives

less than $12 a week and 90.6 per cent receive $16 a week and over. In the manufacturing industries in October, 1920, 6-10ths of 1 per cent of the women and minor workers received less than $12 a week and 81.3 per cent received $16 a week and over. (Pages 4-5-6-7.)

Colorado.

(1) Peculiar Local Experience.

Colorado. Industrial Commission. Fifth Report. Year Ending December 1, 1921.

Colorado Minimum Wage Law for Women and Minors.

In its Fourth Report, covering the year ending November 30, 1920, the Industrial Commission recommended to the Legislature that an adequate appropriation be made to permit the Commission to put the Minimum Wage Law into effective operation. The Act as passed provided a secretary, but made no provision for other employees or expenses and no provision has since been made, although the recommendations of the Commission were approved by the Budget Commissioner. The department will be unable to do any effective work until proper provision is made for its necessary expenses. (Page 145.)

Governor Sweet of Colorado. Inaugural Address. Senate Journal. January 9, 1923.

The law providing for a minimum wage for women passed ten years ago and never enforced should be made effective by an appropriation sufficient for inquiry into the wages of women. (Page 16.)

Efforts to Repeal Law Have Failed.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. News Letter No. 4. May 24, 1921.

Bills were also introduced to repeal the minimum wage law and to transfer the State Labor Department from the office of the Secretary of State to the Industrial Commission. Both of these measures were defeated.

Kansas.

1. Minimum Wage Orders. [Summarized.]

No. 9. *Telephone Operators.* Effective September 5, 1918. In exchanges serving communities of less than 1000 population: experienced females $7; learners, 6 months at $6, 6 months at $6.50. Exchanges serving 1000 to 5000: experienced females $7.50; learners, 6 months at $6, 6 months at $7. Exchanges serving 5000 to 20,000: experienced females, $8; learners, 6 months at $6, 6 months at $7. Exchanges serving 20,000 and over: experienced females, $9; learners, 1 month at $6.50, 5 months at $7, 6 months at $8. Time in excess of 8 hours at 1½ the rates.

No. 12. *Laundries.* Effective July 19, 1922. Experienced women and minors, $11. Learners: 3 months at $7.50, 3 months at $9. Overtime: maximum 2½ hours per week beyond 49½ hours, at time and one-half. Laundry not furnishing full week's work shall pay full minimum wage, provided employee avails herself of full working time offered.

No. 13. *Manufacturing.* Effective July 19, 1922. Experienced women and minors (over 16), $11. Learners and minors (also male): 3 months at $7.50, 3 months at $9; except garment factories and other industries operating on piece-work basis, where learner is handling materials subject to possible injury and loss and where average speed must be developed, first month at $6.50; except in millinery and dressmaking, 4 months at $6.50, 4 months at $7.50, 9 months at $9. Overtime: maximum 4½ hours per week beyond 49½ hours, at time and one-half.

Piece Rates.

The weekly earnings shall net the minimum wage provided the employee has availed herself of all work offered.

No. 14. *Mercantile.* Effective July 19, 1922. Experienced woman or minor (over 16), $10.50. Learners, two months at $7.50, 4 months at $8, 6 months at $9. Minors (under 18), two months at $6, 4 months at $8, 6 months at $9. No more than 20 per cent learners and minors in any one establishment.

2. Wage Investigations and Minimum Ordered.

Kansas. Industrial Welfare Commission. First Biennial Report. 1915-1917.

This investigation proved to the Commission that a substantial number of women workers in laundries were working for inadequate wages, that they were not receiving a sufficient amount to enable them to have proper food and clothing, to make any provision for health or recreation, or to allow them to properly house themselves. (Page 24.)

[Analysis] shows that 64 per cent of all the full-time workers [770] in laundries work fifty-four hours per week or longer, while 25 per cent work sixty to seventy-two hours per week. Notwithstanding the long hours, the wages in many of the laundries are very low. A fraction over 29 per cent receive less than $6 per week. More than 52 per cent receive between $6 and $8, which means that about 82 per cent of all the laundry workers receive $8 or less per week, the majority of them ranging from $5 to $7. (Page 18.)

In the mercantile establishments listed in Table No. 8, wages and hours of 1,625 women employees are given; 26 per cent receive under $6 a week; 28 per cent receive $6 a week and over, but under $8; 28 per cent are shown to receive $8 and over, but under $12; and but 18 per cent are shown to receive $12 and over. More than 40 per cent receive less than $7 per week. Out of 1,625 girls, 1,003 receive under $9 a week. (Page 29.)

The inspector visited almost every five and ten cent store in the state and accurate investigation on 303

employees was secured. The tables show that of the number investigated, 87 per cent receive less than $6 a week; that 51 per cent receive less than $5; more of them receive $4 or $4.50 per week. (Page 32.)

Wages for Women

Industries	No. Investigated	Number of Women with Rate of—												Official Minimum Wage Based on the cost of Living
		Under $3	$3 and under $4	$4 and under $5	$5 and under $6	$6 and under $7	$7 and under $8	$8 and under $9	$9 and under $10	$10 and under $12	$12 and under $15	$15 and under $20	$20 and over	
Laundries, 1st class cities	565	2	11	38	106	176	120	51	24	24	8	4	1	$8.50* May 14, 1918
Laundries, 2d class cities	205	1	10	16	42	66	43	13	2	6	3	3	....	
Mercantile, 1st class cities	1,023	3	20	46	108	179	128	133	71	116	85	93	41	
Mercantile, 2d class cities	529	1	9	12	59	70	68	71	37	75	69	54	24	
5 and 10 cent stores, 1st class cities	225	3	10	111	71	13	8	3	2	2	1	....	....	$8.50** Mch. 18, 1918
5 and 10 cent stores, 2d class cities	69	....	3	36	22	5	3	....	....	....	....	....	....	

(Compiled.) (Pages 19, 30, 31, 33.)

*See Order No. 7, March 14, 1918, for additional rates for learners.
**See Order No. 6, January 16, 1918, for additional rates for learners and minors.

Minimum Wage Study. Ohio Council on Women and Children in Industry. 1920.

Linna Bressette, Secretary Kansas Industrial Welfare Commission:

The working women have been very appreciative of this legislation. While the minimum wage set in Kansas is very low, it is surprising the amount of good which has been accomplished among the women workers. (Pages 26-27.)

(3) Reinvestigations for Compliance with Minimum Ordered.

Kansas. Court of Industrial Relations. Second Annual Report. Year Ending December 31, 1921.

Industrial Statistics Relating to Employment of Women and Children in Industries of Twenty-One Cities.

Cities	Total industries	Women employees	Children under 16 years	Average hours per day women	Average wage per hour, women office	Average wage per hour, women plant	Average wage per week, women office	Average wage per week, women plant	Official Minimum Wage Based on the Cost of Living
Arkansas City	58	113	0	8 5/12	$0.35	$0.25	$17.68	$12.63	
Atchison	65	190	4	8 5/21	39	26	18.26	12.86	
Chanute	57	83	0	8 4/15	37	27	18.34	13.38	
Cherryvale	23	20	0	9 1/4	42	39	23.31	21.64	
Coffeyville	63	94	1	8	42	29	20.16	13.96	
El Dorado	38	56	0	8	45	27	21.60	12.94	
Emporia	47	103	3	8	40	29	19.20	13.96	
Fort Scott	51	130	0	7 11/12	40	37	19.00	17.57	$11.00
Hutchinson	99	340	7	8 7/24	43	34	21.39	16.98	Feb. 21. 1919
Independence	55	75	0	8 3/10	34 7/12	27 2/7	17.29	13.64	
Iola	42	163	0	8 1/100	36	26	17.28	12.48	
Kansas City	188	1,525	11	8 1/4	46	36	22.27	17.43	
Lawrence	36	132	2	8 1/3	42	30	21.00	15.00	
Leavenworth	53	120	3	8 2/10	31 8/13	27 4/5	15.80	13.90	
Newton	39	96	0	8 1/12	37	32	17.34	15.52	
Parsons	62	124	0	8	39	32	18.72	15.36	
Pittsburg	75	166	0	8	43	30	20.64	14.40	
Salina	72	224	0	8	37	32	17.76	15.36	
Topeka	164	747	17	7 1/7	43 13/24	36 11/25	20.82	17.46	
Wichita	247	1,109	1	8 1/11	48	37	23.28	17.94	
Winfield	43	91	2	8 5/12	38	30	19.19	15.15	
Totals for 21 cities	1,577	5,703	54	8 5/21	40	31	$19.77	$15.32	

(Page 92.)

(4) Peculiar Local Experience.

Minimum Wage Study. Ohio Council on Women and Children in Industry. 1920.

Linna Bresette, Secretary Kansas Industrial Welfare Commission:

Our latest wage decree was a factory order, establishing an 8 hour basic day and an $11 minimum wage. It is being fought by one of the employers in the State, with the backing of the Associated Industries. We have temporarily been enjoined from enforcing this order, and therefore can do very little with that order until such time as the court renders a decision.

The working women have been very appreciative of this legislation. While the minimum wage set in Kansas is very low, it is surprising the amount of good which has been accomplished among the women workers. (Pages 26-27.)

Kansas. Court of Industrial Relations. Women's Division. Cost of Living Survey of the Wage Earning Women of the State of Kansas. August 31, 1921.

In 1915 the legislature of Kansas passed a law known as the Industrial Welfare Commission act. This act provided, "That it shall be unlawful to employ women, learners and apprentices and minors in any industry or occupation within the state of Kansas under conditions of labor detrimental to their health or welfare and . . . at wages which are not adequate for their maintenance." (Chapter 275, Session Laws of 1915.)

The administration of this act was by a Commission appointed by the governor, but the law provided that the Commission could make no orders except upon recommendation of a board established for the purpose. This board was composed of representatives of employers of the occupation in question, representatives of employees, and at least one representative of the public.

No wage was ever recommended to the Commission that exceeded $11 a week, after six months of service.

The legislature of 1921 abolished the Industrial Welfare Commission and transferred its activities to the Court of Industrial Relations. The new law provided, "That all orders and rules heretofore made by the Industrial Welfare Commission, and now in force, shall continue in force until the same may be changed or repealed by the Court of Industrial Relations."

In outlining a program for the women's work the court decided to review and revise, where necessary, all orders heretofore made by the Commission.

Kansas. Court of Industrial Relations. Second Annual Report. Year Ending December 31, 1921.

Women's Work under the Industrial Welfare Commission.

The work of the Industrial Welfare Commission from December, 1920, to the time of the abolition of the commission and the transfer of these powers and duties to the Court of Industrial Relations was very largely a continuation of the hour and wage survey which was made in Kansas during the months of June, July, August and September of 1920 by the commission in co-operation with the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. (Page 85.)

Earnings.

Hourly. Records of hourly earnings were secured from 61 firms employing 1,602 women. Less than 26 cents an hour was earned by 28.7 per cent of these women. From 26 to 36 cents an hour was earned by 24.7 per cent. From 36 to 50 cents an hour was earned by 36.2 per cent. Fifty cents or more an hour was earned by 10.4 per cent of the women.

Less than 26 cents an hour, or $2.08 for an 8-hour day, was the rate of pay for 97 per cent of the women in the

5 and 10 cent stores, 76.5 per cent of the telephone operators, 74.6 per cent of the laundry workers, 65.4 per cent of the general mercantile workers, 64.7 per cent of those employed in other food manufacturing and 45.3 per cent of the women who worked in clothing manufacturing. In the 5 and 10 cent stores no woman in the group for whom records were secured earned as much as 28 cents an hour.

Weekly. Pay roll data showing weekly earnings was secured from 4,307 women. In this group more than one-half were receiving under $12 a week. Ten per cent were receiving less than $8, 19.9 per cent were receiving less than $9, and 30.4 per cent were receiving less than $10 a week.

In all industries except restaurants the median weekly earnings for women were:

In cities of the first class	$14.25
In cities of the second class	10.50
In cities of the third class	10.00
In cities of the fourth class	10.85

In restaurants the median weekly earnings for women were:

In cities of the first class	$10.20
In cities of the second class	10.45
In cities of the third class	10.30
In cities of the fourth class	7.50

For all the industries in all the cities and towns investigated the median weekly earnings were $11.95.

By industries the median weekly earnings were:

Meat packing	$17.50
Office	13.55
Miscellaneous manufacturing	12.70
General mercantile	11.95
Clothing manufacture	11.75
Telephones	10.80
Poultry packing	10.70

Laundries	10.50
Other food manufacturing	10.15
5 and 10 cent stores	8.10

(Pages 85-86.)

Regulations.

Order No. 11. Order No. 11, known as the factory order, regulating employment of women in manufacturing establishments, which had gone into effect about May 23, 1920, was almost immediately held up by an injunction instituted by the Hanna Poultry Company, of Goff, Kan. The case, after many postponements, was set for the December term of the district court at Hiawatha and was heard December 3, 1920, by Judge Stewart. The injunction was sustained and made permanent. The decision was not based on the constitutionality of the industrial welfare law nor upon the reasonableness of the order affecting women employees in factories, but entirely upon the fact that the method of procedure in promulgating the order was not fully in accordance with that prescribed by the industrial welfare law.

The question then arose in regard to the status of order No. 10, the original factory order. This order had been passed February 21, 1919, but had been voluntarily set aside for the amended order No. 11. This question remained unsettled until after this work had been placed under the Court of Industrial Relations. The judges of the court then took the stand that order No. 10 should be considered in effect until such time as a new order could be established.

The factory employers had been promised that consideration would be given to a classification of industries upon which some differences in the orders might be based.

The status of the factory ruling made inspection work very difficult in factories, and the lack of a regular inspector for the industrial welfare work made inspection work in stores, restaurants and other employments very

irregular. No statistics for this period were compiled. (Page 87.)

Consolidation of the Industrial Welfare Commission and Department of Labor with the Court of Industrial Relations.

After the passage of the act of the legislature of 1921, abolishing the Industrial Welfare Commission and consolidating these administrative and legislative powers and duties under the Court of Industrial Relations, it was necessary to find out clearly where the women's work stood under the new organization.

The important powers of the Industrial Welfare Commission were left intact under the court, and all regulations established by the Commission remained in effect. A director of women's work was decided upon. . . . (Page 88.)

[A cost of living] survey was made during the months of June and July of 1921 and was considered a continuation of the investigation of the previous summer. (Page 89.) [The cost of living was found to be $880.36 a year and $16.93 a week]. (Page 91.)

Inspection Work.

A compilation of inspections made by the factory-inspection division of the court covering employment, hour and wage conditions of women in factories and laundries in twenty-one cities of Kansas is shown in the accompanying table.

This table covers only industrial workers in factories, workshops and laundries in the state, and office workers included in the pay rolls submitted by these establishments. (Page 91.)

Wages per week in this table are also average wages based upon a six-day week and the average hours per week in each community. They are of value in comparing general wage conditions, but are of little value in checking up on minimum-wage conditions, due to the

fact that violations of the minimum-wage orders generally occur in a few low-paying industries. (Page 91.)

In the interest of fairness to both the employer and the employee, it was thought necessary to reopen all orders affecting women wage earners which had been established by the Industrial Welfare Commission. (Page 93.)

Necessity of postponement of the hearings until February, 1922, delayed immediate revision of the orders affecting women wage earners. (Page 93.)

Testimony of Alice K. McFarland, Director of Women's Work, Industrial Court. Given in the District Court, Shawnee County, Topeka, Kansas. September 16, 1922.

A. I consider that [the wages and hours survey of the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor] represents the present situation in Kansas, due to the fact that the survey was made when wages were apparently at the peak and cost of living was slightly declining.

Q. So, can you state from the records in your office, Miss McFarland, and from your own experience, whether the wages paid to the women, paid in Kansas, are higher or lower than shown in this survey?

A. Lower. (Page 9.)

Q. Miss McFarland, aside from this survey do you frequently have called to your attention places where girls are living under unhealthful or immoral conditions on account of inadequate wages?

A. Yes.

Q. Have you had such conditions called to your attention within the last six months?

A. Yes, in a number of cases. (Page 12.)

Kansas. Court of Industrial Relations. Official Statement. October, 1922.

On September 30th, 1922, Judge Whitcomb of the District Court of Shawnee County, Kansas, handed down two decisions which sustained in every respect the

validity of Ind. Wel. Order No. 12 known as the Laundry Order, and Ind. Wel. Order No. 13 known as the Manufacturing Order, which Orders were entered by the Court of Industrial Relations on May 19th, 1922. These Orders fixed a minimum wage of $11.00 per week and maximum hours of 49½ hours per week for women and minors in laundries and manufacturing plants in the State of Kansas.

Suits were filed by the Topeka Laundry Company and the Topeka Packing Company, as representatives of the Associated Industries, to set aside these Orders. Temporary restraining orders were granted by Judge McClure on July 26th, 1922, on the condition that the moneys due the employees under these Orders be deposited with the Clerk of the District Court pending the final decision. A large number of laundries and manufacturing plants intervened in these cases and made deposits in accordance with the restraining orders. Motions have now been filed to return this money to the employees by whom it was earned.

In these cases the plaintiffs contended that there was no evidence before the Court of Industrial Relations to sustain the finding of that court that the wages, hours, and working conditions in these industries were prejudicial to the health and welfare of a substantial number of employees. The Court of Industrial Relations showed, at the trial of these cases, that extensive surveys had been made by the state in conjunction with the federal government of the wages, hours, and working conditions of women and minors in Kansas, as well as the cost of living, and that these surveys showed that a large number of women were receiving inadequate wages and that many were living in unhealthful conditions on account of the failure of their employers to pay a living wage. In his decision, Judge Whitcomb upheld the results of these surveys in every respect.

No suits were filed to test the validity of the Mercantile and Public Housekeeping Orders, which were issued at the same time and have been in effect since July 19, 1922.

Massachusetts.

1. Minimum Wage Orders. [Summarized.]

No. 8. *Retail Millinery.* Effective August 1, 1918. Experienced workers (over 19), $10. Learners less than 1 season (12 weeks), at $3, after 1 season at $4.50, after 2 seasons at $6, after $3 seasons at $7.50. Minors, less than 1 season $3, after 1 season $4.50.

No. 9. *Wholesale Millinery.* Effective January 1, 1919. Experienced females (over 18), $11. Learners and minors less than 21 weeks' experience at $6, after 21 weeks at $7, after 42 weeks at $8, after 63rd week until 84th week at $9.

No. 11. *Candy.* Effective January 1, 1920. Experienced females, $12.50. Learners, 67 weeks within a period of 78 weeks, at $8.

No. 12. *Canning and Preserving.* Effective September 1, 1919. Experienced females (over 18), $11. Learners, 40 weeks at $8.50. Minors, $8.50.

No. 13. *Corsets.* Effective March 1, 1920. Experienced females (over 17), $13. Learners, 1 year at $10. Minors (under 17), $8.

No. 14. *Men's Clothing and Raincoat.* Effective February 1, 1920. Experienced females, $15. Learners, 3 months at $7, 9 months at $10.

No. 15. *Knit Goods* (except staple lines of hosiery and underwear). Effective July 1, 1920. Experienced females, $13.75. Learners, 40 weeks at $8.50.

No. 17. *Paper Box.* Effective July 1, 1920. Experienced females, $15.50. Learners, over 16 years, 9 months at $11; under 16 years, 9 months at $9.

No. 18. *Office and Building Cleaners.* Effective February 1, 1921. All females, $15.40 per week or 37c per hour. Full time employment means 40 hours a week.

No. 19. *Minor Lines of Confectionery and Food Preparations.* Effective November 1, 1921. Experienced females: over 16, $12; under 16, $9. Learners: over 16, 3 months at $10; under 16, 9 months at $8.

No. 20. *Paper Box.* Effective May 15, 1922. Experienced females: over 18, $13.50; under 18, $12. Learners: over 18, $10; under 18, $8.50.

No. 21. *Women's Clothing.* Effective May 15, 1922. Experienced females: over 18, $14; under 18, $9. Learners: over 18, 18 months at $11; under 18, at $9.

No. 22. *Muslin Underwear, Petticoat, Apron, Kimono, House Dress, Women's Neckwear and Children's Clothing.* Effective June 1, 1922. Experienced females: over 16, $13.75; under 16, $12. Learners: over 16, 13 weeks at $8, thirteen weeks at $10, 26 weeks at $12 (26 weeks shall have been spent in present employer's shop before $13.75 is paid); under 16, 26 weeks at $7.50, 26 weeks at $10, and $12 thereafter until 16 years old.

No. 23. *Men's Furnishings.* Effective June 1, 1922. Experienced females: over 16, $13.75; under 16, $12. Learners: over 16, 13 weeks at $9, 13 weeks at $10, 26 weeks at $12; under 16, 26 weeks at $8, 26 weeks at $12, and $12 thereafter until 16 years old.

No. 24. *Retail Store.* Effective June 1, 1922. Experienced females: over 18, $14; under 18, $12. Learners, one year at $10, thereafter $12 until 18 years old.

No. 25. *Laundry.* Effective July 1, 1922. Experienced females, $13.50. Learners, 3 months at $11, 2 months at $12.50.

General Recommendation for All Occupations.

To assist employers in carrying out the provisions of the decree with regard to experience, the Commission recommends that a female employee on leaving her employment in any establishment receive a card showing the time she has worked in that establishment.

(2) Wage Investigations and Minimum Wages Ordered.

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletins from Dec., 1916, to May, 1918.

Weekly Earnings of Women

Industries	No. Investigated	Percent. of Women Earning (Cumulative)—							Official Minimum Wages Based on Minimum Cost of Living and Financial Condition of the Industry*
		Under $4	Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	$9 and Over	
Men's Clothing	1,132	9.7	23.1	42.8	62.1	78.1	86.3	13.7	$9.00 Jan., 1918
Raincoat	626	8.1	18.8	36.6	52.4	65.0	79.9	20.1	
Men's furnishing goods	2,658	11.2	23.9	37.7	56.1	71.9	84.2	15.8	$9.00 Feb., 1918
Muslin underwear, etc.	2,481	15.0	29.1	48.2	65.6	80.2	89.1	10.9	$9.00 Aug., 1918
Office and other building cleaners	859	3.7	19.7	20.6	27.9	78.1	94.4	5.6	30c. an hour at night 26c. an hour by day, Apr., 1919

(Compiled) (Bulletins No. 13, pp. 28, 29, 51 and 52; No. 14, p. 22; No. 15, p. 33; No. 16, p. 13)

*See Decrees, No. 5, Aug. 31, 1917; No. 6, Oct. 26, 1917; No. 7, July 1, 1918, for additional rates for earners and minors.

Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 20. Report on the Wages of Women in the Millinery Industry. May, 1919.

Weekly Earnings of Women

Industries	No. Investigated	Percent. of Women Earning (Cumulative)—														Official Minimum Wages Based on Minimum Cost of Living and Financial Condition of the Industry*
		Under $3	Under $4	Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	Under $13	Under $14	Under $15	$15 and over	
Retail Millinery	351	6.8	11.7	20.2	24.8	03.5	39.0	55.8	67.8	78.1	84.0	86.3	88.0	89.5	10.5	$10.00 Aug., 1918
Straw Hats	938	.5	2.1	5.3	11.8	20.4	28.9	36.7	45.9	56.2	64.6	72.7	80.6	86.7	13.3	
Flowers and feathers	182	8.8	26.4	47.3	62.1	77.5	84.1	89.0	95.1	97.3	99.5	99.5	100.0	100.0	....	$11.00 Jan., 1919
Wholesale Millinery	393	1.0	4.8	10.2	23.4	34.4	48.8	61.1	72.0	78.1	84.5	90.1	94.6	96.7	3.3	

(Compiled) (Pages 35, 36, 37)

*See Decrees No. 8, July 1, 1918; and No. 9, Nov. 30, 1918, for additional rates for earners and minors.

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 19. Wages of Women Employed in Canning and Preserving Establishments in Massachusetts, March, 1919. Bulletin No. 18. Supplementary Report on the Wages of Women in Candy Factories in Massachusetts, January, 1919.

Weekly Earnings of Women

Industries	No. Investigated	Percent. of Women Earning (Cumulative)— Under $4	Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	$12 and over	Official Minimum Wages Based on Minimum Cost of Living and Financial Condition of the Industry*
Canning and Preserving	660	8.8	16.1	28.5	47.6	69.7	89.2	96.8	3.2**	.....	.....	$11.00 Sept. 1, 1919
Candy	1,071	2.1	6.6	17.6	31.1	45.1	62.8	76.7	85.1	91.3	8.7	$12.50 Jan. 1, 1920

(Compiled.) (Bulletin 18, p. 25; Bulletin 19, p. 25.)

*See Decrees No. 11, July 19, 1919; and No. 12, July 21, 1919, for additional rates for learners and minor
**Earned $10 and over.

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission, January, 1920. Seventh Annual Report, 1919.

Weekly Earnings of Women

Industries	No. Investigated	Per cent. of Women Earning (Cumulative)— Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	Under $13	Under $14	Under $15	$15 and over	Official Minimum Wage Based on Minimum Cost of Living and Condition of the Industry*
Corsets	1,361	5.4	10.4	16.9	27.6	36.8	47.6	57.5	67.1	76.0	83.3	89.6	10.4	$13.00 Mar 1, 1920
Paper box	1,054	5.3	8.5	15.7	26.9	39.0	48.5	59.4	68.2	77.2	83.3	89.3	10.7	$15.50 July 1, 1920
Knit goods	344	3.8	8.1	15.7	25.0	35.8	45.3	57.6	67.2	76.7	85.8	90.1	9.9	$13.75 July 1, 1920
Minor Confectionery products and food preparations	525	3.7	9.2	16.0	25.6	40.4	50.1	62.6	72.9	82.5	90.3	92.7	7.3	$12.00 Nov. 1, 1921

(Computed from pages 17, 21, 24, and 30.)

*See Decrees No. 13, No. 15, March 13, 1920; No. 17, May 26, 1920; No. 19, Nov. 1, 1921, for additional rates for learners and minors.

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries Division of Minimum Wage. Bulletin No. 22. Second Report on the Wages of Women Employed in Paper Box Factories. September, 1920.

Method and Scope of the Present Investigation.

The first investigation was made in the months of February, March, and April, 1915, and covered the fifty-two weeks' period from February, 1914, through January, 1915. The present investigation is based on pay-roll records from 16 of the 24 establishments included in the former study, and covers the four months' period, October, 1918, through January, 1919. This includes what in normal times is the rush season and the beginning of the slack season in the trade. (Page 7.)

In comparing rates and earnings in the following sections, three wage classes are considered: those receiving less than $9 a week, representing the lowest rates and earnings; those receiving $12 a week, the medium wage class; and those receiving $15 a week and over, including all with the highest rates and earnings. These groups correspond roughly to the $5, $7, and $9 groups shown in the previous study[2] of the industry made by the Commission. (Page 13.)

Cutting and punching, processes generally performed by men, are apparently the highest paid operations upon which women are employed. Approximately one-third of the women operating cutting and punching machines were making $15 a week and over. The lowest paid occupations, according to the earnings of the workers, are helping, closing and inspecting, and gluing off. The majority of these workers are young girls, and a considerable proportion are beginners. From one-half to three-fourths of those in this group were receiving less than $9 a week. With the exception of a very few helpers and inspectors, none had earnings as high as $15 a week (Tables 1 (*a*) and (*b*)). (Page 14.)

Of the entire number of women and girls for whom wage data were available, 1,054 (68.2 per cent) earned less than $12 a week. Of the adult workers, those 18

years of age and over, 54.0 per cent earned less than $12; while of those with one or more years of experience in the industry, 49.1 per cent earned less than that amount. Nearly three-fifths (58.8 per cent) of the women averaging from 46 to 54 hours per week, approximately full-time employment, received less than $12.

Compared with the previous investigation, that of 1914, the wage situation, as it affects the workers, appears but slightly more favorable than five years ago. (Page 18.)

Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. Bulletin No. 22. Second Report on the Wages of Women Employed in Paper Box Factories. September, 1920.

Hours of Labor and Earnings.

Average weekly earnings of 634 women in relation to their hours of employment are shown in Table 4. Considerable irregularity is indicated in the number of hours worked per week by the different women. The majority of those receiving less than $9 a week were working on the average less than 42 hours. On the other hand, nearly two-thirds of those averaging 46 hours and over, representing approximately full-time employment, were receiving less than $12, a situation indicating that the time worked is not necessarily the determining factor in the matter of earnings. This is further illustrated by Table 5, showing variations in the average number of hours worked per week in the several establishments. In establishment No. 2, one-third of the women work on the average less than 42 hours a week; while in establishment No. 13, more than nine-tenths worked over 42 hours per week. Yet comparison of the actual earnings of the employees in the two establishments (Table 2) shows that only one-fifth of the employees in the first earned less than $9 a week; while nearly one-half of those in the second earned less than that amount. (Page 17.)

TABLE 1 (*b*).—Average Weekly Earnings of 1,054 Women employed in 16 Paper-Box Factories in Massachusetts: by Occupations (Cumulative).

(Based on pay-roll records for the period October, 1918—January, 1919)

Occupations	Per Cent of Workers Earning—												Official Minimum Wage Based on Minimum Cost of Living and Financial Condition of the Industry*
	Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	Under $13	Under $14	Under $15	$15 and Over	
Helping	13.5	19.5	29.5	48.0	70.0	78.5	87.0	89.0	92.0	94.0	96.0	4.0	
Bench work	1.0	4.1	10.8	21.6	29.4	36.1	51.0	61.3	71.6	78.9	85.1	14.9	
Stripping	3.1	3.1	8.7	15.7	26.0	31.5	38.6	53.5	70.9	79.5	86.6	13.4	
Gluing off	8.0	12.6	17.2	31.0	49.4	71.3	78.2	88.5	94.3	97.7	100.0	....	
Machine covering	1.3	1.3	5.2	10.5	21.1	30.3	39.5	48.7	60.5	71.1	81.6	18.4	
Closing and inspecting	3.6	3.6	23.0	46.4	55.4	64.3	78.6	85.7	89.3	91.1	96.4	3.6	
Bundling and packing	5.0	15.0	27.5	32.5	32.5	40.0	45.0	52.5	65.0	75.0	80.0	20.0	
Staying	2.7	5.4	5.4	10.8	16.2	27.0	35.1	45.9	62.2	81.1	91.9	8.1	
Hand folding	5.6	8.3	8.3	19.4	33.3	44.4	63.9	72.2	75.0	77.8	88.9	11.1	
Labeling	....	....	9.4	21.9	28.1	34.4	43.8	50.0	71.9	81.3	84.4	15.6	$15.50 July, 1920
Topping	....	4.0	4.0	8.0	12.0	16.0	36.0	44.0	68.0	72.0	84.0	16.0	
Cutting	....	....	4.5	9.1	13.6	27.3	40.9	40.9	49.5	59.1	72.7	27.3	
Turning-in and lacing	....	6.7	6.7	6.7	20.0	40.0	66.7	93.3	93.3	93.3	100.0	....	
Punching	8.3	8.3	8.3	16.7	16.7	16.7	25.0	25.0	58.3	58.3	66.7	33.3	
Miscellaneous	7.4	11.6	20.0	28.4	42.1	54.7	66.3	78.9	80.0	84.2	90.5	9.5	
Total	5.3	8.5	15.7	26.9	39.0	48.5	59.4	68.2	77.2	83.3	89.3	10.7	

*See Order No. 17, July 1, 1920 for additional rates for learners.

(Page 21.)

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. Bulletin No. 23. Report on the Wages of Women Employed in the Manufacture of Food Preparations and Minor Lines of Confectionery. November, 1920.

In minor confectionery establishments women shell and blanch nuts, wrap and pack candy and nuts, and, in gum factories, break and wrap gum. The greater part of the work is simple hand work. A few machine processes are, however, involved. Gum and some kinds of candy are wrapped by machinery. Filling bags is usually done by the aid of simple machinery. Except where a girl is required to repair a wrapping machine as well as tend it, all of the work is unskilled. (Page 10.)

The time covered by the study is the four-month period from June through September, 1919, in the case of minor confectionery, and from July through October, 1919, in the case of food preparations. (Page 7.)

The earnings of the workers in the two branches are presented separately. In food preparation establishments the earnings of the women are somewhat higher than in the minor confectionery plants. Thus, while one-third (31.4 per cent) of the women in food preparations were receiving under $9 a week, two-thirds (62.4 per cent) under $12, and one-tenth (11.1 per cent) $15 or over a week, in minor confectionery nearly one-half (48.7 per cent) received under $9, four-fifths (82.5 per cent) under $12, and only 3.8 per cent $15 or over a week. (Page 11.)

Summary of Analysis.

Of the entire number of women for whom wage data were available, almost three-fourths (72.9 per cent) had actual earnings that averaged less than $12 a week. The earnings for adult workers, those 18 years of age and over, are substantially the same, 71.2 per cent receiving less than $12. Of those on time rates, 53.3 per cent of all, and 47.9 per cent of the adult women, were scheduled to receive less than $12. And of those with one year's

experience or more in the occupation, 46.8 per cent were earning less than this amount. Wages in food preparation establishments are slightly higher than in minor confectionery. In both branches, however, the level of earnings is low. (Page 14.)

Weekly Rates of Women* for 1919

Industries	No. Investigated	Per Cent. of Women with Rates of (Cumulative)—											Official Minimum Wages Based on Minimum Cost of Living and Financia Condition of the Industr[illegible]
		Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	Under $13	Under $14	Under $15	$15 and over	
Minor Confectionery....	131	....	1.5	2.3	3.8	18.3	22.9	25.2	39.7	48.1	55.0	45.0	
Food Preparation.....	224	.4	.4	.9	9.4	34.4	42.9	46.4	56.3	62.1	78.6	21.4	$12.00 Nov. 1, 1921
Flavoring Extract.....	142	....	....	....	....	12.0	59.9	71.8	79.6	81.7	83.1	16.9	

**Over 18 years old.
*See Order No. 19 for additional rates for learners.

(Condensed) (Pages 39-41.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. News Letter No. 20. January 23, 1923.

Minimum Wage for Brush Industry.

The Minimum Wage Commission of the Department of Labor and Industries approved provisionally the determinations of the Brush Makers' Wage Board and a public hearing was held January 9. The Wage Board submitted a unanimous report providing a minimum wage of $13.92 a week for women employed a year or more in the industry, and rates of $9.60 and $12 a week for beginners according to their experience. These rates on an hourly scale represent 20¢, 25¢ and 29¢, respectively. The Board recommended that these rates become effective March 1, 1923. The present rates have been in effect since August, 1914, the decree for the brush industry being the first entered by the Minimum Wage Commission.

A second wage board was formed by the Commission in 1921 for the purpose of revising rates. This board submitted a report in the spring of 1922 providing a minimum wage of $14.40 a week. The Minimum Wage Commission did not approve this report, but referred the matter to a third board which has just reported. (Page 2.)

Problems in Rate Fixing.

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. No. 18. Office and Other Building Cleaners' Occupation Decree. (Revised.) December 30, 1920.

Regarding the length of a working week, the board found that forty-two[1] hours are sufficient to constitute a full week's work for a woman in this occupation. The reasons for this decision are given in the following excerpt from the board's report:—

[1] One of the employee members in signing the report wished to be recorded as opposed to forty-two hours for full-time employment, but not as opposed to the wage award.

(*a*) It seems to be quite generally recognized that for ordinary work in daytime occupations a total of forty-eight hours is as much as a woman can safely work week after week.

(*b*) In this occupation the work almost universally must be done at night, and night work is known to be more wearing on the worker than the same work done during the day.

(*c*) This work is more tiring than that of the ordinary working woman,—another reason for a shorter working week.

(*d*) No evidence could be obtained to show how many hours at this occupation are the equivalent of forty-eight hours for other occupations. Various estimates were advanced by members of the board ranging from thirty-six hours to forty-six and two-thirds. It seemed to be generally felt that forty-eight hours a week were too long for this industry.

(*e*) From the foregoing it is evident that forty-two hours is stated merely as a compromise estimate, and cannot be taken as a criterion for future boards if real evidence on the subject can be discovered by them.

The former wage board made a distinction between night and day work in determining the rates; the reconvened board felt that the cases of day work were so few as to be negligible, and that these few cases involved work of an equally taxing nature. The board accordingly recommended that a single rate be fixed for all workers in the occupation, irrespective of the time when the work is performed.

With respect to the financial condition of the occupation, it was the opinion of the board that it should be possible for the industry to stand a minimum rate based on the cost of living. In this connection the board stated:

From the evidence presented at the meetings, it appears that office buildings are not yet well-paying investments, but the rentals have materially increased

recently and the financial returns will soon be adequate, if the demand for office space continues. The recommended increase in the pay of building cleaners, if all other elements of expense should remain constant, would increase the expenses of maintenance 1 to 3 per cent, would cut down the net profits 2 to 5 per cent, but would increase the rate of return on the original investments in the buildings only ⅛ to ¼ of 1 per cent. This increased expense is not so large that it would require any great increase in rentals to absorb it.

The board accordingly found that the minimum wage for women in this industry should not be less than $15.40 for a full week's work, and for part-time employment not less than 37 cents an hour. In this connection the following facts were noted:—

(*a*) The majority of women in this industry work substantially less than forty-two hours per week. This seems to be for the convenience of both workers and employers.

(*b*) The rate of 37 cents per hour gives approximately the amount called for by the budget for a full week of forty-two hours.

(*c*) Most of the workers work about thirty-three hours per week, and receive $10 per week. The rate recommended would give them $12.21 for the same working time, an increase of 22 per cent.

Following are the board's determinations in detail as to the minimum wage for the average worker of ordinary ability in the office and other building cleaners' occupation in this State:—

1. For the average worker of ordinary ability, not less than $15.40 a week for full-time employment, by which is meant forty-two hours or more per week.

2. For less than forty-two hours a week, not less than 37 cents an hour, provided the total for the hourly rate need not exceed $15.40 a week. (Pages 13-14.)

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. No. 20. Paper Box Occupation Decree. (Revised.) April 27, 1922.

Regarding the number of wage classes and length of learning period, the board reported that its greatest difficulty was in reaching determinations as to periods necessary for an employee to become experienced in the various processes. In this connection the board reported that:—

An attempt which was carefully made to divide the industry into various classes and fix different periods of apprenticeship with different rates therefor led to the conclusion that the result would be unworkable without great expense to the Commonwealth and undue investigation of the business, and would present an inviting opportunity for shifting employees to prolong the time in which the minimum wage would be attainable.

The board recognized that its determinations could not be made with scientific exactness, and that there must be give and take on the part of employers and employees, and that a workable result would inevitably mean some inequitable conditions to both sides in the extreme cases. It was recognized that the qualifications of age and time of employment were most easily ascertainable, most readily enforceable, and, by and large, would probably produce the best results. (Pages 2-3.)

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. No. 22. Muslin Underwear Occupation Decree. (Revised.) April 27, 1922.

It appears that the well-organized shops and fair employers pay well-experienced workers above the proposed standard of $13.75. This despite the pressure of an unusual amount of interstate competition. Our duty, under the law, requires that we be guided by the predominating wage and profit conditions and does not suppose that the wage must be adjusted to the lowest rates actu-

ally paid or to the least well-organized branch of the occupation. This runs parallel to the board's handling of such items as carfare and board and lodging in the cost of living budget. The governing cost was that which was necessarily met by the predominating number of wage earners. Neither the cheapest possible nor the highest paid in exceptional conditions was incorporated.

It was recognized also that the board was bound in its decision by the existing trade and cost of living conditions and that marked changes, in either direction, of prices or profits would call for a prompt reconvening of the board and revision of its decisions. There was positive expression of opinion by both employee and employer members of the board that with the new rates should go full enforcement of the decree on unfair shops and employers, as well as under-cutting workers. Co-operation was promised to this end. (Page 3.)

At this hearing [the public hearing for employers held after the minimum wage commission had received the report of the wage board] five employers appeared in opposition to the determination of the board. The chief objection was directed against the recommendations for a graded increase of $1 per week for beginners, sixteen years of age and over, after four weeks' experience, and again after thirteen weeks' experience. After reviewing the matter the Commission approved finally the determination of the board, with the exception of the provision for the two wage classes above mentioned. (Page 4.)

(2) Reinvestigations for Compliance with Minimum Ordered.

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Fifth Annual Report. December 31, 1917.

Women's Clothing Industry. On Feb. 1, 1917, a decree went into effect establishing a minimum standard of wages for women and girls [$8.75 for experienced workers] employed in the manufacture of women's

cloaks, suits, skirts, dresses and waists. Shortly after the decree went into effect the Commission commenced an inspection of the pay rolls of all concerns in the State known to be engaged in the manufacture of the articles of women's clothing specified in the decree, both for the wholesale and the custom trade. The results of this investigation showed that the great majority of the establishments investigated in which women were found to be employed were paying their workers in accordance with the recommendations of the Commission. Complete compliance was found in almost all of the clothing factories and custom tailoring shops, but in only about half of the custom dressmaking establishments. The following table, presenting information for 27 clothing factories for which comparative data were available, shows that since the time of the Commission's first investigation in 1915, the proportion of women in this industry receiving $9 or over has increased from 42.5 per cent. to 73.2 per cent. in Boston, and from 10.9 per cent. to 57.0 per cent. in out of town concerns. (Pages 36-37.)

Rates of Payment for Week Workers in Twenty-seven Women's Clothing Factories, 1915 and 1917.

Locality and Year	Number and Per cent of Women with Rates of—																Total	
	Under $4		$4 and under $5		$5 and under $6		$6 and under $7		$7 and under $8		$8 and under $9		$9 and under $10		$10 and over			
	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent	No.	Per cent
Establishments in Boston:—																		
1915	1	.3	6	2.1	22	7.5	35	12.0	55	18.8	49	16.8	54	18.5	70	24.0	292	100
1917	....	....	....	....	1	.3	13	3.8	29	8.5	48	14.1	72	21.2	177	52.1	340	100
Establishments outside of Boston:—																		
1915	17	12.3	29	21.0	30	21.8	24	17.4	13	9.4	10	7.3	9	6.5	6	4.3	138	100
1917	....	....	3	3.5	5	5.8	6	7.0	12	13.9	11	12.8	22	25.6	27	31.4	86	100

(Pag 38.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Sixth Annual Report. November 30, 1918.

Women's Clothing Industry. The wage decree for women and girls employed in women's clothing factories in Massachusetts went into effect Feb. 1, 1917, and provided a minimum rate of $8.75 a week for experienced employees, and rates of $6 and $7 weekly for learners and apprentices. An inspection of the pay rolls of establishments covered by the decree was conducted by the Commission in the spring of 1917. A second inspection was started in November, 1917, and completed in 1918. Visits were made in 1918 to 32 establishments, mostly dressmaking and women's custom tailoring shops. Full compliance with the decree was found in 30 of these establishments employing 99 women and girls. In only 2 establishments was there failure to comply with the recommendations of the Commission. Out of the entire number of women for whom a week's wage record was secured, only 15, or 8.4 per cent., were receiving less than the minimum wage fixed for the occupation. Wage adjustments were made for 5 employees who at the time of the inspection were receiving less than the minimum required, and one special license was granted in accordance with the provision of section 9 of the Acts of 1912 as amended.

Men's Clothing and Men's Furnishings Industry. Two wage decrees went into effect in the winter of 1918. These were the Men's Clothing and Raincoat Decree, which became operative Jan. 1, 1918, and the Men's Furnishings Decree, so called, which became operative Feb. 1, 1918. The first-mentioned decree fixes a minimum wage rate of $9 a week for experienced female employees over eighteen years of age, and a rate of $7 weekly for learners and apprentices. The second decree provides a $9 weekly minimum for experienced women, and rates of $7 and $8 for less experienced workers.

Inspection of the pay rolls of establishments manufacturing men's outer garments to determine compli-

ance with the recommendations of the Commission was started shortly after the decree went into effect. Agents of the Commission visited 99 establishments, and a transcript was made of a week's pay-roll record for 1,693 female employees in these factories. Full compliance with the provisions of the decree was found in 88 firms employing 946 women and girls. Only 19 cases of violation of the decrees were found. These were in 11 firms and represent 1.1 per cent of the total number of women for whom wage data were secured. In two of these cases adjustments were made to bring the wage up to the required minimum. In 13 cases special licenses were granted. (Pages 28-29.)

Inspection of the pay rolls in factories and shops engaged in manufacturing workingmen's garments, men's furnishings and other articles specified in the Men's Furnishings Decree, was started in February, 1918. A transcript of a week's pay roll was made in 39 establishments. Full compliance with the recommendations of the Commission was found in 22 of these. In 17 firms there were 39 cases of violations. Of these, 11 were adjusted by raising the wage of the employees in question to the minimum. In 2 cases special licenses were granted, authorizing the employment of women physically defective at a wage less than the minimum fixed for the occupation. (Page 30.)

Muslin Underwear Industry. One hundred per cent compliance was found in 54 of the muslin underwear firms. In 15 establishments there were 31 cases where the rates fell below the minimum. Of these, 17 were adjusted by raising the wages. Of the millinery shops visited, 58 were complying with the decree. (Page 33.)

Comparison of wage rates at the time of reinspections with the rates for the same firms at the time of the original investigation has generally shown a material advance. While other factors have contributed to wage increases, the evidence at hand indicates that compli-

ance with the Commission's decrees has had a definite influence. (Page 35.)

Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission. Seventh Annual Report. November 30, 1919.

Increase in Earnings.

Practically the only way of estimating wage increases in an occupation resulting from a decree is through a comparison of wage conditions prior to the establishment of a wage board with that found by the inspection following the date the determinations become effective. In drawing such comparison, however, allowance must be made for other factors that may have entered into the wage increase. This is particularly true when considerable time has elapsed between the two investigations, and where there have been abnormal fluctuations in wage rates. For this reason, such comparisons during the period of the war are unsatisfactory.

From the evidence at hand, however, it would appear that the decrees have resulted in advanced rates for a considerable number of women and girls in the occupations affected. (Page 55.)

So far as determining compliance with wage recommendations, inspections under the early decrees are of little value. In the case of decrees recently entered, the inspections have a definite relation to enforcement. (Page 54.)

Retail Millinery Industry. A comparison of the rates in effect at the time of the inspection with those of 1916, the date of the investigation preceding the establishment of the wage board, is shown in the table following. This gives 82.0 per cent of women and girls with weekly rates of $10 and over in 1918-19, as compared with 45.6 per cent in 1916. (Page 47.)

Wholesale Millinery Industry. Weekly rates for women employed in wholesale millinery establishments

and on those processes in straw hat factories coming within the scope of the decree are shown in the following table. This compares the wage situation found in 1916, the period covered by the first investigation, with that in effect in 1919. As the supplementary investigation made by the Commission in the summer of 1918 showed little improvement in wages, a considerable part of the increase indicated by the figures presented may be ascribed in the effect of the decree. (Page 49.)

At the time of the first investigation, only one-twentieth of the 859 women for whom wage records were available had rates of $9 a week or more. The inspection showed that nearly three-fourths of the 1,274 women for whom information was secured had rates of $9 or over. On the average, rates have advanced about $2 a week since the previous investigation. Although part of this increase was due to a rather general raise in rates in the spring of 1918, a considerable part is unquestionably due to the minimum wage decree. (Page 52.)

Canning and Preserving Industry. A comparison of the rates in the same group of establishments* included in the original investigation (1917-18) and in the inspection in the fall of 1919 shows a striking change in the wage situation. The increase is particularly noticeable in the fish-canning firms. In 1917-18 only 5.9 per cent of the women in the two branches had rates of $10 or over. In 1919 this percentage had increased to 84 per cent. A considerable part of this increase was unquestionably due to the decree.

* These figures are strictly comparable, as only those firms have been included which were investigated and had time-rate workers in each year. (Page 53.)

Per Cent of Women Earning the Minimum Wage Decreed Shown by Inspections Before and After the Decree Became Effective and the Relation of the Minimum Wage to the Cost of Living on January 1, 1920.

Kind of Work Covered	Date Decree Effective	Wage Decreed	Per cent. Receiving Before and After the Decree, the Wage Decreed and Over				Cost of Living	
			Year	Per cent.	Year	Per cent.	Adopted by Wage Board	Estimated Increase from Date of Decree to Jan. 1, 1920
Retail Millinery Workrooms	Aug. 1, 1918	$10	1916	46	1919	82	$11.64	25
Wholesale millinery establish'ts	Jan. 1, 1919	$11	1916	11	1919	81	$12.50	11
Straw hat establishments	Jan. 1, 1919	$11	1916	29	1919	71	$12.50	11
Office and other building cleaners occupation	Apr. 1, 1919	30c an hour by night 20c by day	1916-17	5*	1919	76*	$11.54	8
Fish canning occupation	Sept 1, 1919	$11	1917-18	6**	1919	84**	$11	8

*Received $9.00 or over. **Received $10 or over. (Compiled from Pages 48, 50, 52, 53, 77, 78, 81, 82.)

Compliance with Decrees.

Very few cases of non-compliance were found in any of the inspections, and all of these have been adjusted. (Page 12.)

Inspections to ascertain compliance with the decrees have been made in every occupation in which wage determinations are in effect. Result of these inspections show substantially full compliance with the recommendations of the Commission. They also indicate that a considerable proportion of the women and girls in the occupations covered have received increased wages in consequence of the decrees. (Page 12.)

Tabular Summary of Reinspections for 1919.

	Brush	Laundries	Retail Stores	Women's Clothing	Men's Clothing and Raincoat	Men's Furnishings	Muslin Underwear	Retail Millinery	Wholesale Millinery	Office Buildings	Canning and Preserving	Total
Number of records secured	689	2,441	12,618	464	1,195	2,307	1,695	562	841	1,353	650	24,815
Number of firms visited	24	120	216	22	79	48	77	174	28	207	35	1,030
Number with full compliance	23	109	200	20	78	34	59	161	22	200	31	937
Number of cases of apparent noncompliance	2	16	29	8	1	25	39	14	10	42	10	196
Number of these of special license type	.....	6	.....	6	.....	16	11	.....	2	.....	1	42
Cases remaining for settlement	2	10	29	2	1	9	28	14	8	42	9	154
Settled by employers' adjustment[1]	1	9	27	2	1	7	18	8	6	42	9	130
Left employ of firm[2]	1	1	.....	.....	.....	2	10	6	2	.....	.....	22
Cases dropped[3]	.....	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2

[1] In 2 cases adjustment was made by changing the basis of payment, and in 3 cases the minimum was being paid at the time of the second inspection. In one case wages were raised, and two weeks later the employee was discharged. In all of the other cases wages were raised by the employer to meet the provisions of the decree.

[2] Includes 3 cases where the employee was discharged.

[3] The reason for dropping these cases was because the firm in which they occurred was apparently on the verge of bankruptcy.

(Page 64.)

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. Report for the Year Ending November 30, 1920.

In the inspection work for the year visits were made by the Commission's agents to 1,126 establishments located in 67 cities and towns. Wage records were secured for 23,349 women and girls employed in these establishments. In addition, a number of establishments were visited several times in the follow-up work to adjust cases of non-compliance. In all, 983 cases of non-compliance were found. Of this number, 681 have been adjusted,—366, or more than one-half, by increase in wages, and 71 by transfer of the workers in question from time rates to piece rates, at which they were able

to earn the minimum or more. Special licenses were granted to 44 women, and 21 additional cases were adjudged of special license type. In 160 instances the women voluntarily left the employ of their respective firms As far as could be ascertained, this was due not to the effect of the decree, but to the general unrest and consequent high labor turnover which characterized the first half of the year, and to the business depression and attendant unemployment of the latter half of the year. In 20 cases women who were earning less than the minimum were discharged.

There are 301 cases unsettled at the close of the period covered by this report. Of these, 91 represent non-compliances under the women's clothing occupation decree; and the remainder, 210, are non-compliances under the paper box occupation decree. With the exception of these two industries, full compliance has been secured under all of the Commission's decrees. These cases, although numerically large, represent only 1.3 per cent of the entire records included in the inspection returns for the year.[1] Reinspection for the purpose of adjusting these cases has already been instituted. As a result of this work the number of non-compliances will probably be materially reduced. It is hoped that all of the outstanding cases may be settled by this method.

Although the primary purpose of the inspection is to ascertain compliance with the wage awards, the result is of interest in indicating the effect of the decrees upon the general level of wages in the occupations covered. In this connection it should be noted that the adjustments mentioned in the preceding sections refer to the settlement of non-compliances, and do not furnish an index of the actual wage advances. The majority of the firms affected make the necessary adjustments on or before the date the decree goes into opration, so that at the inspection following that date their establishments show full compliance. In the case of an initial inspec-

[1] The result of the inspection work under the different decrees is shown in the table on page 21.

tion, comparison of the wage situation found at the time of the inspection with that existing at the preliminary investigation affords the best evidence of the change which is available. For all of the recently entered decrees, such comparison shows a substantial increase in wages. Other factors besides the decrees have undoubtedly contributed to this advance; how many, and to what extent, it is impossible to determine. In view, however, of the absence of any very marked advances in the industries of the State in general during this period, it is safe to ascribe a considerable part of the increase in these particular industries to the effect of the wage investigation and subsequent award. (Pages 19-20.)

That all who are affected by the decree do not take this attitude is evidenced by the 301 cases still outstanding, the largest number at any time in the Commission's history. It should be recognized that a great deal of time and considerable expense is involved in the effort to adjust these cases; that even when they are adjusted, as many, perhaps all of them, will be, it is possible to secure the payment of the minimum only from the date the adjustment is effected, and not from the date the decree became operative. The situation resulting is unfair to the employees, who are deprived for several months of the benefit of the award; it is unfair to the employers who accept the decrees promptly and abide by them; and it is unfair, in the disproportionate cost of the adjustment, to the commission and to the public. (Page 20.)

Tabular Summary of Reinspections for 1920.

	Candy	Men's Clothing	Corset	Office Building	Knit Goods	Women's Clothing	Paper Box	Muslin Underwear	Canning and Preserving	Retail Millinery	Total
Number of records secured	7,050	2,578	1,612	1,350	1,096	1,664	4,831	1,719	734	715	23,349
Number of firms visited	110	182	15	171	29	177	123	81	33	205	1,126
Number with full compliance	82	173	8	169	26	117	55	79	29	204	942
Number of cases of non-compliance	206	12	30	3	4	157	564	2	4	1	983
Adjusted	206	12	30	3	4	66	354	2	3	1	681
Wages raised	177	7	11	3	3	49	110	2	3	1	366
Earning more on piece	.....	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	68	.....	.....	.....	71
Special license	3	5	6	.....	1	4	25	.....	.....	.....	44
Special license type	.....	.....	4	.....	.....	2	15	.....	.....	.....	21
Left	8	.....	6	.....	.....	10	135	.....	1	.....	160
Discharged	18	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	20
Pending	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	91	210	.....	.....	.....	301

(Page 21.)

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. Report for the Year Ending November 30, 1921.

The year just ended has been a serious one for minimum wage work. The business situation increased the problems of the wage boards and made it difficult to secure compliance with the recommendations. The Commission has this year for the first time been obliged to publish the names of employers violating its decrees. This action was taken in the case of eleven paper box firms and one office building owner. According to the opinion of the Attorney-General, the law imposes on the Commission the obligation to proceed in this manner in the case of non-compliance. (Page 7.)

In the inspection work for the year, wage records were secured for 14,690 women and girls in 649 establishments located in 68 cities and towns. Additional visits were made to a number of these establishments in the follow-up work to adjust cases of non-compliance.

A total of 658 cases of non-compliance were found in 99 establishments. This is in addition to the 301 cases unsettled at the close of the previous year. Of that number, 109 cases, 59 in women's clothing firms and 50 in paper box firms, have been adjusted. There were 160 cases in the 11 paper box firms advertised, and 32 cases remain under the women's clothing decree. The majority of these involve the question of classification under one of two branches of the clothing industry, and were left pending decision as to the scope of the decree, as the wage boards for both branches[1] in question are being reconvened.

Of the 658 new cases of non-compliance arising in the course of the inspection work of the present year, 384, or 58.4 per cent, have been adjusted, 229, or almost 60 per cent, by increase in wages. In 81 cases, under the office and other building cleaners decree, the number of working hours was reduced so that the hourly rate was

[1] Woman's clothing and muslin underwear.

brought into compliance with the decree; and in 7 other cases, under the same decree, the number of hours was reduced and the wage slightly raised to bring the hourly rate to the minimum fixed by the decree. In 15 cases women voluntarily left the employ of their respective firms, and 51 women were discharged, all but one of these being employed in office buildings. Only one special license was issued during the year.

There were 106 cases of non-compliance in the establishment advertised under the office and other building cleaners decree. In addition there are 168 cases unsettled at the close of the period covered by this report, representing 1.1 per cent of the entire records included in the inspection returns for the year. The largest number of these cases, 78, come under the paper box decree. There are 56 under the minor lines of confectionery and food preparations decree, 28 under the office and other building cleaners decree, 4 under the candy, and 2 under the knit goods decree. (Pages 13-14.)

(4) Peculiar Local Experience.

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. Report for the Year Ending November 30, 1920.

Through the consolidation of State departments, December 1, 1919, the functions of the former Minimum Wage Commission were transferred to the three Associate Commissioners of the Department of Labor and Industries, who, when acting in minimum wage matters, are designated the Minimum Wage Commission. The work is conducted by the Division of Minimum Wage, and is under the immediate supervision of the Assistant Commissioner. (Page 7.)

Legislation Enacted in 1920.

The first amendment[1] is intended to give the Commission opportunity for choice in making wage board

[1] General Laws, chapter 151, section 2.

appointments in order to insure fair representation for the various interests affected by the work of the boards. Formerly it was possible for employers or employees to determine the selection of members by nominating only the number of candidates required for the places on the board. The law now provides that unless twice the number of nominations required are received, the Commission shall appoint not less than half of the persons so nominated, and may fill the remaining places by appointments made directly from employers or employees, as the case may be. (Pages 10-11.)

The other amendment[1] makes it possible for the Commission, on its own initiative, to reconvene a wage board when in its opinion such action is necessary to meet changes in the cost of living. Previously it was impossible to take such action except on petition from employers or employees in the occupation covered by the decree. As this provision of the law was not very generally known it was seldom exercised; consequently a decree once entered was apt to remain unchanged regardless of variations in the cost of living. The legislation enacted this year provides for greater flexibility in the operation of the law. (Page 11.)

In connection with the wage board work for the year, certain developments are of significance. With one exception, all of the wage boards have submitted unanimous reports. Only one board has recommended a minimum rate below its findings as to the cost of living. The boards have shown a tendency to consider a somewhat higher standard of living than formerly, as indicated by the inclusion in their budgets of such items as sickness insurance, reserve for deficiency and self-improvement.[2] The rates established have been considerably higher than those of previous years, three of the rates entered being for $15, $15.25 and $15.50, respectively. All were based upon the unanimous recommendations of the wage boards. The problem of adjusting the rates to meet

[1]General Laws, chapter 151, section 5.

[2]In all, 7 boards have made provision for this item. Of these, 3 were boards reporting during the past year.

changes in the cost of living has been considered by several boards. One board, that for the paper box occupation, recommended that the Commission revise the rates periodically upward or downward as the cost of living changes, using the index numbers prepared by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics as basis for the adjustments. Another board, that for the women's clothing occupation, in its report calls attention to the problem of seasonability and the inadequacy of any attempt that might be made to provide in the budget for the attendant unemployment. The board recommended that a study of seasonability be made by the Department of Labor and Industries. (Pages 17-18.)

The most serious problem in minimum wage work is that of securing uniform enforcement of the decrees. Without such enforcement the purpose of the law is defeated. It is impossible to afford protection to all the women and girls needing such protection. It is impossible to insure impartial treatment for all employers affected by the decrees. The law in its present form provides no direct penalty for non-compliance other than publicity. So far the Commission has not been obliged to resort to advertisement. Compliance with the decrees has been secured through the voluntary co-operation of employers, and the adjustment of cases outstanding has been secured through repeated inspections, follow-up letters and conferences with individual employers. Although this method has involved considerable time and expense, it has proved effective. It should be noted in this connection that the Commission has been able to make complete inspection to determine compliance only since the decision of the Supreme Judicial Court, rendered in the fall of 1918. The fact that for eighteen months following this decision there was a continued rise in prices and a constant labor shortage doubtless made it easier to secure compliance with decrees entered under a recommendatory law than might otherwise have been the case. The real test of such a law will be in the ability to secure compliance during a period of falling prices and unemployment. Difficulties have already been encountered, due in

part to the situation first mentioned, and in part to dissatisfaction with the law in its present form. Although reinspections and follow-up work have materially reduced the non-compliances, there are still a considerable number of cases outstanding. If the Commission is able to secure adjustment of these cases by the methods previously described, that will demonstrate the effectiveness of the present law. If, however, compliance with the decrees cannot be secured under the existing legislation, there may be need for such modification of the law as will insure its impartial enforcement. (Pages 24-25.)

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Minimum Wage Legislation in Massachusetts. Ethel M. Johnson, Assistant Commissioner, Acting Director of Division of Minimum Wage. 1920.

It is significant that a number of employers have recommended that the law be made mandatory, and there is apparently a growing sentiment in favor of such action. The representatives of employers on two of the Commission's wage boards have made recommendation for a mandatory law. Much of the early hostility to the minimum wage has disappeared. As illustration of this is the fact that the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association, opposed to the minimum wage—an organization formed in the early days of the Commission's existence—was last year disbanded. An increasing number of employers are in favor of minimum wage legislation, recognizing that it is in their interest as well as in the interest of their employees. One employer stated that he would like to pay higher wages, that he realized the rates in his industry were low, that he could not, however, raise the wages for his workers unless his competitors did the same. He said that he knew, and that other employers knew, that the only way to secure a fair wage in some occupations was to have the State fix a minimum rate. A letter from another employer affected by one of the recently entered decrees states that he has for some time been paying the minimum, and

is glad to know that now his competitors will be obliged to do the same. This is typical of many letters which come to the Commission. (Pages 5-6.)

A recent editorial in a Massachusetts daily illustrates the attitude of the thinking public and of the progressive business man in the following statement: "The fact seems to be established that the setting of a minimum wage is of advantage to industry, and accepted as such on account of its tendency toward standardization and its discouragement of unfair competition."—*Springfield Republican*, June 15, 1920. (Page 9.)

Minnesota.

(1) Minimum Wage Order. [Summarized.]

No. 12. *Any Occupation.* Effective January 1, 1921. Experienced females. In places with a population of 5,000 or more, $12 per week or from 36 to 48 hours and 25 cents per hour in excess of 48 hours. In other places, $10.25 per week and 21½ cents per hour in excess of 48 hours.

Learners (over 18): in places with a population of 5,000 or more, 3 months at $9.12 per week of from 36 to 48 hours and 19 cents per hour in excess of 48 hours, 3 months at $10.56 and 22 cents per additional hour; in other places, 3 months at $7.68 and 16 cents per additional hour, 3 months at $9.12 and 19 cents per additional hour. Learners (under 18): in places with a population of 5,000 or more, 3 months at $7.68 and 16 cents per additional hour, 3 months at $9.12 and 19 cents, 3 months at $10.56 and 22 cents; in other places, 3 months at $6.48 and 13½ cents per additional hour, 3 months at $7.68 and 16 cents, 3 months at $9.12 and 19 cents.

Telephone Operators customarily on duty between 6 P. M. and 8 A. M., and permitted to sleep while on duty, shall be construed to have worked the equivalent of 8 hours.

Deductions permitted in places with a population of 5,000 or more, for room and board furnished, $7, for meals, 22½ cents each; in other places, for room and board, $6.25, for meals 21 cents each.

(2) Wage Investigations and Minimum Ordered.

Minnesota. Minimum Wage Commission. Second Biennial Report. April 1, 1918 to January 15, 1921.

Tables III and IV [not included] indicate the possible weekly earnings for women and male minors, a figure based on the actual earnings as shown by the pay-

rolls submitted and the normal hours as reported by the firm. Possible weekly earnings take no heed of slack work or unemployment and therefore should be regarded with caution. The table shows the wage situation under the most favorable conditions of full time, and yet, in cities of 5,000 or more population, of a total of 23,232 women employees 86 could under no circumstances earn as much as $8.00; 203 women would earn less than $9.00; 421 women less than $10.00; and 1,692 women (or 7.3 per cent) less than $11.00, the figure determined as the least wage upon which a woman could live. More than 3,300 women (14.4 per cent) would earn less than $12.00, and 6,205 women (26.7 per cent) would earn less than $13.00. It must be remembered that wage rates were at their highest peak during the period of time, June, 1920, covered by this report. A supposedly steady demand for labor, coupled with almost no supply, had forced wages to an unheard of point, but the wage rates here indicated and the very frequent violation of the minimum-wage law—i. e., cases where the employer failed to pay the minimum wage and cases where he paid less than the legal apprentice wage—would lead one to wonder whether wages paid to women are regulated by the law of supply and demand to the extent that economists have in the past led us to believe. It at least indicates that the law of supply and demand does not operate freely where the wages of women are concerned. What follows on "median earnings" indicates even more graphically the real situation as to wages during the period of greatest inflation that followed the close of the World War. The minimum wage in Minnesota never approached the real cost of living during this period, because the Commission lived on the hope that cost of living would come down. In fixing $9.00 as a minimum wage in 1914, $5.00 was allowed for room and board and $4.00 covered the cost of clothing, laundry, and all incidental expenses. In fixing $11.00 as a minimum wage, $7.00 was allowed for room and board and the same allowance of $4.00 was made for clothing, laundry, and

incidentals, giving the worker no increase to take care of the greater cost of every item going into clothing, laundry, and incidental budget. When the $12.00 rate was fixed an extra dollar was added to the clothing and incidental budget, but no addition was made to take care of the increase in cost of room and board since August, 1919.

While the wage rates indicated by this report show a great improvement over wage conditions discussed in the first biennial report of the Minnesota commission, there is evidence of a need of still greater effort if every working woman and minor is to receive a really adequate living wage. (Pages 14-15.)

Comparison of Large and Small Places.

A comparison of median earnings in the two population groups [places of 5,000 and over and places under 5,000] shows that hourly earnings for food factory workers were between 12 and 13 cents higher and for food office workers between 6 and 7 cents higher in the small towns than in the larger centers.[4]

Factory workers' wages in wood-working plants were slightly higher in the small towns, as were those of clerical workers in the general mercantile group, the wholesale mercantile group, banks, and the miscellaneous offices not otherwise classified.

In the other occupation groups when a comparison is possible the earnings were higher in the larger cities —the differences ranging from about 3 to 15 cents.

As the wages in cities of under 5,000 were much higher for food factory workers so were they much lower—by 15 cents—for clothing factory workers. (Page 20.)

[4] This is probably due to packing plant rates in South St. Paul, where the wage rate is by the job and not the sex of the employee.

Table I.—Number and Per Cent of Women* Earning Each Specified Amount Per Hour in Cities of 5,000 or more Population in June, 1920.

Industry or Occupation	No. Reporting	Under 23 Cents		23 Cents		Under 25 Cents		25 Cents		Official Minimum Wage Based on Cost of Living
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Factory Workers:										
Clothing	1808	78	4.3	42	2.3	142	7.9	37	2.0	
Food	2630	225	8.7	128	4.9	453	17.2	297	11.3	
Paper	531	33	6.2	44	8.3	95	17.9	48	9.0	
Shoes, etc	685	37	5.4	34	5.0	81	11.8	40	5.8	
Textiles	2271	74	3.3	85	3.7	225	9.9	66	2.9	
Miscellaneous	1344	83	6.2	32	2.4	153	11.3	113	8.4	$11.00 or 23c. an hour Aug. 5, 1919 Superseded by $12.00 or 23c. an hour Jan. 1, 1921
Bindery Workers	336	12	3.6	55	16.4	68	20.2	20	6.0	
Laundry Workers	1384	105	7.6	67	4.8	223	16.1	138	10.0	
Saleswomen:										
Bakery and Confectionery	122	17	13.9	13	10.7	36	29.5	12	9.8	
Clothing and Millinery	495	1	2.3	...	...	1	2.3	5	11.4	
Department Stores	3384	296	8.7	63	1.9	485	14.3	348	10.3	
Five and Ten Cent Stores	374	90	24.1	69	18.4	202	54.0	49	13.1	
Grocery and Meat	88	12	13.6	1	1.1	14	15.9	1	1.1	
Miscellaneous	221	17	7.7	4	1.8	30	13.6	24	10.9	
Mercantile Messengers	456	164	36.0	20	4.4	297	65.1	42	9.2	
Retail Store Cashiers	203	24	11.8	7	3.4	43	21.2	48	23.6	
Janitresses	123	2	1.6	20	16.3	22	17.8	1	0.8	
Maids and Matrons	102	15	14.7	1	9.8	26	25.5	27	26.5	
Elevators	96	7	7.3	1	1.0	12	12.5	4	4.2	

*All females 16 years and over.

Minnesota.

(Abbreviated.) (Pages 40, 41.)

(3) Reinvestigations for Compliance with Minimum Ordered.

Minnesota. Minimum Wage Commission. Second Biennial Report. April 1, 1918 to January 15, 1921.

In 663 cases since August 5, 1919, the employer paid to the employee the difference between the wage he had actually paid and the minimum wage required by law, and he furnished the Minimum Wage Commission with a receipt, signed by the employee, showing the amount of money paid.

The total amount of back pay collected in this way, for which receipts were filed, was $18,382.21, the amount varying from the lowest amount, 11 cents to $376.08, the largest single claim paid.

Up to January 15, 1921, the Minimum Wage Commission had prosecuted only two employers for violation of the law. (Page 7.)

Summed up, the work of the Minnesota Minimum Wage Commission between April 1, 1918, and January 15, 1921, resulted in a quite general compliance with the minimum wage law by the employers in the State and a substantial increase in the general level of wages paid to women and minors. The latter is evidenced in the section of the report following, which deals with wages paid in the State. (Page 8.)

(4) Peculiar Local Experience.

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. September, 1919.

The Minnesota minimum wage commission issued six orders in 1914, establishing the minimum wage for women in any mercantile, office, waitress, or hairdressing occupation at $9 a week in cities of the first class, $8.50 in cities of the second, third, and fourth classes, and $8 elsewhere, while for women employed in "any manufacturing, mechanical, telephone, telegraph, laundry, dry-cleaning, lunch-room, restaurant, or hotel occupation," the minimum wage should be $8.75, $8.25, and $8 a week, according to the class of the city in which the occupation was carried on. While these orders are rather inclusive in their scope, they still recognize a difference in the necessary cost of living for women in different occupations, taking it for granted, for instance, that a saleswoman in a retail store may have to meet expenses which are not necessary for a laundry employee.

Before these orders could be carried into effect the constitutionality of the law was attacked, and the commission suspended its activities until the legal question should be settled. The decision of the supreme court, upholding the law, was not given until December 21, 1917, so that there was an interregnum of about three

and a half years in the work of the commission, and the orders issued since that period have been based on the idea of a minimum varying according to the size of the community in which a worker lives, but not according to her occupation. Two orders were issued in June, 1918, dealing with the rates to be paid apprentices and learners, which applied to all occupations without distinction. (Pages 251-252.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. July, 1920.

On July 5, 1919, the Minimum Wage Commission of Minnesota issued two orders, Nos. 10 and 11. These relate to "women and minors of ordinary ability in any occupation," No. 11 governing the employment of learners and apprentices.

In the rates fixed a basis was adopted of a weekly amount payable for work not to exceed 48 hours per week, different rates being fixed for cities having a population of 5,000 or more, and for places of smaller population. The higher rate named was $11 per week, work in excess of 8 hours to be paid for at the rate of 23 cents for each additional hour worked. The lower rate was $10.25 per week, plus 21½ cents for each hour above 48.

A State law established a 10-hour maximum work day and 58-hour week for women in mercantile establishments, etc., and a 9-hour work day and a 54-hour week for women employed in mechanical or manufacturing establishments, or in telephone or telegraph establishments in cities of the first and second classes. The law creating the minimum wage commission gave it no authority to fix the hours of labor, but the commission found "that the number of hours per week which a person is customarily employed in the performance of work for her or his employer has a direct and substantial bearing on the minimum amount which said person needs and requires as a living wage, in that a person whose time and energy are not substantially consumed

in the doing of the work for which she or he is employed may and can do for herself or himself many things which would and do reduce the money cost of living of such persons." The contention was made by certain employers that the commission had exceeded its powers in fixing the hours of labor, as well as in other provisions of the order, and a temporary injunction was granted against the commission to restrain it from enforcing the orders. The commission thereupon appealed and secured a reversal of the injunctive order, leaving the commission free to carry out its orders as made (G. O. Miller Telephone Co. *v.* Minimum Wage Commission, 177 N. W. 341).

The court admitted that the commission has no power to fix the hours of labor and held that it did not attempt to do so. What it did was to take "48 hours a week as the basic period of labor upon which to compute a minimum wage." The point that there was a relation between the hours of daily work and the cost of living was upheld as a finding of the commission which could not be regarded as "fanciful."

The distinction between localities of larger and smaller sizes was contemplated by the act, and the line drawn by the commission could not be condemned as arbitrary classification; neither does the fact that the same rate is fixed for women as for minors invalidate the order unless it appears that the minimum for one or the other class is too high.

Every contention of the opponents of the orders was decided adversely to them, the constitutionality of the act having been previously upheld (Williams *v.* Evans, 139 Minn. 32, 165 N. W. 495, 166 N. W. 504). The present opinion establishes the power and status of the commission, and would seem to remove all doubt as to the validity of method and legal status. (Pages 132-133.)

Minnesota. Minimum Wage Commission. Second Biennial Report. April 1, 1918 to January 15, 1921.

History of the Minnesota Minimum Wage Law.

The Minnesota Minimum Wage Law, signed by the governor on April 26, 1913, created a Minimum Wage Commission of three persons, whose duty it was to determine and make effective "living wages" for women and minors, the commission to function beginning August 1, 1913, and to continue in office up to January 1, 1915. The law became in-operative on November 23, 1914, due to a court restraining order—the case was appealed at once to the state supreme court and was pending in that court until on December 21, 1917, the law was held to be constitutional—the case was then re-argued and finally disposed of by the Minnesota supreme court on March 9, 1918, on which date the wage orders issued by the commission on October 23, 1914, became effective but without any retroactive effect on wages. (Page 5.)

On January 1, 1921, Wage Order No. 12 became effective and superseded Wage Orders Nos. 10 and 11. This order increased the minimum wage from $11.00 a week to $12.00 a week in cities having a population of 5,000 or more, but left the wage of $10.25 a week in effect in cities having a population of less than 5,000. When the $12.00 was adopted on December 1, 1920, the members of the commission agreed to again increase the minimum wage February 1, 1921, unless during the intervening sixty days the cost of living materially decreased.

The schedule of rates in effect on January 1, 1921, will be found on page 92.

The work of the Minimum Wage Commission has been beset with legal difficulties. The law was inoperative from November 24, 1914, to March 9, 1918, due to an injunction, and in October, 1919, the Independent Telephone Association through one of its members, The

G. O. Miller Telephone Company and one Stott and Son, canvas-glove manufacturers in Winona, attacked the validity of Wage Orders Nos. 10 and 11. The McLeod Telephone Company, of McLeod County intervened. Judge Albert Johnson, of the district court at Red Wing, in October, 1919, held the orders to be invalid and granted the request of the employers for an injunction, but the injunction was not perfected and the Minimum Wage Commission appealed the case. The Minnesota supreme court on March 9, 1920, reversed the decision of Judge Johnson and denied an injunction. (Page 6.)

North Dakota.

(1) Minimum Wage Orders. [Summarized]

All orders effective April 4, 1922.

No. 1. *Public Housekeeping.* Experienced women: waitresses and counter girls, $14.90; chambermaids and kitchen help, $14.20. Learners: waitresses and counter girls, 2 months at $11.90, 2 months at $13.60; chambermaids and waitresses, 2 months at $11.20, 2 months at $12.90. Twenty-five per cent in any establishment may be learners.

Deductions permitted for room only, $2.15; for board of waitresses and counter girls, $6, of chambermaids and kitchen help, $5.95; for board and room of waitresses and counter girls, $8.10, for chambermaids and kitchen help, $8.25. For less than 21 meals, 35c allowed employees for each meal not furnished. Rooms shall be heated and kept in a sanitary condition.

No. 2. *Manufacturing.* Experienced women, $14. Learners: in candy and biscuit manufacturing, 3 months at $9, 3 months at $10.50, 3 months at $12; in bookbinding or job press feeding, 3 months at $9, 3 months at $10.50, 3 months at $12, 3 months at $13. Forty per cent in any establishment may be learners.

No. 3. *Mercantile.* Experienced women, $14.50. Learners: 3 months at $9.60, 3 months at $10.40, 3 months at $11.20, 3 months at $12. Twenty-five per cent in any establishment may be learners.

No. 4. *Laundry.* Experienced women, $14. Learners: 3 months at $11, 2 months at $12.50. Twenty-five per cent in any establishment may be learners.

No. 5. *Telephone.* Experienced women: in towns of 1800 population and over, $14; elsewhere, $12. Learners: in towns of 1800 and over, 1 month, $10, 4 months, $11.50, 4 months, $12.50; in towns of under 1800, 1 month, $9,

4 months, $10, 4 months, $11. In an exchange employing six or more employees, thirty-five per cent may be learners.

Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4. *Rates for less than a week's work.*

Whenever a woman is employed by the week or day regularly and is available for work, 36 to 48 hours (38 to 48 in laundry work and 40 to 48 in manufacturing) shall constitute a full week's work and an employee is entitled to a full week's wages for same.

When business conditions render it impracticable for an employer to furnish an employee full time employment, 30 to 35 hours regular employment shall be paid at the rate of not less than one thirty-sixth of the weekly minimum wage established per hour (32 to 38 hours in laundry work at one thirty-eighth the wage and 35 to 40 hours in manufacturing at one-fortieth the wage); provided, that such employer shall so arrange consecutive hours of continuous employment that such employee may have a fair opportunity for securing such employment as will enable her to earn a full week's wage.

When business conditions render it impracticable for an employer to furnish an employee full time employment, employment under 30 hours per week (under 32 hours in laundry work, or under 35 in manufacturing) shall be paid at the rate of not less than one forty-eighth of the weekly minimum wage established per hour.

Minors. No orders are in effect:*

(2) Wage Investigations and Minimum Ordered.

North Dakota. Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 1. Report by Secretary and Special Investigator. From August 4, 1919, to December 31, 1919.

From this table it can be seen that the highest paid employees receiving neither board nor room are retail

*"The number of minors employed in industry is very small and the Bureau has felt that an order at this time is not especially needed." Second Biennial Report. (Page 51.)

clerks, and the most poorly paid are the laundry workers. Of those who receive board and room, the hotel and restaurant employees are the most highly paid, the hospital workers the most poorly paid.

While the average wage for office help may be considerably higher than in the occupations listed in the foregoing table, nevertheless a large number of clerical workers receive wages which compare unfavorably with the average wage for retail clerks and in many instances with the wages paid to laundry workers. Although no detailed investigation was made among this class of workers, over twenty instances of wages from $7.00 to $11.00 a week have been recorded. (Page 7.)

Table I.—Wages of 307 Women in 27 Towns and Cities. August-December, 1919.

Kind of Establishment	No. of Women	Minimum Wage			Official Minimum Wage Based on the Cost of Living
		Highest	Lowest	Average	
Retail stores	96	$25.00	$6.00	$13.40	$17.50
Confectionery stores	31	13.00	7.00	10.90	
Telephone exchanges	27	14.50	7.50	10.50	18.50
Laundries	18	11.00	7.00	9.00	16.50
Hotels and restaurants	16	18.00	3.00	11.75	Waitresses, counter girls $17.50
In hotels and restaurants with board	51	13.00	6.00	9.33	Chambermaids, kitchen help $16.70
In hotels and restaurants with board and room	58	11.00	5.00	7.50	Deductions for board furnished $3.50
Hospitals with board and room	10	7.50	6.00	6.50	for room 2.50
					Aug. 18, 1920

(Condensed.) (Page 7.)

North Dakota. Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Minimum Wage Department. First Annual Report. For Year Ending June 30, 1920.

There are in North Dakota practically five occupations in which women are employed; laundries, offices, telephone exchanges, stores and public housekeeping establishments. A small number of women work in manufacturing establishments and as student nurses. Since the number of factories is by far the smallest the indus-

trial problems of the large manufacturing centers of the east are not those of North Dakota. Nevertheless, North Dakota faces problems peculiarly its own and these are of equal importance to the welfare of the women and children of the State. (Page 13.)

The most serious problem arising out of the course of employment is directly traceable to inadequate wages which are paid to women and minor workers.

Considering the necessity of an adequate living wage from this standpoint, Table No. I will be of interest. This table (now condensed) was prepared by the Chief Probation Officer of Philadelphia and tabulates the number of girls who came before the Philadelphia court in 1918 for various offenses, according to occupation and wages received at the time they were taken in custody. (Page 15.)

From this table it can be seen that 820 out of 861 girls taken in custody earned less than $14.00 a week, the average wage being about $6.50.

Despite the foregoing table, however, it is a question whether or not inadequate wages are to a large degree the cause of women leading a life of immorality. A more substantial argument is that underpaid women workers are denying themselves actual necessities of life in order to avoid leading such a life that they are living on insufficient food and are huddled together in rooms devoid of light, ventilation and heat.

The data which has been gathered by the Bureau on the relation of wages to the cost of living, brings us forcibly against the problems which the women of North Dakota face in this respect. (Page 17.)

Totalling, therefore, the estimated expenses as previously listed, the minimum cost of living would be:

Room	$2.50
Board	7.00
Clothing	4.15
Sundries	3.00
Minimum Wage Estimate	$16.65

It might be added further that the cost of living since December, 1919, has again been increased. (Page 23.)

The results of these preliminary investigations proving conclusively that the standards of hours, standards of conditions and the wages for women and minors were unsatisfactory and inadequate, the Bureau decided to hold a series of hearings throughout the State. (Page 24.)

The testimony of approximately 400 individuals was taken and recorded. Estimating roughly 45 girls working in laundries testified; 60 in mercantile establishments; 30 in offices; 50 in telephone exchanges; 55 employed in hotels, restaurants and cafeterias; 15 student nurses and 12 in manufacturing establishments. The majority of these witnesses were subpoenaed and all testified under oath. (Page 25.)

Table I.—Wages of 307 Women in 27 Towns and Cities. August-December, 1919.

Occupation	Number					Official Minimum Wage Based on the Cost of Living*
	Number of Representative Establishments	Under $14	$14 to $14.99	$15 and over	Total	
Mercantile	92	0	10	523	533	$14.50
Manufacturing	15	0	18	40	58	14.00
Laundry	11	0	65	47	112	14.00
Telephone	14	0	109	51	160	14.00
Public Housekeeping*	174	26	392	....	418	14.90 for waitresses and counter girls 14.20 for kitchen help and chambermaids April 4, 1922
	Percent					
Mercantile	92	0	1.8	98.1	100	
Manufacturing	15	0	31.0	68.9	100	
Laundry	11	0	58.0	41.9	100	
Telephone	14	0	68.1	31.8	100	
Public Housekeeping	174	6.2	93.7	....	100	

*Prescribed deductions from these rates were permitted for room and board furnished employees.

(Condensed and computed.) (Pages 52-56.)

(3) Reinvestigations for Compliance with Minimum Ordered.

North Dakota. Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Minimum Wage Department. Second Report. July 1, 1920, to June 30, 1922.

Table I. Weekly Rates of Wages during Summer of 1921.

Occupation	No. Investigated	Per cent. (Cumulative) of Women Receiving—											Official Minimum Wage Based on the Cost of Living*
		Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	Under $13	Under $14	Under $15	Under $16	Under $17	Under $18	Under $19	Over $19	
Mercantile	171	...	1	...	11	1	8	23	17	25	16	69	$14.50
Factory....	47	...	1	1	13	3	4	5	8	5	4	3	$14
Telephone.	113	1	4	6	21	16	16	23	20	1	...	5	$14 & $12**
Laundry...	94	2	2	12	19	11	13	6	12	3	9	5	$14
Waitresses	10	...	...	...	1	1	...	2	6	...	...	...	$14.90 & $14.20
Maids, etc.													April 4, 1922
Total	480	3	8	19	65	32	41	62	63	34	32	121	

*See Orders Nos. 1-5 for additional rates for learners.
**$14 in towns over 5000 in population, $12 in smaller places.

(Calculated) (Page 8.)

(4) Peculiar Local Experience.

North Dakota. Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Minimum Wage Department. First Annual Report. For Year Ending June 30, 1920.

The Bureau encountered more difficulty in securing the cooperation and testimony of employers; and testimony of this class is not as voluminous as that of employes. Information was also furnished by juvenile court judges, school teachers, university professors, professional nurses and others who have made a study of working and wage conditions of women and minors in industry.

While in part the testimony offered was not entirely reliable, the facts generally brought to light verified the data secured at the preliminary investigations and the average of estimates increased the minimum cost of living approximately $1.00 above estimates submitted by the

investigator prior to the hearings, thus bringing the estimated minimum cost of living up to $17.65. Many testimonies revealed appalling conditions to exist among working girls and women of the State. (Page 25.)

One interesting fact among others was brought out at these hearings: the general impression that girls who live at home do not need as much money as those who board and room away from home. Acting on this supposition employers often insist that their employes live at home. At the same time the testimony of many such girls revealed that they not only have to support themselves, but in many cases have to further lend assistance toward the support of the home or that they have dependents. In factories, laundries, telephone exchanges and variety stores, where very low wages were being paid, employers often advanced this statement as a justification of their wage scale and thus seemed to feel exempt from economic responsibility toward their employes. (Page 28.)

North Dakota. Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Minimum Wage Department. Second Report. July 1, 1920, to June 30, 1922.

At the time when the first report of this department was submitted for the year ending June 30, 1920, the minimum wage department was involved in court proceedings by temporary injunctions served upon the Bureau by the North Dakota Bell Telephone Company, the North Dakota Independent Telephone Company and allied independent telephone companies, and by the Laundrymen's Association of North Dakota, enjoining the Bureau from enforcing wage orders Nos. 2, 3, 4, 7, 9 and 12 . . . . the court held the orders invalid because when adopted there was not a full board present, but the court made no holding as to the validity of the law.

Pending the decision of the Court it was not possible for the Bureau to enforce the wage orders in any occupation for which conferences had been held and orders issued, since the validity of the method of adopting the

orders by the Bureau was the matter under consideration by the court. Also Orders No. 2, 3 and 4 affected all occupations for which orders had been made. When the decision of the court was rendered, while it did not expressly declare all the orders of the department invalid, it still made it impossible for the Bureau to attempt to enforce these orders.

Since the years 1919 and 1920 had reached what seemed a "high water mark" in living costs, and it was hoped and anticipated that expenses would appreciably decline within the next twelve months, the Bureau decided against taking the case to the Supreme Court, preferring rather to start investigations with a view to establishing a new standard of wages for the year 1922. Particularly did the Bureau feel justified in taking this step because of the fact that in the employments which had not brought action against it considerably over fifty per cent of the employers were paying the minimum wages established by the Bureau, and even in the employments which had brought action, many independent companres were complying with the wage orders.

While there are still many who are opposed to legislation regulating the hours of employment and wages of women workers and those who maintain that such laws will force women out of industry, it has been encouraging for this Department to see that this group has appreciably decreased; and that in spite of the Bureau's inability to enforce its orders, an appreciation of minimum wage legislation and the benefits to be derived therefrom, not only by employes but also by the employers, has already begun to develop. (Pages 1-2.)

Since April 4, 1922, when the new minimum wage orders went into effect investigations have been made covering women employed in the public housekeeping, manufacturing, mercantile, laundry and telephone occupations in (16) cities.

The objects in mind in making these investigations have been to adjust the wages of women to the minimum when the wages paid were below the minimum. (Page 50.)

U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. Minimum Wage Orders in North Dakota. April, 1922.

The operation of the minimum wage law of North Dakota has been affected by the opposition of some of the employers of the State, notably the telephone companies. The act was approved March 6, 1919, its enforcement being intrusted to the workmen's compensation bureau of the State. Disputes as to the capacity of the commission to act during a period of incomplete organization were submitted to the court, and an injunction was issued restraining the operation of the orders first promulgated until the question of legality was finally determined. The opposition, therefore, did not address itself to the nature of the law, and the compensation bureau chose to drop the contest as to the jurisdictional authority, and, in its reorganized form, to issue a new set of orders. No attempt was ever made to enforce the orders first issued, though technically they remained as orders of the bureau.

Conferences called for the purpose of considering the new orders were said to be very harmonious and indicative of a general feeling of good will. Representatives of the employers' association and of one of the larger telephone companies are reported as expressing themselves as satisfied with the orders adopted and contemplating no opposition thereto. The original list of orders, 8 in number, is not completely covered by the revised list, there being but 5 adopted on February 3, 1922. The occupations formerly covered that are omitted up to the present time are personal service, office occupations, and student nurses. It is said that there is no present need apparent for orders in these occupations. (Pages 100-101.)

Oregon.

(1) Minimum Wage Orders. [Summarized.]

No. 36. *Special Regulations.* Effective June 12, 1918.

3.—When business conditions render it impracticable for an employer to furnish to any employe full time employment, the employer shall not be required to pay such employee any greater sum than the hourly wage for the number of hours of actual employment, provided such employer shall so arrange consecutive hours of continuous employment that each employee may have a fair opportunity for securing such employment as will enable her to earn a full week's wage.

Effective October 14, 1919.

Nos. 37-43, 45. *Mercantile, Manufacturing, Personal Service, Laundry, Telephone and Telegraph, and Public Housekeeping.* Experienced females, $13.20. Learners (except in Mercantile and Telephone): 4 months at $9, 4 months at $10.50, 4 months at $12. Learners in Mercantile, 1 month at $9, 3 months at $10.50, 4 months at $12. Learners in Telephone: 3 months at $9, 3 months at $10, 3 months at $11, 3 months at $12.

Deductions permitted for room furnished, $2 a week, for board, $4.50 a week and a proportionate amount for less than a week.

No. 44. *Offices.* Experienced females, $60 a month. Learners: 4 months at $9, 4 months at $10.50, 4 months at $12.

No. 46. *Minors.* 14 to 16 years, $6; 15 to 16 years, $7.20; 16 to 18 years, for 6 months at $8.50 and for each six months thereafter at an increase of $1 a week.

No. 47. *Packing, Drying, etc.* For Packing, Drying, Preserving, or Canning any Variety of Perishable Fruit or Vegetables.

Piece Rates.

Occupation and Variety.	Minimum Piece Rates Per 100 lbs.	Per 40 lbs.
Cutting Apricots	38-¼c	15-3/10c
Cutting Pears	67-¾c	25-½c
Cutting Cling Peaches	38-¼c	15-3/10c
Cutting Free Peaches	21c	8-½c
Cutting Tomatoes	5-1/10c per 12 quarts	
Peeling Apples	4¼c per 40 lb. box	
Quartering Apples	15-3/10c per 40 lb. box	
Hulling Strawberries	1-7/10c per pound	
Stemming Cherries	2/5c per pound	
Sorting and Stemming Cherries	½c per pound	
Sorting and Stemming String Beans	1-1/5c per pound	

Occupation and Variety	Size of Can	Minimum Piece Rates per dozen cans
Canning Apricots, Pears and Peaches	No. 2-½	2-½c
Canning Apricots, Pears and Peaches	No. 10	6-1/10c
Canning Apples	No. 10	3c
Canning Strawberries, Loganberries, Blackberries, Raspberries and Cherries	No. 2	1-7/10c
Canning Strawberries, Loganberries, Blackberries, Raspberries and Cherries	No. 2-½	2-1/8c
Canning Tomatoes	No. 2-½	1-7/10c
Canning Tomatoes	No. 10	4c

A uniform basis for facing Prunes in 25-lb. boxes, double faced, of ..... 5-1/10c per box

Time Rates.

Class	Minimum Time Rate
Experienced workers	27-½ cents per hour
Inexperienced workers	22 cents per hour

These rates apply to adults and minors alike. Period for inexperienced shall be limited to three weeks.

In reference to females employed in canneries or driers or packing plants, see following extract from Chapter 163, Session Laws of 1917, Section 5037:

"* * * females employed in harvesting, packing, curing, canning or drying any variety of perishable fruit, vegetable or fish; provided, further, that they be paid time and a half for time over ten hours per day when employed in canneries or driers or packing plants. Provided, also, that piece workers shall be paid one and a half the regular prices for all work done during the time they are employed over ten hours per day."

Notice: According to a ruling of the attorney general, the term "regular prices" in above statute shall be construed to mean the rate being paid to any individual worker for a day's work of ten hours; if a piece worker, it shall mean the rate per piece or number of pieces, paid to any individual worker during any period of ten hours.

(2) Wage Investigations.

(No reports of investigations have been printed.)

Problems in Rate Fixing.

Oregon. Industrial Welfare Commission. Fourth Biennial Report. 1919-1920.

One fact stands out clearly—the apprenticeship periods of the Oregon Industrial Welfare Commission orders are too long, and changes are earnestly recommended to future conferences.

Wisconsin is the only state which has given much attention to this vexing question, but only for what are known as skilled trades. Washington, California and Massachusetts have defined periods.

We found that the factory processes are separate and distinct from each other. We found, also, that it is not a general practice to teach the operative all the processes

and that the worker does not want to be transferred to another department after she has become so well acquainted with the work in the one department that her wages have been raised.

On the other hand, it is not fair to the employer to compel him to pay an increased wage to the girl who must either be transferred to another department or be laid off because the work in her division has slacked up, and who is totally ignorant of the new process. To illustrate, the girl who has been wrapping caramels in a candy factory for four months and asks for a vacant chair at the chocolate dippers' table should not expect the second period wage required by the Industrial Welfare Commission order. She is as new to dipping chocolates as she was the first day she entered the factory and began to wrap caramels in the little waxed squares of paper.

Or in the woolen mills, a worker may be adept as a spinner and the veriest greenhorn as a weaver. The Commission is therefore giving close study to the problem of the young worker and hopes to work out a plan which is more acceptable than the present method to all concerned.

In mercantile occupation we do not find the same degree of specialization. While each firm has its own peculiar policies, the methods in the sale of merchandise do not vary greatly, and a transfer from one department to another may mean only an acquaintance with a new stock. Personal factors are always involved and a woman may be much more skillful and more interested in selling pots and pans than she would be at the lace counter. But it is not the same question as it is in factories and needs an entirely different treatment.

Apprenticeship as at present controlled presents the "sore spot" in industry. The skilled or trained or experienced worker soon fits into place, but in diagnosing the case of the new untried worker, the skill, patience and vision of the industrial engineer is required. If we would take from industry much of the unrest, and if we would reduce, in large degree, the percentage of labor

turnover which is appalling among the young workers of today, we must bring to their introduction into industry a greater degree of sympathy, interest and skill. (Page 14.)

Apprenticeship Schedules in States Having Industrial Welfare Commissions.

States	Mercantile		Manufacturing		Laundry		Office	
	Full term in months	Periods in months	Full term in months	Periods in months	Full term in months	Periods in months	Full term in months	Periods in months
Oregon	8	1-3-4	12	4-4-4	12	4-4-4	12	4-4-4
Washington	8	1-2-2-3	A—Garment making 9	1-3-2-2-1	4	1-1-1-1	A—General office work 6	1-1-2-2
			B—Tailoring, etc. 9	1-2-2-3			B—Doctors and dentists 4	1-1-1-1
			C—Printing 8	3-2-2-2			C—Bill clerks, etc., and cashiers in motion picture houses 4	1-1-1-1
			D—Chocolate dipping 6	1-1-2-2				
			E—Box, candy, etc. 4	1-1-1-1				
			F—Sorting, paper mills 4 weeks	1-1-1-1 wks.				
			G—Brush making 8 weeks	2-2-2-2 wks.				
			Brush finishing 4 weeks	1-1-1-1 wks.				
California	12	6	6	3	6	3	6	3
British Columbia	12	3	.....	.....	12	4	12	3

	Public housekeeping		Personal service		Telephone		Telegraph		
	Full term in months	Periods in months	Full term in months	Periods in months	Full term in months	Periods in months	Full term in months	Periods in months	Canning full term
Oregon	12	4-4-4	12	4-4-4	12	3-3-3-3	12	4-4-4	
Washington	.....	.....	.....	.....	7	1-2-2-2	7	1-2-2-2	
California	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4 weeks
British Columbia	.....	.....	.....	.....	9	3-3-3	9	3-3-3	

Under the I. W. C. ruling, however, a worker who spent four months at sorting, four months at spooling and four months at spinning, would, if she were advanced to the weave room at the end of a year's employment, be entitled to the minimum wage, although she would enter upon the same course of training that the new worker who has never spent an hour in the mill must accept. It is an extremely complicated question and requires much more time and thought than we have been able to give to it.

Candy and Cracker Factories.

Here we find a larger number of processes than in the woolen mill, none of them requiring the same long period of training except, perhaps, the department of chocolate dipping. None of the girls in this department placed her period of training at less than one year.

While making this study we found a case of chocolate poisoning—our first contact with that type of occupational disease. Both hands and wrists of the girl were affected, and she was quite helpless as they were entirely covered with bandages. She had then had the disease for about six months, and as occupational diseases are not covered by our workmen's compensation act, her condition was pitiable. We are glad to note that the recommendations of the Committee of Fifteen appointed by the Governor to recommend amendments to the law have adopted resolutions covering occupational diseases.

Aside from the chocolate dipping, we find the following lines in candy work: packing, wrapping caramels and bars, fancy box finishing, bon bon dipping. None of these —or all of them together—should require the year's period of apprenticeship now allowed under the I. W. C. rulings.

In the cracker department, we have icing, packing, labeling and general work. Again do we feel justified in recommending a shorter period than one year.

Laundries.

We selected this industry for study as into it go so many women who have no particular skill in any direction that has been acquired through any process of training.

Here we find four definite departments: marking room, wash room, mangle room, finishing. Much of the work is machine tending, excepting the marking and hand ironing. Experienced workers and some of the employers quoted two months as a sufficiently long period. We did find some employers who still cling to the theory that a year's time is necessary.

Chambermaids.

No trial period should be required in this classification. Neither the women nor the employers felt that a year was a just period.

Waitresses.

The general opinion favored a six weeks' period. But as to cooks, our questions were met more than once with the expression, "Cooks are born, not made." It was suggested that a short trial period (not more than two weeks) be allowed to test the claim of the worker as to skill and experience. (Page 18.)

The investigator recommends a more intensive study of the problem of apprenticeship, both for the sake of the worker and the industry. This will require time, as it is too important to be passed over in one visit to any factory. (Page 19.)

A comparison of the Oregon-Washington apprenticeship schedules develops a question as to the reasonableness of the longer periods. Washington, with its larger number of industries, has been able to shorten its trial periods and these periods have been accepted by the employers. Oregon's trial periods are longer, to the

disadvantage of the employee, and when it comes to a question of competition over the Washington employer, to the advantage of the Oregon employer.

During the war period and the consequent scarcity of woman employees, no attention was paid to apprenticeship periods, and with the exception of certain department stores, apprenticeship wage rates were unnecessary. But now that wages are being lowered and help is plentiful, apprenticeship periods and wages again become an important factor.

Aside from the questions of periods and wages, comes the far more important question of irresponsibility of the average apprentice. Whether "hard times" will cure this remains to be seen, but the turnover in industry is heaviest among the new workers—the young boy and girl who are attempting their first jobs.

Into the solution of this end of the vexing problem enters the monotony of the task. The unaccustomed attention required for three and a half or four continuous hours before a release for the noon hour; the supervision of a taskmaster; the entire absence of the dramatic atmosphere which has colored the life outside the workshop; the standing or sitting in one place for hours is in contrast with the change from one classroom to another in the school just left behind, and when night comes, the muscles, tired from their unaccustomed strain, are helpers to the decision that "work somewhere else" may be "easier" or "pleasanter" or may "pay better" or have a "nicer foreman."

If industry continues to absorb the young and untried it must reorganize its method of handling them if it wishes to reduce its expense of their training.

There are some employers to whose credit we may mark a serious effort to meet the apprenticeship question, but most of them expect human nature to fit into their schedules of time, work and equipment without much preparation, and if there be friction, it is blamed on the employee rather than on the factory. There is much to be said on both sides, and but little to be said of efforts to solve the problem.

Licensing Apprentices.

No system of control of apprentices can be effectual without some sort of license. If Oregon should adopt the method in operation in Washington, a larger office force would be necessary, but some attempt should be made in the direction of some form of regulation. We give herewith the Washington procedure—it will be noted that the system limits the number of apprentices to 25 per cent of the total working force. The Oregon rulings do this also, but a constant inspection of pay rolls would be required to establish the faithfulness of employers in the observance of the rule. We quote from the fourth biennial report of the Industrial Welfare Commission of Washington, page 29:

"After studying other methods of state control of apprenticeships, the Commission has reached the conclusion that our state has used the best system, that of licensing each apprentice and limiting the number. (Page 16.) Blanks are furnished the applicants and these are filled out the day the employee begins her work and forwarded to the office of the Commission. When the license is issued it is dated the day of the application, thus covering all of her employment. The act does not provide a 'trying out' period. Any time not covered by the license is subject to the full minimum wage.

"The licenses are issued in duplicate, the original is sent to the employee and the duplicate to the employer. A record of each is kept in the office. If the blank is filled out carefully and all information given accurately, no woman can secure a second license in the same industry."

The following report shows divisions or processes in three typical industries: woolen mill, candy factory and laundry:

Woolen Mill.

Spinning Department: This work requires the longest period of training before the worker can attain a maximum efficiency. The usual custom is to place the beginner with an experienced worker for about three weeks; then

after an experience of about six months, the worker becomes about 65 per cent efficient. It requires from one and a half to two years' time before a worker can claim to reach his maximum period of skill.

Spooling Department: In this department the new worker is given a tuition period of from one to two weeks with an experienced operative. Then she is given a machine of her own with a guarantee of minimum wage and as much more as her skill will justify. After six months, she is rated as an experienced worker.

Drawing-in Department: The conditions and opportunities for progress are about the same as in the spooling department.

Weaving Department: In this department, the particular mill visited for this report has a room set aside for beginners. Here one of the best weavers in the mill acts as a teacher. After one week's trial, the newcomer is sent into the factory, and after six to eight months' work attains to a partial efficiency. To take rank with the weavers who earn the top-notch wages, requires at least a year, while some workers do not take the front rank under two years.

Finishing Department: Here we have three groups of workers—burling, fringe twisting, and cutting and folding. An attentive worker can become efficient in about thirty days. In these departments a less degree of skill is required, but the worker can add to skill, carefulness and neatness if she would swell her pay check.

In the woolen mill industry, we find that wool sorters, carders, dyers, finishers, spoolers, spinners and weavers represent just that many separate trades, and we are told that it is unusual to find any one person sufficiently skilled in all the processes to be able to earn the maximum wage at all of them. (Page 17.)

(3) Reinvestigation for Compliance with Minimum Ordered.

Oregon. Industrial Welfare Commission. Fourth Biennial Report. 1919-1920.

The Minimum Wage.

The minimum wage in the State of Oregon for an experienced adult woman is $13.20 a week. As referred to earlier in this report, but few industries made any pretense of recognizing such a low wage. At the present time, however, it is becoming more evident each week that it will soon become a more prevalent wage. (Page 19.)

Complaints.

Under minimum wage	22
Wages collected	17
Amounts collected through co-operation of the Industrial Welfare Commission	$1,370.94

More direct work could have been done with these complaints could more time have been given to personal investigations, but on account of limited office force much had to be done by correspondence which is not always a satisfactory method. (Page 10.)

(4) Peculiar Local Experience

Oregon. Industrial Welfare Commission. Fourth Biennial Report. 1919-1920.

Recommendations.

1. A field worker is needed for work outside of Portland and for investigations in Portland. The wide power given the Commission by the law offers a unique opportunity for usefulness to employer as well as to employee if there were workers in the Commission who could

devote to it the required study. The reasonableness of the Commission's action is recognized by most of the employers in Portland and in such other parts of the State as the Commission has been able to reach regularly through its offices, but there are large areas and many industries which entirely disregard the Commission's orders, either through complete ignorance of the law or working in the belief that it is a dead letter because they never see the Commission or its officials. It is most necessary for the welfare of the employees and in fairness to the employers that the industries all over the State should be given uniform treatment, and this can only be accomplished by frequent visits of an officer of the Commission explaining the law and the orders of the Commission, suggesting and urging necessary changes in practice, and only in the last event, and then surely, prosecuting cases where there is a flagrant and persistent disregard of the Commission's orders. The force employed is entirely inadequate to accomplish the desired results. The addition of one field worker would be an immense relief to the situation, and we trust that the appropriation will be increased sufficiently to provide for such an appointment.

The work of the two commissions, Industrial Welfare and Child Labor, is done by three people, and one of these on part time. There is an endless amount of detail in the child labor work, while complaints within the Industrial Welfare Commission jurisdiction absorb much patient attention and time. While many cases can be handled through correspondence, personal contact is much more satisfactory. One person cannot do all that needs to be done. To illustrate—the investigation as to sanitary conditions in orchards and berry fields resulted in a circular of instructions, but the secretary has been unable to make a second inspection to find out if any effort was made to obey the instructions. Common, decent provisions for comfort are necessities for workers, but some employers will do nothing unless fear of prosecution is before them. At least one field worker should be allowed the Commission.

2. Amendment giving the Commission authority to include collection of wages in prosecution for working an employee over time.

3. Amendment giving Commission right to include within classifications already established, any occupation not covered by conference recommendation, if the Attorney General decides that such occupation is under the jurisdiction of the commission. (Page 4.)

Conference to Increase Minimum Wage.

At the regular meeting of July 9, 1920, a letter was read from the Social and Industrial Betterment Committee of the Federation of Churches asking the Commission to call a conference to which could be submitted the question of increase of the minimum wage. The Commission replied that until the conference on women ticket clerks in railroad service completed its work, the consideration of the request would be postponed. On account of the unsettled industrial conditions which have developed since that time, the Commission has deferred action on the request.

Texas.

(1) Peculiar Local Experience.

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. Minimum Wage Law of Texas. January, 1921.

The Legislature of Texas in 1919 enacted a minimum wage law, creating a commission to establish rates of wages for women and minors employed in the State. This has met considerable opposition, and at the special session of the legislature in 1920 a resolution was adopted requesting the commission to fix no scales until the regular meeting of the legislature in 1921 when amendments would be considered. It was reported that the author of the act himself favored in particular a zoning provision, which would permit the establishment of different rates for different sections of the State. (Page 124.)

Fixing Rates.

The [cost of living] investigations referred to covered the entire State, and were said by the commission to be "more comprehensive than any subsequent investigations of the commission would be." It was held by the attorney general that the commission was without power to fix rates for different sections of the State, and it was chiefly on this ground that the objections above noted to enforcing the law were based. However, as the commission found by its investigation that the differences anticipated did not materialize, and "that no appreciabe difference exists in the cost of living between the small town and large city in the matter of living essentials," it was felt that the reasons for delay were largely removed. The commission took action on November 20, establishing rates [25 cents an hour] for females employed by telephone and telegraph companies, mercantile establishments, laundries and factories, the order becoming effective February 7, 1921. The time for the coming into effect,

therefore, falls after the meeting of the legisature (Jan. 11), which the commission felt to be a sufficient compliance with the resolution. (Page 125.)

Message with Veto of House Bill 161 (known as the Minimum Wage Bill). Governor PAT M. NEFF. *March 30, 1921.*

The Bill as it is written is unconstitutional and void because it in expressed terms exempts certain classes, domestic service, nurses, farmers, and ranch labor, telephone exchanges, mercantile establishments of all classes, women and minors whose compensation is measured by the piece only and such aged, defective, deficient or crippled persons as shall be licensed by the county judge for a period of twelve months.

If possible this bill is more defective and unworkable than the original law on the subject which was expressly repealed by Senate Bill 41.

I do not desire to be understood as saying in this veto that it is not possible to have a minimum wage bill which will be free from constitutional objection and which will be just and fairly workable and which should be enacted into a law, but this bill is not such an act.

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. Investigation of Cost of Living of Women Workers by Industrial Welfare Commission of Texas. December, 1920.

The Industrial Welfare Commission of Texas recently completed a cost of living investigation in 40 cities of the State covering a period of eight months, during which time 2,028 women were personally interviewed and asked to fill in sworn questionnaires giving an estimate of their cost of living during the three months preceding the time of the investigation, their figures being based on actual expenditures and not on what they considered would be a fair amount to spend for living. (Page 72.)

Average Weekly Cost of Living of 2,028 Women and Average Weekly Wages of 13,311 Women, in 4 Principal Industries in Which Women are Employed in Texas. [Furnished by Employers in 40 Cities.]

Industry.	Number of employees.	Cost of living per week. Total.	Cost of living per week. Average.	Average wages per week.
Telephone	303	$4,284.75	$14.14	$12.31
Mercantile	952	14,695.75	15.44	12.98
Laundry	375	5,166.75	13.78	9.39
Factory	398	5,831.50	14.65	11.52
Total.....	2,028	$29,978.75	$14.78	$11.98

(Page 73.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. Report of Industrial Welfare Commission of Texas. December, 1922.

The first report of the Industrial Welfare Commission of Texas, created by chapter 160 of the Acts of 1919, covers the experience of the commission, from June, 1919, to August, 1920, and embodies the results of two surveys made by the commission to determine the cost of living in the various sections of the State. It was found that the average cost of living per week in northern Texas, in the various industries covered, was $15.38; in southern Texas, $14.57; in eastern Texas, $12.77; in western Texas, $12.20; in central Texas, $15.61; and in northwestern Texas, the oil section of the State, $23.38. The industries investigated included telephone and telegraph companies, mercantile establishments, laundries, and factories, the four groups covering approximately 85 per cent of the employed women of the State.

For the State, the industries showed an average weekly wage of $12.31 in the telephone and telegraph industry, with an average cost of living of $14.14; in the mercantile industry wages averaged $12.98, and the cost of living, $15.44; in the laundry industry, wages, $9.39,

and cost of living, $13.78; and in factory work wages were $11.52, where the cost of living was $14.65. In the report averages are also shown by districts, by population, and by 40 cities.

The second survey, less extensive than the first, showed the average cost of living in the State in industries not covered by the first investigation to be $16.07, with considerable divergence by sections, though the general rate for the State was higher than at the time of the first survey, this survey being made "at the peak of high prices." Wages had somewhat increased, also, but continued to fall behind the cost of living.

The differences by localities led to a desire to prescribe a minimum wage adapted to the conditions disclosed by the investigation, but the attorney general of the State construed the law as permitting nothing but a uniform wage for the State as a whole. The legislature in extra sessions, both by petition by a number of its members and later by a concurrent resolution, requested the commission to set no wage until the meeting of the regular session in January, 1921, when there would be opportunity to remedy the defects believed to exist in the law. No action was therefore taken by the commission until the time of the convening of the legislature, when a rate was fixed, with the suggestion that some experience under the act would aid the legislature in formulating amendments. A general order applicable to the industries investigated fixed a rate of 25 cents per hour or $12 per week of 48 hours, with proportional rates for additional time worked. This order was to go into effect on the 7th of February, a month after the convening of the legislature.

The constitutionality of the act had already been tested in a case where a waitress had been discharged from her employment on account of having given testimony before the commission at a hearing in October, 1920. This was in violation of the protective provisions of the statute, and the employer was convicted, the conviction being sustained by the court of criminal appeals of the State on October 15, 1920 (Poye v. State, 230 S. W. 161).

At the time of its meeting to formulate the order, in November, 1920, the commission had the support of the decision in the Poye case, as well as the results of a third survey which was completed just prior to the date of the meeting. This disclosed an average minimum cost of necessaries amounting to $13.55, $1.55 in excess of the minimum fixed by the commission.

It may be added that since the above report was closed the legislature of the State repealed the act of 1919, and in a separate measure enacted a new minimum wage law. This, however, was vetoed by the governor, so that since that time no statute on the subject exists in the State. (Pages 107-108.)

Washington.

(1) Minimum Wage Orders. [Summarized.]

Nos. 23-24. *Public Housekeeping.* Effective October 4, 1921. All females (over 18), $14.50 a week, or $2.50 per day, or 35 cents per hour. Minors: 4 months at $12, 4 months at $13. *Deductions permitted,* for a sanitary and properly heated room, $2 per week; for board, 95 cents per day or 20 cents for breakfast, 30 cents for lunch and 45 cents for dinner.

No. 25. *Laundry and Dye Works.* Effective December 14, 1921. All females (over 18), $13.20. If a regular worker reports for work and it is not provided, unless she was notified of not being wanted, she is to be paid a half day's wages.

No. 27. *Telephone, Telegraph and Any Occupation* not specifically covered. Effective December 14, 1921. All females (over 18), $13.20.

No. 28. *Mercantile.* Effective December 31, 1921. All females (over 18), $13.20.

No. 29. *Manufacturing.* Effective January 22, 1922. Experienced women, $13.20, provided in different establishments she may be paid $12 for three months. Learners: $9 during first period of training, $10 during second period, $11, third period, $12, fourth period. Each establishment shall be provided with a schedule fixing the length of the periods, i. e., either 4 periods of 3 months each, 4 of 2 months each, or 4 of 6 weeks each, or 4 of 1 week each. Twenty-five per cent in any establishment may be learners.

No. 31. *Minors* (boys and girls under 18 years). Effective October 27, 1922. In any occupation or industry other than public housekeeping, $9 and an increase of one dollar a week after every six months until $13.20 is paid.

Washington. Department of Labor and Industries. First Report. For the Period Ending June 30, 1922.

Classification Under Public Housekeeping Order.

The term Public Housekeeping shall include the work of: linen room girls, chambermaids, cleaners, kitchen girls, dishwashers, pantry girls, pantry servers, waitresses, counter girls, bus girls, elevator operators, janitresses, laundry workers (except where a commercial laundry is operated), and any other occupation which would properly be classified under Public Housekeeping. The establishments shall include: hotels, rooming houses, boarding houses, restaurants, cafes, cafeterias, lunch rooms, tea rooms, apartment houses, hospitals (not nurses), philanthropic institutions, and any other which may be properly classified under this industry. (Page 100.)

Washington. Industrial Welfare Commission. Third Biennial Report. 1917-1918.

. . . the minimum wage applying to factories is now held to apply to canneries, through an opinion rendered by the Attorney General's office. And while the present regulations cannot prevent the employment of a woman in a cannery for more than eight hours per day or six days per week, her legal wage must be paid for forty-eight hours' service. Thus another advanced step has been taken in bringing about better conditions in the canning industry. (Page 22.)

(2) Wage Investigations and Minimum Wages Ordered.

Washington. Industrial Welfare Commission. Bulletin No. 1. Survey of Public Housekeeping Industry. February 13, 1920.

Tables 1-2—Weekly Wage Received by Women.

	Under $13.20	$13.20	$13.20 to $15	$15 to $18	Over $18	Totals	Received Additional Compensation*	Official Minimum Wages Based on Cost of Living
Waitresses, Counter Servers, etc.	153	8	56	71	10	298	265	
Janitresses, Cleaners, etc.	10	2	5	3	4	24	5	
Chambermaids, Linen Girls, Parlor Maids	28	60	92	45	2	227	37	$13.20 Nov. 10, 1918
Elevator Operators	6	7	8	1	...	22	3	
Cashiers, Checkers, etc.	7	4	16	18	6	51	38	
Pantry Helpers, Kitchen Helpers	44	15	34	19	4	116	92	$18.00 June 2, 1920***
Plain Cooks, Special Cooks, Assistants	5	...	15	8	22	50	48	
Housekeepers, Matrons	6	...	9	11	16	42	29	
Totals	259	96	235	176	64	830	517	

*Either room or room and board or meals.

**Order No. 18, Sept. 10, 1918, and for additional rates for minors see Order No. 19, Sept. 19, 1918

***See Order No. 21, April 3, 1920, for value of other compensation than wages.

(Combined) (Page 2.)

The survey was a personal one made by investigators who interviewed each woman and noted facts.

Of those receiving under $13.20 per week 195 received room or meals, 44 worked only a few hours per day in tea rooms or cafeterias. Some of this group were being charged as much for their meals as the customers were paying. There were no technical violations of the law, although the margin was very small in most cases.

Of those receiving $13.20 per week only four received board and room. (Page 3.)

A large number in the next group, $13.20 to $15.00 per week, were receiving $13.85 per week or $60.00 per month without board or room, especially in the chambermaid occupation. (Page 3.)

Those reporting on tips were almost all from the waitress group, numbering 226. (Page 4.)

Washington. Industrial Welfare Commission. Bulletin No. 2. Survey of Manufacturing Industry. April 10, 1920.

Number and Per Cent of Women Receiving Wages of—

	No. Investigated	Under $13.20	$13.20	$13.20 to $15	$15 to $18	$18 to $20	$20 to $25	Over $25	Official Minimum Wage Based on the Cost of Living*
Over 18 years of age....	823	..	147	235	233	83	95	30	
Apprentices over 18 years of age.....	32	32	..	...	...	..	..	..	
Minors under 18 years of age.....	136	23	42	35	30	5	1	..	$13.20 Nov. 10, 1918
Total Number.....	991	55	189	270	263	88	96	30	
Per cent (Cumulative)..	100	..	24.6	50.8	78.4	87.2	97.0	3.0	

(Compiled)

*See Order No. 18, September 10, 1918, and for additional rates for minors see Order No. 19, September 19, 1918.

This survey covers 87 manufacturing establishments (including canneries) throughout the State. It is not a complete survey, but a representative one.

Washington. Industrial Welfare Commission. Fourth Biennial Report. Laundry and Dye Work Survey. 1919-1920.

Age	No. Investigated	Number of women receiving wages of—							Official Minimum Wage Based on the Cost of Living*
		Under $13.20	$13.20	$13.20 to $15	$15 to $18	$18 to $20	$20 to $25	Over $25	
Over 18.....	709	56	43	214	281	60	43	12	
Under 18.....	30	..	9	11	10	..	..	..	$13.20 Nov. 10, 1922
Total No.....	739	56	52	225	291	60	43	12	

(Compiled) (Page 56.)

*See Order No. 18, Sept. 10, 1918, for additional rates for minors see Order No. 19, Sept. 19, 1918.
The 56 receiving less than $13.20 were working less than 48 hours.

Of the 333 receiving $15 per week or less their periods of experience were as follows:

4	over 10 years	79	6 to 12 months
16	5 to 10 years	50	3 to 6 months
53	2 to 5 years	25	2 months
41	1 to 2 years	65	1 month or less
114	or 34 per cent	219	or 66 per cent

(Compiled.)

The ages of the workers were:

30 per cent were under 25 years.
31 under 18 years
198 between 18 and 25 years
216 between 25 and 35 years
184 between 35 and 45 years
75 between 45 and 55 years
14 between 55 and 70 years
21 not reporting
Thirty per cent were under 25 years.

(Compiled.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. October, 1921.

Order Fixing Wages in Public Housekeeping in Washington.

The Industrial Welfare Committee of the Department of Labor and Industries of Washington, the successor of the Industrial Welfare Commission of that State, has issued as of August 5 a revision of the order fixing wages in public housekeeping. This is one of the industries for which an order superseding the war emergency order of September 10, 1918, had been issued, the order now superseded bearing date of April 3, 1920. The scope of the new order varies a little from its predecessor, cooks and housekeepers being omitted from

the list of persons to whom the order applies, though the question remains open whether the general term "any other occupation which would properly be classified under public housekeeping" would still bring these necessary employees under the order, even though not specifically named. The employment of females as bell hops (permitted under the earlier order) is forbidden.

From the list of establishments covered the present order omits cook houses in camps.

The rates are somewhat reduced, the wage of $18 per week, or $3 per day, or 37½ cents per hour of the 1920 order now being fixed at $14.50 per week, $2.50 per day, and 35 cents per hour. These rates are on the basis of a week of 48 hours and a day of 8 hours. The only imitation of the former order as to work time was, "not more than six days in any one week," though the daily and weekly rates evidently assumed an 8-hour day. The present order is more specific, and contains an emergency provision permitting 10 consecutive days' work "when a sufficient emergency exists, such as renders it absolutely impossible to secure sufficient substitute help." However, the emergency shall not preclude four days' rest in any 28-day period.

Very slight reduction is made in the amount that may be deducted where board is furnished, the total being 95 cents per day instead of $1 as formerly. Individual meals are rated, breakfast 20 cents, lunch 30 cents, and dinner 45 cents, instead of 25 cents, 35 cents, and 40 cents respectively, as formerly.

A companion order governing the employment of minors (persons of either sex under the age of 18 years) was issued as of the same date. Rates of wages are not changed from those fixed by the order of 1920 in the same field, nor are the hours of labor, the only change relating to the deductions for meals, which are the same as in the order for adults. These orders became effective October 4, 1921. (Pages 110-111.)

Washington. Industrial Welfare Commission, Fourth Biennial Report. 1919-1920.

Telephone Exchanges in Rural Communities.

In the latter part of 1919 new reports on the number of subscribers, i. e., the basis of classification were required to decide whether it would be necessary for the Commission to revise the old orders and raise the wages. It was decided, after consideration of the continued advance in cost of living, that $50.00 per month would be considered a minimum rate for these exchanges. As these new reports came in it was found that only a very few reported any wage less than the minimum decided upon. These reclassifications were made and those reporting less than $50.00 were taken up and to date all but three, which are under consideration, have voluntarily raised to the desired amount. The work of reclassification is not yet finished, some twelve companies having yet to be heard from.

The number of companies reported—90.

Number of exchanges classified B, Order No. 14—28.
Number of exchanges classified C, Order No. 15—32.
Number of exchanges classified D, Order No. 20—53.

It should be noted in this connection that the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company has not asked for classification under this act for its exchanges. It has used the apprenticeship schedule of the Commission starting the operation at $9.00 per week and at the end of the apprenticeship paying the minimum wage. (Pages 38-39.)

(3) Reinvestigation for Compliance with Minimum Ordered.

Washington. Industrial Welfare Commission. Second Biennial Report. 1915-1916.

For the purpose of obtaining actual facts concerning the effects of the minimum wage law, after two and one-half years of its operation the commission arranged a survey. (Page 100.)

This survey includes the most important mercantile establishments throughout the state. Each place of business was visited and the women employed by the firm interviewed. (Pages 129-130.)

The following summary shows (mercantile industry) the wages of all females, including minors, apprentices and adults:

No. receiving $6.00 and less per week	292
No. receiving over $6.00 to $7.50 per week	115
No. receiving over $7.50 and less than $10	19
No. receiving the minimum wage, (10) per week	1,392
No. receiving $10.50 to $11.50 per week	128
No. receiving $12.00 to $13.00 per week	453
No. receiving $13.50 to $17.00 per week	349
No. receiving $17.50 to $19.50 per week	95
No. receiving $20.00 to $24.50 per week	105
No. receiving $25.00 and more	51

(Condensed.) (Page 135.)

No. benefited by minimum wage law	812
No. raised $1.00 and less per week	159
No. raised $1.25 to $2.00 inclusive	168
No. raised $2.25 to $3.00	140
No. raised $3.25 to $4.00	101
No. raised $4.25 and over	27
No. raised but not giving amount	217
No. claiming law has held their wage down	27
No. stating law made no difference in wage or work	1,243

(Page 132.)

During the three years of the existence of the Industrial Welfare Commission, a large amount of money for wages due through under payments in violation of the minimum wage law, has been collected and paid over to women and minors so defrauded.

The amount collected without court aid was (214 cases)	$6,263.61
The amount collected through aid of court was (10 cases)	423.18
	$6,686.79
Amount due pending settlement (11 cases) (Combined) (Page 96.)	$1,274.98

There is little reason to doubt that if it were not for such provision through law and the means provided for its enforcement, the process of extortion that would be practised would be widespread. (Pages 96-97.)

Washington. Bureau of Labor. Twelfth Biennial Report. 1919-1920. November, 1920.

Report of Miss Marie Pidgeon, Assistant Labor Commissioner.

It has been nearly two years since I assumed the duties of Assistant Labor Commissioner.

In many cases of minimum wage violations I have been able to collect the wages due the working women without having to resort to court action. In this way I have avoided the delay and vexation that necessarily would result from such action.

Of such cases my records show that in my tenure of office I have collected $2,536.83. In addition to these collections, where failure to pay the minimum wage was involved, I have succeeded in securing approximately $3,000 in claims by women where the complaints were the result of confusion as to time employed or amount of wages promised or other causes. (Page 12.)

Washington. Industrial Welfare Commission. Fourth Biennial Report. 1919-1920.

Manufacturing Industry Apprentice Schedule.

Schedule A, covering garment making, is as follows:

1 month at	piece rates
3 months at	$ 9.00 per week
2 months at	10.00 per week
2 months at	11.00 per week
1 month at	12.00 per week

(Page 31.)

At the request of a group of garment manufacturers that the 25 per cent limit on apprentices and minors be lifted entirely or placed at 50 per cent and also on complaint of a large number of employees on the first month at piece rates, the Commission made a survey of the garment making industry during May and June of 1919.

It was found that the first month at piece rates resulted in a great many women earning less than sufficient to cover carfare and lunch for from three to six days, because they were kept on preliminary work which was not paid for at all and then on work with a very low piece rate.

Almost all the women reported that they were able to earn the minimum wage at the prevailing piece rates in a six-months' period.

As a result of this survey the Commission declined to extend the 25 per cent limit on apprentices and minors, took up special cases with the employers and proceeded to consider changes in the apprenticeship schedules for this industry.

The largest number [of licenses for apprentices] in any industry is in the manufacturing. This would not be conspicuous except in further analysis it shows that out of the total, 1,417 for the whole state, 1,050, or 74 per cent, were issued to six establishments; 711, or 50

per cent, were issued to four establishments in Spokane; 366, or 26 per cent, were issued to one establishment in Spokane, and 278, or 19 per cent, were issued to one establishment in Seattle. This indicates the spirit of a few employers in the state, which forces legislation to protect the women workers. (Pages 33-34.)

Wage Collections.

It has been the policy of the Commission and the Labor Department to permit the employer to reimburse the employee where there has been a violation of the wage orders. In nine instances has the employer refused to do this. The cases were taken to court and the fine collected as well as the wages, as provided for in sections 17 and 18 of the act. Only one case has been appealed to the supreme court of the state and in that the decision of the lower court in favor of the Commission was sustained.

The amount of back wages collected in the various industries between November 1, 1918, and September 15, 1920, were:

Industry	From Firms	For Persons	Amount
Mercantile	66	76	$1,541.73
Manufacturing	49	92	2,298.38
Telephone	8	18	255.71
Public Housekeeping	24	29	523.43
Laundry	7	11	71.18
Office	21	27	560.91
Totals	175	253	$5,251.34

Grand totals since June, 1914:

From firms	586
For persons	932
Amount	$22,561.19

(Page 44.)

Washington. Department of Labor and Industries. First Report. For the Period Ending June 30, 1922.

Average Weekly Wage.

January 1, to June 30, 1922, the average wage per week for working women in the State of Washington was figured from 295 payrolls secured by the Supervisor of Women in Industry, including 4,968 women employees, and is as follows:

	Eastern Washington Average	Western Washington Average
Heads of Dept. and Buyers	$42.91 per week	$54.95 per week
Other Employees (excluding minors and apprentices)	17.79 per week	19.75 per week

Telephones and Telegraphs.

The Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company employed 113 apprentices and 54 minors in May, in June they employed 104 apprentices and 64 minors. This company, although permitted to start their apprentices at a rate of $10.00 per week, has never paid less than $12.00 for a beginning wage for apprentices and minors in any part of the State. In the cities of Seattle, Tacoma and Spokane beginners are started at a wage of $13.00 per week. (Page 112.)

Collections of Minimum Wage Claims.

From April 1, 1921, to June 30, 1922, there was collected the sum of $18,865.92 in minimum wage claims due to women workers in the industries of this state. These collections were made largely through the personal efforts of the Supervisor of Women in Industry, assisted by the branch offices of the department.

Branch Office	No. of Cases	Amount
Seattle	286	$ 7,670.81
Spokane	462	6,790.24
Tacoma	63	500.00
Olympia	73	1,746.87
Vancouver	19	2,120.00
Bellingham	2	38.00
	905	$18,865.92

(Page 111.)

Washington Minimum Wage. National Laundry Journal. Chicago. November, 1921.

At the minimum wage conference held in Olympia, Washington, September 29, by the State Department of Labor and Industries, to discuss wages, a recommendation that the old war-time minimum of $13.20 a week for women employed in laundries, dye works and dry cleaning plants be continued with suggested improvements in working conditions over those in effect during the war, was the unanimous decision of the conference. The hearing was a very brief one, and developed practically no opposition on either side, the conclusion being arrived at in record time.

A new provision in the recommendations provides for the payment of a half-day's pay to a woman who is regularly employed in any establishment and who reports for work in the regular course of employment, whether work is provided or not, unless such employee has been notified of not being wanted on that day; provided that notice to the employee is not required if the employee was absent the previous day, of her own accord.

The minimum wage set is of only nominal interest to the laundry-owners and cleaners and dyers in Seattle and other large cities of Washington, as the lowest wage paid has long been considerably higher than the minimum prescribed by the Welfare Commission.

(4) Peculiar Local Experience.

Washington. Industrial Welfare Commission. Fourth Biennial Report. 1919-1920.

Since its birth in the state of Victoria, South Australia, in 1896, minimum wage legislation has advanced steadily. The old questions "Does the minimum wage become the maximum?" and "Are the women displaced by men?" are obsolete. New questions, such as "What are the best methods of conducting conferences?" and "How can the cost of living budget be standardized?" are now heard. . . .

Nearly every state and province [of Canada] has increased the wage and adopted better conditions for its women during the past two years. In the interim of rapid advances in the cost of living, the women were compelled to economize in the extreme in order to live while the machinery of the state was working out a new wage and even when it came the cost of living had again soared far beyond the wages fixed. The fact remains that no wage has been advanced *with* the cost of living, but after it, always lagging behind. This fact argues for a more simple method of fixing wages so that they may rise and fall *with* the cost of living. (Page 8.)

It was believed that if the facts of the increased cost of living could be placed before the employers and employees of that industry, and before the disinterested public, a fair and living wage could be agreed upon. The burden of these working women, so many of whom have dependents, might by that much become less.

Most important to the employer and to the output of the worker is the sense of cooperation and mutual interest in the success of the undertaking. These conferences, if rightly used, would develop a spirit of fair play and sympathetic understanding on the part of both employer and employed. A knowledge of the risks and problems of investment would widen the outlook of labor and a recognition of the human factor would deepen and

enrich the vital experience of capital. Not as competing forces but as cooperating friends will employer and employed win abiding peace and prosperity. (Page 16.)

The war emergency conference called August 28-29, 1918, recommended a minimum wage rate of $13.20 for adult women workers. This was adopted and a blanket order issued covering "any occupation, trade, or industry throughout the state, during the period of the war." This order superseded "during the period of the war" all other orders previously issued. This order became effective November 10, 1918, and is still effective, since technically the war is not over. No peace treaty has been signed by the United States.

The minimum wage act provides that "when such commission shall specify a minimum wage hereunder, the same shall not be changed for one year from the date when such minimum wage is so fixed." Therefore, even in the face of rapid increases in the cost of living, the Commission could not change the wage until after November 10, 1919.

Early in the summer of 1919 the prices of food, shelter, clothing and fuel had increased to such an extent that the women who were still being paid the minimum wage found it scarcely enough for bare existence, leaving nothing for clothing, shoes and other necessities.

The appeals came so persistently and prices kept soaring so steadily that the Commission, at a meeting on November 14, 1919, decided to prepare a questionnaire and make a survey in the public housekeeping industry.

Public Housekeeping Conference.

The survey in this industry began December 23, 1919, and the reports began coming in with such pitiful appeals as, "At the present wage I am forced to cut down on everything except a place to sleep and something to eat," . . .

On January 16, 1920, the Commission decided to call a conference on public housekeeping for March 3-4,

1920. It was also decided to ask the state hotel association to recommend a member of this conference and as a parity to ask the waitresses' union of Tacoma to recommend a member. This was done and the persons recommended, together with other members were formally chosen on February 11, 1920, rules and regulations were adopted and a list of questions prepared to be presented to the conference. On February 13, 1920, the report of the survey was printed, and copies of it, with the federal reports on cost of living in the Monthly Labor Review, as well as other information, was sent to the conferees.

A brief survey of estimates of the women workers on a budget was made for the Commission for its information.

On March 3 and 4, 1920, the conference assembled in Olympia.

The recommendations which appear in the obligatory order [No. 21, providing an $18 minimum wage] were passed unanimously and signed by all the conferees. At the end of the conference the chairman announced that the public hearing for protests would be held on March 18, 1920, in Seattle. This was held as scheduled, also two more, one in Olympia and one in Seattle. Protests were heard and thoroughly considered by the Commission and on April 3, 1920, the recommendations as a whole were adopted and an obligatory order issued which became effective on June 2, 1920.

Manufacturing Conferences.

The survey began in February and the conference was called for April 28-29, 1920. The usual procedure was followed as in all conferences since the beginning of the work. The manufacturer who was recommended by the Spokane manufacturers was chosen as a member. The first day, April 28th, was the usual open day for general discussion and on the next day the conferees went into executive session. At this conference the employers were represented by their attorneys and

employed public accountants and except in a very few instances themselves refused to discuss any of the questions which were presented to the conference. The representatives of organized labor came with their cost of living estimates ready to discuss the cost of living of any article recommended. It was unusual in that it was the first conference in the history of the Commission which adjourned at the end of two days in executive session with no wage recommendation. (Page 19.)

The date fixed for the new conference was May 18-19, 1920. The usual procedure was carried out leading up to holding this conference excepting that the conferees were chosen by the Commission members regardless of recommendations from the outside. A petition presented by an attorney for a group of Spokane manufacturers asking for postponement of the conference was given careful attention but not granted. The objections presented by a group of Seattle manufacturers to one of the manufacturers who was chosen as a conferee was overruled as "insufficient reason." The conference was held on May 18-19, 1920, and was one of the hardest fought ones in the experience of the Commission. The same determination on the part of the employer not to talk over these questions with the employees freely and frankly was exhibited at this conference as at the first manufacturing conference. An employed public accountant presented the estimates of various accountants as to the amount necessary for an employed woman's budget. The significant thing about the estimates made by the public accountants was that in the face of rapid increases in prices they were able to reduce their estimates. One estimate of $16.50 per week as the necessary amount required was reduced after a few weeks to $14.45 per week. Another made an estimate of $15.00 per week for the first conference and was able to reduce it to $13.75 for the next conference. Two other accountants presented budgets which showed $13.91 and $12.95 per week as the necessary amount to maintain a woman in health.

These figures were presented as against the estimates

of factory workers that $22.09 per week was the necessary amount and the budget submitted in the U. S. Monthly Labor Review for a woman in Washington, D. C., which showed (without savings) $19.94 per week.

After two days of deliberation in private session, the conference presented the recommendation of $18.00 per week on a vote of 5 to 4, one of the employers later signing the resolution. The group of recommendations on conditions of labor was a unanimous vote. (Page 20.)

The Commission met on June 15th to consider the recommendations. In the interim between the conference and this meeting, Mrs. Geo. P. Hardgrove had resigned her membership on the Commission and Mrs. W. S. Griswold had been replaced by Mrs. Lucy E. Redpath. The motion to adopt the recommendations was made by Dr. M. H. Marvin and Mrs. W. J. Kennedy seconded it. The vote was a tie and the motion was lost.

Laundry Conference.

The laundry survey began in April and was finished and tabulated in May. The date set for the conference was June 3-4, 1920. This date was reconsidered and left indefinite on account of the necessity of calling the second manufacturing conference. No new date has been set for this conference. There are on file 13 petitions, signed by 396 laundry workers throughout the state, begging for a hearing. There are also numerous letters from individual workers, stating the difficulties in trying to live within the present minimum wage of $13.20 per week.

The Commission planned to take up the mercantile industry next and probably follow with telephone and telegraph, office, and then a miscellaneous conference covering all occupations not otherwise classified. In this way all the workers would have been covered. This work would all have been completed by the middle of September if there had been no delay by appeal to the courts and the inability of the Commission to agree on the

recommendations of the second manufacturing conference. Wage rates more in accord with the cost of living would have been established and the possibility of a return to the old wage rates established in 1914 would have been obviated.

Legal Status.

It is to be sincerely regretted that the women workers of Washington are compelled to make sacrifices because the employers may question at this time the constitutionality of an act which has been in force since 1914, with no previous attempt to interfere with the operation of the law. Conferences held in 1914 were attended by a mere "handful" of interested employers and employees, who were there to discuss the questions before the members, openly and freely. A spirit of harmony and cooperation was particularly displayed at the office conference when, after the discussion, the estimates of the employers and employees were just 50 cents apart on the amount necessary to maintain a worker in health, and the work of the conference was finished the first day. This year the employers came in large numbers, filling the Senate chamber to capacity, mute themselves, with a paid spokesman, an attorney, to represent them. These attorneys filed protests on the holding of the conferences, appeared at the public hearings with their same legal form of protest, attacking every move of the Commission. Paid accountants figured the costs of living and estimated budgets for the employers. The Commission proceeded as it had in all previous conferences and after the public housekeeping obligatory order was issued, on April 3, 1920, a group of hotel employers, through their attorney, filed in the superior court of Thurston County, on May 13, 1920, a petition for an injunction. During the proceedings leading up to the calling of the manufacturing conference a group of Spokane manufacturers, through their attorney, warned the Commission that they intended to "fight" all proceedings.

At the hearing of the petition filed on May 13th, Attorney General Mr. L. L. Thompson defended the Commission. The attorneys for the plaintiffs withdrew the petition for an injunction and asked for a writ of review. This was not granted by Judge Wilson.

This order became effective on June 2, 1920, and on June 10 another request for an injunction was filed in the same court by the attorney for the Spokane Hotel Company and also an attack on the constitutionality of the minimum wage act. These were heard together on July 26, 1920, Mr. L. L. Thompson ably defending the Commission. On August 7, 1920, Judge Wilson handed down his opinion, which approved the action of the Commission on every point.

Notice of appeal to the supreme court was filed on August 31, 1920, and argued on October 27, 1920. At this time no opinion has been handed down. (Pages 21-22.)

At no time has the $18.00 wage been seriously attacked as excessive. No one can prove that the cost of living has not at least doubled since 1914, yet the wage of $9.00 per week in the public housekeeping occupations established in 1914 remained in effect for four years without its legality being called in question. (Page 24.)

Wisconsin.

(1) Minimum Wage Orders. [Summarized.]

No. 2. *Telephone Exchanges.* 1. Day Period. For the 16 hour period, 6 A. M. to 10 P. M. of the same day, telephone exchanges shall pay their operators as a minimum for the number of hours indicated in the following schedule:

Size of Exchange	*Basis of Pay*
Under 200 telephones,	11/16 of the time on duty.
200-219 telephones,	12/16 of the time on duty.
220-239 telephones,	13/16 of the time on duty.
240-259 telephones,	14/16 of the time on duty.
260-274 telephones,	15/16 of the time on duty.
275 telephones and more,	time on duty.

2. Night Rest Period. For the 8 hour period 10 P. M. of one day to 6 A. M. of the following day telephone exchanges shall pay their operators for all of the time they are subject to call which is not included within the longest period of uninterrupted rest which the operators get on at least two-thirds of the nights they are on duty, but no exchange having night service shall pay its operators for a lesser number of hours than is indicated in the following schedule:

Size of Exchange	*Basis of Pay*
Under 300 telephones,	2/8 of the time subject to call.
300-499 telephones,	3/8 of the time subject to call.
500-624 telephones,	4/8 of the time subject to call.
625-749 telephones,	5/8 of the time subject to call.
750-874 telephones,	6/8 of the time subject to call.
875-999 telephones,	7/8 of the time subject to call.
1000 telephones or more,	time subject to call.

Exchanges in private residences, wages at the rate of 50 cents per month per phone.

No. 3. *Hospitals and Sanitariums.* That attendants in sanitariums who are employed for more than fifty five

(55) hours per week as a minimum shall be paid for fifty-five (55) hours per week.

No. 4. *Home Work.* "Home Workers" as a minimum must be paid such piece rates which yield the women and minor employees of the same employer who are of average ability and are employed in the factory, the rates prescribed in Order No. 1.

No. 5. *Intermittent Workers.* Women and minor employees who work intermittently shall be regarded as having completed the first three months of the learning period which is provided for in Order No. 1 after 600 hours of work in trade or industry, and the entire learning period of six months after 1,200 hours of work.

No. 6. *Tobacco Stemming Warehouses.* Effective March 30, 1920. Piece rate for stripping tobacco, 3½c per pound. Special licenses granted to handicapped workers, if at least 75 per cent of the women and minors, other than learners earn at least 25c per hour.*

No. 7. *Beauty Parlors.* Effective May 20, 1920. Learners for the first two months of employment do not come under Order No. 1, following 3 months, minimum, 18c per hour, next 3 months 20c per hour.

No. 8. *All Industries.* Effective August 1, 1921. Experienced females or minors (over 17), in cities with population of 5,000 or more,** 25c per hour; in other places, 22c. Learners: 3 months at 16c per hour, 3 months at 20c per hour. Minors: between 14 and 16, one year at 16c per hour, thereafter 20c per hour; between 16 and 17 years old, 20c per hour if they have been employed 6 months in industry, otherwise 16c; except that minors producing the same output as experienced females shall not be paid less than 25c per hour. In seasonal industries no learning period is recognized.

Emergency work in canneries: Canning peas, in excess of 10 hours a day at 33c per hour; canning beans,

*Industrial Commission's circular letter to employers. April 6, 1920.
**Includes communities and isolated establishments which are within the industrial area of such cities, although outside of their territorial limit.

cherries, corn or tomatoes, after 6 p. m. when in excess of 8 hours a day and on Sunday, at rate of time and one-half.

Deductions permitted: In cities with population of 5,000 or more, for room $2.50, for board $5.25; in smaller places, for room $2, for board $4.50.

Tips: Cannot be counted as part of the minimum wage.

Piece Rates: If piece rates yield to 75% of the experienced women and minor employees over 17 years old three cents per hour more than the regular time rate, the employer, for the other 25%, does not have to make up the difference between the earnings and the minimum wage.

Limitation upon number of learners: shall not exceed 25% of experienced women and minors normally employed in given establishment.

(2) Wages Investigations and Minimum Ordered.

Wisconsin. Industrial Commission. Minimum Wage Reports Called April 30, 1922.

Showing a comparison with last year as regards the percentage of the whole number (46,998) of minors of both sexes, and women age 21 years and over, in each of the stated age groups, we note:

Age group			Year 1921	1922
Minors, under 17			13.6%	8.0%
Minors, ages 17 to 21			40.3%	39.5%
Women	Age 21 years and over	1922	46.1%	52.5%
	Over 21	1921		

The differences in age distribution are due at least in part to the questionnaires used in these two years. The 1921 blank called for minors 17-21 and women over 21, while the 1922 blank called for minors 17-21 and

women age 21 years and over. It is believed each age group has a high "probable error," due to the incomparable nature of the questionnaires.

Hourly Earnings:

A. The tabulated hourly earnings for minors, both sexes, and women age 21 years and over (46,998 persons) shown by percentages of all minors and women receiving stated amounts, follows:

Amount	Years 1921	1922	Official Minimum Based on Cost of Living*
Less than 20 cents per hour	2.0%	2.3%	22c per hour Aug. 1, 1919
From 20 to 22 cents per hour.....	3.1%	4.2%	
From 22 to 25 cents per hour.....	13.3%	7.1%	25c per hour (places over 5000)
From 25 to 30 cents per hour.....	23.4%	33.5%	22c per hour (places over 5000)
Thirty cents and over per hour....	58.2%	52.9%	Aug. 1, 1921

*See Orders Nos. 1 and 8 for additional rates for learners and minors.

(Page 5.)

B. The percentage of all persons (46,998) of stated hourly earnings in each stated age group follows:

Hourly Earnings	Percentage of all persons (46,998) in each age group, receiving stated hourly wages, in years 1921-1922					
	Under 17		Ages 17-21		Ages 21 and over	
	1921	1922	1921	1922	1921	1922
Under 20 cents.....	60.5	56.3	25.2	28.6	14.3	15.1
From 20 to 22 cents...	55.8	32.6	30.0	36.2	14.2	31.2
From 22 to 25 cents...	26.9	21.5	40.3	46.4	32.8	32.1
From 25 to 30 cents...	16.1	6.8	40.4	42.9	43.5	50.3
30 cents and over.....	5.6	2.9	41.4	37.1	53.0	60.0

(Pages 5-6.)

Wisconsin. Industrial Commission. Earnings of Women and Minors in Wisconsin. April 30, 1921.

The table following has separated the hourly earnings in manufacturing and trade in small towns and

large towns. In both of these lines, lower wages are paid in small towns. Thus in manufacturing 33.5 per cent of the workers in towns under 5,000 in population received less than 25c an hour, while in towns over 5,000 in population only 16.9 per cent received less than 25c an hour. In trade (i.e. stores) the discrepancy is even greater. In towns under 5,000 in population 55.1 per cent of the workers received less than 25c an hour while in towns over 5,000 in population only 19.6 per cent received less than this amount. (Page 1.)

Comparison of Hourly Earnings in Large and Small Towns.

	Total		Under 20c.		20c.-22c.		22c-25c.		25c.-30c.		Over 30c.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	32689	100	638	2.0	1023	3.1	4352	13.3	7644	23.4	19032	58.2
Mfg.	28657	100	517	1.9	864	3.0	3822	13.3	6427	22.4	17027	59.4
Trade	4032	100	121	3.0	159	3.9	530	13.2	1217	30 2	2005	49.7
Towns under 5,000												
Total	2201	100	82	3.7	83	3.8	584	26.5	589	26.8	863	39.2
Mfg.	2143	100	80	3.7	77	3.6	560	26.2	575	26.8	851	39.7
Trade	58	100	2	3.4	6	10.3	24	41.4	14	24.2	12	20.7
Towns over 5,000												
Total	30488	100	556	1.8	940	3.1	3768	12.4	7055	23.1	18169	59.6
Mfg.	26514	100	437	1.6	787	3.0	3262	12.3	5852	22.1	16176	61.0
Trade	3974	100	119	3.0	153	3.9	506	12.7	1203	30.2	1993	50.2

(Page 2.)

Problems in Fixing Rates.

Wisconsin. Industrial Commission. Minimum Wage Act. 1920.

Concerning Order No. 1. The recommendation of the Advisory Wage Board that the minimum wage rate should be upon an hourly basis is supported by testimony that many items in the cost of living of female and minor

employes vary directly with the number of hours they are required to work. Employes who have short hours of labor can without injury do much work for themselves which female and minor employes who work longer hours must hire others to do for them. This has reference especially to laundry, the repair and up-keep of clothing, and the making of some articles of clothing. Longer hours of labor, moreover, unquestionably mean increased fatigue, and it is now well established that fatigue is an important cause of sickness. Female and minor employes who work longer hours on the average will lose more time from work because of sickness. The shorter hour workers on the average work more days during the year because the morbidity rate is lower. For these reasons the Commission agrees with the Advisory Wage Board that the living wage should be established upon an hourly basis rather than at a definite figure per week which disregards the hours of labor.

The Commission also accepts the recommendations of the Advisory Wage Board that classification should be made and that the following classes should be recognized as female and minor employes unable to earn the living wage and should consequently be licensed as a class to receive a somewhat lower wage rate: Learners over 17 years of age; minors between 16 and 17 years of age; minors under 16 years of age. (Page 12.)

Female and minor employes who are above 17 years of age upon first entering an industry are unable to produce the same output as experienced employes. They are unacquainted with the industry and its operations. They cannot work with the same speed and efficiency as experienced employes, waste more product, and require more supervision. Their services are distinctly less valuable than those of experienced employes. If employers are not permitted to employ such learners at a lower wage rate, it is probable that beginners will not be able to secure the training which is essential to an opportunity for steady and remunerative employment in the future. Learners, consequently, should be placed

in a class by themselves during a short learning period; such learners should be licensed as a class to receive a lower wage rate. As soon as such learners have acquired reasonable efficiency, however, they should be paid a living wage. The Commission accepts the recommendation of the Advisory Wage Board that the learning period, during which less than a living wage may be paid, shall not exceed six months and that this period should be divided into two parts, each of three months' duration. After three months of experience an employe clearly is more efficient than during the first three months of his employment, and consequently should be paid a higher wage. (Page 12, 13.)

Permit children under 17 years of age are as a class clearly distinguishable from both learners and experienced employes. The cost of living of minor employes under 17 years of age we believe is somewhat less than the cost of living of adult female employes and older minor employes, although we are unable to estimate the exact difference. We believe also that the older the permit child the more nearly does his or her cost to living approximate that of the adult female employe and the minor employe over 17 years of age. The value of the service rendered by permit children also places them in a distinct class. Permit children lack the sense of responsibility of adults and older minors, and for most employments are distinctly less efficient. The further factor enters that all permit children are by law required to attend a vocational school for 8 hours per week during the day time in the months while these schools are in session, in all cities in which such schools are maintained. (Page 13.)

In recognizing as distinct classes learners over 17 years of age, minors between 16 and 17 years of age, and minors under 16 years of age, our purpose is to afford an opportunity to beginners to secure employment and training in industries which offer them a prospect of steady and remunerative employment. No employer should be permitted to make these classifications an

excuse for getting his work done at less than the minimum wage. We accept as reasonable that there must clearly be a limitation upon the percentage of the employes in an establishment who may be paid less than the minimum living wage, and consider the recommendation of the Advisory Wage Board reasonable, that this limit should be placed at 25%. This limitation should apply to all normal times. When there is an unusual situation which requires a great increase in the working force, the 25% limitation may be unreasonable and impracticable and is not intended to apply. When such unusual conditions prevail, the employers affected may take the matter up with this Commission, which is by law expressly authorized to make special as well as general orders to carry out the intent of the legislature.

The Advisory Wage Board has not considered and has made no recommendation upon the learning period in seasonal industries which operate for only a few months during the year. We believe, however, that the reasons which impelled the Advisory Wage Board to recommend that the number of employes in any establishment to whom less than the minimum living wage may be paid shall not exceed 25% of the total number of the female and minor employes normally employed, also led to the conclusion that no learning period should be recognized in seasonal industries which operate for only a few months during the year. Such industries furnish no prospect of steady employment. Employes in such industries either cannot work throughout the whole of the year, or must undergo a learning period in another industry. (Page 14.)

Concerning Order No. 2. Telephone companies are clearly employers within the meaning of the minimum wage act. Nor has any claim ever been made that it cost telephone operators less to live than women and minor employes, in other occupations. No valid reason can be urged why telephone companies should not pay a living wage to their operators, and the great majority

of the telephone managers have stated that they regard the determination that the minimum living wage is 22 cents per hour to be fair and reasonable.

While telephone companies are subject to the minimum wage law in the same manner as are all other employers of women and minors, special problems are presented with reference to the determination of the number of hours of labor of their operators. Nearly all telephone companies in the state give service for twenty-four hours a day and for seven days of the week. In the smaller exchanges, however, there are often long periods when there are no calls at all, especially at night. Some interested parties have urged that even in the smallest exchanges where the operators get hours of uninterrupted sleep the telephone companies should be made to pay for all of the time the exchange is open. Such a proposition is not fair to the companies; they should not be required to pay for long periods of uninterrupted rest. On the other hand, fairness demands that the operators should be paid for all of the time they put in for the telephone companies during which they cannot get extended periods of rest which they can utilize to real advantage for sleep or other work. (Page 16.)

The problems presented are two-fold. For the smallest exchanges a well-founded claim can be made that even during the day hours the calls are so light that the operators have much time which they can utilize for other work. For these exchanges and for others which are considerably larger, there also arises the problem of determination of the hours for which the night operators shall be paid who sleep between calls.

Upon both of these problems the commission has conducted extensive hearings and investigations. On August 14, 1919, the commission addressed a circular letter to all telephone companies advising them that the minimum wage law and the order made pursuant thereto applies to telephone companies, but that the commission would deal with the matter of determining the num-

ber of hours for which the operators should be paid in a supplementary order. It was to be understood, however, that any determination made must date back to August 1, 1919, when the general minimum wage order became effective. At the same time the commission asked the companies to keep a peg count, covering a period of one month for the night operators and a period of at least one week for the day operators, showing the number of calls, both local and toll, during each hour of the day. This information was furnished by most of the telephone companies and has been analyzed and compiled by the commission. This peg count data has been supplemented by investigations made by the women's department of the commission covering a large percentage of the telephone exchanges of the state. These investigations were made on the ground, and through them the commission gathered the point of view of both the operators and managers.

A public hearing upon the application of the minimum wage law to the telephone companies was held at Madison on October 8, 1919, and was attended by a large number of the telephone managers and a few of the operators. The telephone companies were also represented at subsequent meetings of the Advisory Wage Board when this problem was discussed, and on each occasion they presented further statements as to the nature of their problem. These statements were also supplemented by many letters which came in both from telephone managers and from telephone operators. (Pages 16-17.)

The Advisory Wage Board sat with the commission in the public hearing on October 8th. It again took up this problem in a meeting held at Madison on November 18, at which time a sub-committee was named to prepare tentative recommendations to the commission. The sub-committee met at Madison on November 28, and was agreed upon a plan to be submitted to the full board as a basis for discussion. The board met at Milwaukee on December 19, 1919, and gave consideration to the plan

prepared by the sub-committee and an alternative plan submitted by Mr. J. C. Storkerson on behalf of the State Telephone Association. After thorough discussion of the problems involved, the committee unanimously agreed upon recommendations to be made to the commission, which unanimous recommendation, the commission accepted as representing a fair solution of the problems presented, but with one minor modification relating to toll lines. (Pages 17-18.)

There can be little dispute as to the actual facts regarding the work done by the operators in small telephone exchanges. The smallest telephone exchange in the state of which we have any record serves but five subscribers, and there are at least forty-three exchanges with less than 100 telephones. Of these forty-three exchanges, four are operated in connection with stores, twenty-five are maintained in private residences, and fourteen are in separate offices. It is clear that in these smallest exchanges, and in others that are somewhat larger, the operators are not actually answering calls every minute. It is also clear that the smaller the exchange the smaller is the total number of calls which the operators must answer. While local conditions somewhat affect the number of calls, the peg counts filed with the commission show conclusively that it is primarily the size of the exchange which determines the number of calls, and that exchanges of the same size all have approximately the same number of calls during the day hours at least. As to the night calls, local conditions such as night trains and the number of business houses open all night, cause greater variations.

Some of the telephone managers urged that the commission base its determination upon the number of calls answered by the operators. They urged that in many of the small exchanges, the operators do not answer as many calls all day as does the average operator in a large exchange in one-half hour. The commission believes that there is no warrant in law for the adoption of such a standard. The minimum wage act provides

that all women and minor employes shall be paid a living wage. It certainly costs a woman just as much to live whether she answers few or many calls. The commission can take cognizance only of such periods of no work for the operators which they can employ to advantage in doing work for themselves or for sleep.

In the small exchanges which are located in private residences, and which are operated by the members of the household, the operators can use the periods when they are not busy at the switchboards to the fullest advantage. Many exchanges in this state are operated by a housewife who in addition to her work at the switchboard does all of the work of the household. It is also clear that in such small exchanges located in private residence and operated by the members of the household, the time which can be devoted to work other than at the switchboard varies inversely with the number of calls to be answered.

At the meeting of the Advisory Wage Board held on December 19, 1919, a sharp contest developed over the question whether the minimum rate to be paid the operators in private residences should be 40c per month per phone or 50c per month per phone. Under the 40c plan, which was presented by Mr. Storkerson on behalf of the State Telephone Association, the telephone companies will have to pay less for operators' wages in exchanges up to 300 phones if they are located in private residences than if they are located in separate offices. Under the 50c plan this advantage to the telephone companies in having the exchange located in a private residence disappears after an exchange serves 200 telephones. The evidence before the commission establishes that in exchanges with above 200 telephones the time of the operator is required quite steadily at the switchboard. Consequently the telephone companies having exchanges of this size should not be allowed to pay their operators a lesser wage because they are working in their own homes and are supplying their own office quarters. We regard the recommendation of the Advisory

Wage Board that the minimum wage for operators in exchanges located in private residences which are conducted exclusively by members of the household shall be 50c per month per phone, to be fair and reasonable and consistent with the other recommendations made by the board. (Pages 18-19.)

Small telephone exchanges which are conducted in connection with stores give rise to no special problem. In such cases the contract for the conduct of the exchange is made with the proprietor of the store, and the operators are his clerks who spend part of their time at the switchboard and part of their time in their other duties about the store. These clerks clearly should be paid for all of the hours they are working at the rates prescribed in the minimum wage order. The commission is not concerned with how much money the storekeeper gets from the telephone company. This is a matter solely for adjustment between the storekeeper and the telephone company, but the storekeeper must pay the minimum wage.

Exchanges which are located in separate offices present a much more serious problem. There is no question that in the small exchanges located in separate offices the operators have much time for themselves. They cannot, however, utilize their spare time as advantageously as can the operators who are members of the household in which another exchange of the same size is located. There is no doubt, however, that they can do much work for themselves which will reduce their cost of living and sometimes can make articles for sale.

With reference to the smallest exchanges which are located in separate offices, the sub-committee of the Advisory Wage Board which drafted the tentative plan for discussion originally proposed that during the sixteen hour period from 6 A. M. to 10 P. M. the operators should be paid on the basis of half of the time while they are on duty, that is for eight hours. The alternative plan presented by Mr. Storkerson on behalf of the State Telephone Association, provided that these smallest ex-

changes should pay for twelve of the sixteen hours. After discussion of the problem, the Advisory Wage Board at its meeting on December 10, 1919, arrived at the conclusion that in the smallest exchanges which are located in private offices, payment for eleven of the sixteen hours should be accepted as the minimum basis. It also recommended that for exchanges with between 200 and 219 telephones the minimum number of hours to be paid for between 6 A. M. and 10 P. M. should be twelve; for exchanges with between 220 and 239 telephones, it should be 13 hours; for exchanges with between 240 and 259 telephones, fourteen hours; for exchanges between 260 and 274 telephones, fifteen hours, and for exchanges with 275 or more telephones the full time on duty should be counted. This recommendation we accept as a reasonable solution of the problem. The peg count and other data on file in this matter clearly establish that for exchanges with 275 telephones or more there are no considerable periods between 6 A. M. and 10 P. M. when there are no calls. (Pages 19-20.)

With reference to the period from 10 P. M. to 6 A. M. there are much longer stretches of time even in the large telephone exchanges in which there are no calls. In all but the largest exchanges and a few smaller exchanges in which local conditions cause an unusual number of night calls, the operators lie down to sleep but answer calls as they come in. It was urged that the telephone companies should be exempted from paying their night operators for the total of the periods of sleep between calls. This basis was suggested by companies whose peg counts established that there were calls during every single hour of the night. It is true that even in such exchanges there are snatches of sleep, but this sleep is so interrupted that the night operators must sleep during the day time. After discussion of the problem the telephone managers accepted the point of view of the sub-committee, namely that only periods of uninterrupted rest of extended duration should be counted out. The principle finally accepted by the Advisory

Wage Board, as well as by the telephone managers, was that all telephone companies should pay their operators for the period from 10 P. M. to 6 A. M. for all of the hours which are not included in the longest rest periods which the operators get on at least two-thirds of the nights they are on duty. This principle requires the telephone companies to pay their operators for all of the time during which they do not usually get uninterrupted rest, but exempts them from paying for the longest period of sleep. The commission made a careful analysis of the peg counts supplied by the telephone companies, which covered in most cases a thirty-day period in the last half of August and the first half of September. From this analysis it is clear that in exchanges above 1000 telephones the periods of continuous rest are very short indeed, and there is no question that the operators in such exchanges must sleep during the day time. For exchanges below 1000 it is apparent that the longest rest period normally varies inversely with the size of the exchange. There are some exchanges, however, which serve but a small number of telephones which have calls every hour. In justice the operators in such exchanges should be paid for all of the time during which they do not normally get uninterrupted sleep. (Page 20.)

Upon this question of the payment for the period from 10 P. M. to 6 A. M., also, there were alternative plans presented by the sub-committee of the Advisory Wage Board and by Mr. Storkerson on behalf of the State Telephone Association. The plan of the sub-committee again was the more liberal to the small exchanges and less liberal to the larger exchanges. The plan of the sub-committee required payment in exchanges having under 300 telephones for only two of the hours between 10 P. M. and 6 A. M., while Mr. Storkerson's plan required payment for four hours.

The plan of the sub-committee was based upon the actual peg counts in August and September. The minimum number of hours to be paid for conforms closely

with the actual average longest periods of sleep for exchange in the class indicated. It provides further that if in an exchange the operator actually does not get uninterrupted periods of rest of as long duration as are usual in exchanges of the same size, that they shall be paid on the basis of actual conditions.

It was strongly urged by Mr. Storkerson and other telephone managers that the commission should provide that if in exchanges the longest period of uninterrupted rest which normally prevails is longer than that allowed for in the minimum schedule suggested by the Advisory Wage Board, they should be allowed to take a lower classification. This amounts to entirely eliminating the minimum schedule. Were the commission to accept this basis, it would have to hold that a girl should not be paid anything at all for spending the night in a telephone exchange, and being on hand to answer calls. The peg count shows that there are many exchanges during which on two-thirds of the nights covered the operators have an uninterrupted period of rest from 10 P. M. to 6 A. M. and in some cases even from 9 P. M. to 6 A. M. We cannot find that these operators are rendering no service at all, and we believe that the minimum basis unanimously recommended by the Advisory Wage Board is fair in every respect. This recommendation provides that in exchanges with less than 300 telephones the operators must as a minimum be paid for two hours for their work from 10 P. M. to 6 A. M., in exchanges with between 300 and 499 telephones for three hours; in exchanges with between 500 and 624 telephones for four hours; in exchanges between 625 and 749 telephones for five hours; in exchanges between 750 and 874 telephones for six hours; in exchanges between 875 and 999 telephones for seven hours and in exchanges with 1000 telephones or more for the full time on duty.

The commission is convinced that the telephone managers who urged that even in exchanges with over 1000 telephones the night operators should not be paid for all the time they are on duty did not think that these

operators would be over paid if paid for the full time, but believe that this basis would compel their operators to come to work or to leave their exchanges at unseasonable hours of the night. Their position is explained rather by regard for the welfare of their employes than by unconcern for their welfare. Under the women's hours of labor law, as it stands, women may not be employed in telephone exchanges for more than eight hours per day or forty-eight hours per week at night work. If all the time that the night operators are on duty in the large exchanges is counted as the period of work, it is apparent that they must either begin work at a very late hour or leave at a very early hour in the morning. The commission is convinced that any such arrangement is not in the interest of the telephone operators. The hours of labor law, however, is not at issue in this matter. The question upon which we are passing at this time is the question of the basis for paying the operators. The commission has authority to modify the requirements of the women's hours of labor law, if the modifications proposed promote the life, health, safety and welfare of the women employes. The case for a modifications of the women's hours of labor law which has been presented by the telephone managers in connection with this matter appears to be very strong, and this commission will on its own motion make an investigation and conduct hearings upon whether the women's hours of labor law should not be modified to permit night operators in large telephone exchanges to work longer periods so as not to require them to begin or conclude work at an unseasonable hour.

This brings us to the one modification in the recommendation of the Advisory Wage Board which this commission considers desirable. On the suggestion of Mr. Storkerson, the Advisory Wage Board recommended that in the determination and classification of exchanges each toll line connected with an exchange should be regarded as equivalent to 5% of the total number of telephones for which switching is done. This proposal was

not discussed at any length either in the public hearings or in the meetings of the Advisory Wage Board. Since the meeting of the Board on December 19, 1919, the commission has further considered the matter; and now feels that it is not prepared to say that the rule suggested is reasonable. The recommendation of the Advisory Wage Board regarding night work provides that the telephone companies shall pay for all of the time which is not included within the longest periods of rest which normally prevail. It also provides that if an exchange has an unusual number of night calls, the operators shall be paid not on the minimum basis, but upon the basis of the actual facts. The number of toll lines connected doubtless operates as an important factor in determining the number of calls, but under the proposed plan the number of calls, both local and toll, has already been taken into consideration. Consequently, if the 5% rule recommended by the Board were adopted, we would be counting the toll lines twice. There may be some merit in a provision similar to that suggested by Mr. Storkerson and recommended by the board, but with the information now before us, we believe that it would unduly burden many exchanges. (Pages 21-22.)

One provision more, not recommended by the Advisory Wage Board will be included in our order and this will provide for reports from the telephone companies upon the wage schedules which they adopt to comply with this order and upon the schedule of the hours of labor under which they are now operating. The latter information is desired by the commission to enable it to deal more intelligently with the question of whether there should be any modification of the women's hours of labor law as regards telephone exchanges. Since the telephone companies have all been subject to the minimum wage order since August 1, 1919, and have all understood that the adjustment of the number of hours for which they shall pay their operators must date back to August 1, the commission will also require that they report any adjustments of back pay which they may

make with their operators to carry out this order. (Page 23.)

Wisconsin. Industrial Commission. Interpretations and Rulings Relative to the Minimum Wage Law and the Orders Pursuant Thereto as Revised January 5, 1920.

3. Tips received from patrons cannot be counted as a part of the wage in computing the amount due under the minimum wage orders.

4. In computing the minimum wage no deduction can be made for instruction in the trade or industry.

7. The minimum wage law does not apply to women and minor employes who are *bona fide* apprentices for a profession in which registration is required by state law.

12. No request for a special license to work for less than the living wage will be entertained by the commission unless the employe who is alleged to be handicapped is paid the same piece rates which other employes in the establishment are being paid for the same or similar work; nor if the piece rates prevailing in the establishment yield less than 25 cents per hour to more than 25 per cent of the women and minor employes other than learners.

Wisconsin. Industrial Commission. Statement in the Matter of Minimum Wage Rates and Hours of Labor for Women and Minor Employes. June 28, 1921.

The Advisory Wage Board made no recommendations upon whether changes should be made in the provisions regarding the learning period contained in the 1919 minimum wage order. This question, however, was frequently touched upon at the public hearings and also discussed at length by the Advisory Wage Board. The theory upon which the commission allowed employers, in its 1919 order, to pay to learners a wage below the living wage was "to render it possible for beginners to

secure employment and training in industries which offer them a prospect of steady and remunerate employment." There have been complaints that the present beginning rate of 18 cents per hour is so high that employers have hesitated to take on beginners. At all events, the beginning rate in Wisconsin has been closer to the rate for experienced employes than is the case in most other states having minimum wage laws. We have, consequently, reached the conclusion that it is advisable to reduce the beginning rate to 16 cents per hour, but without disturbing the present rate of 20 cents per hour for the second three months of the learning period.

Some complaints have also been made that the learning period of six months is too short. We grant that this may be true in some industries, but believe that it would be inadvisable to extend the learning period for all industries. The average period of employment of women employes is only a few years and in many industries and occupations six months are long enough to enable employes of average ability to become thoroughly competent. It may be advisable at some future date to make a more careful study of the learning period in different industries, but on the information now before the commission an extension of the learning period generally appears to us to be unfair to the women employes.

To correspond with the changes made in the rate of learners over 17 years of age, we deem it advisable to make some changes in the rates for minors between 14 and 17. We believe that the beginning rate should be 16 cents as for older employes, but feel that it is unfair to hold minors between 14 and 16 years of age at this rate for two years. Consequently, our order will provide that after one year of employment such minors must be increased to 20 cents per hour. For minors between 16 and 17 the beginning rate of 16 cents per hour is fair while such minors are still in the first six months of their employment, but thereafter they should be paid not less than 20 cents per hour.

One further change in the present minimum wage order is believed to be advisable. This is a change with reference to the provision relating to piece rates. Under the order heretofore in force employers paying on a piece rate basis have been required to make good any deficits between the earnings of any woman employed at the piece rates and the hourly rates prescribed by the commission. Where an employer's piece rates are adequate this provision does not work out well. The employer must either pay a bonus to slow or lazy employes, or he discharges them and they find it difficult to get other employment. We believe that the test should be —are the piece rates generally adequate? If 75% of the experienced employes earn three cents more than the living wage, we believe it can fairly be said that the piece rates are adequate and an employer paying such piece rates should not be required to make good deficits to inefficient employees. (Pages 1-4.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Revision of Wisconsin General Order. Monthly Labor Review. August, 1921.

Employers using piece rates were formerly required to guarantee the minimum for all employes. This permitted abuse by lazy or incompetent workers, and the present order declares the rate adequate if 75 per cent of the experienced employes earn 3 cents per hour more than the minimum fixed, so that the employer need make up no deficits where such a condition prevails. (Page 105.)

(3) Reinvestigations for Compliance with Minimum Decreed.

Wisconsin. Industrial Commission. Biennial Report. July 1, 1918, to June 30, 1920.

The enforcement of this (telephone) order has been the most difficult problem which has been met with in the administration of the minimum wage law. This has been

due to the fact that wages in this industry heretofore probably have been lower than in any other industry, and that the margin of profit of the employing companies has been small, and in many instances they have not been conducted for profit at all. (Page 8.)

The results have been gratifying. Complete compliance has not yet been secured from all companies, but adjustments already completed have given 206 women or minor telephone operators a total of $22,439.23 as back pay. The increase in wages has, in many instances, been more than 100%, and for the industry as a whole probably exceeded 33 1/3%. (Pages 8-9.)

Another special problem was presented by home work, that is, work which is let out by factories to be done in homes. There is no practical way for determining the hours put in by home workers, and it is universal that these employees are paid on a piece-rate basis. But there is probably no other class of employees who have been more seriously underpaid. The commission, consequently, has been anxious to arrive at a practical method of applying the minimum wage law to home work. With this end in view, it adopted an order providing that home workers shall be paid such piece rates as will yield women and minor employees of the same employer in the factory, who are of average ability, the minimum time rate of 22 cents per hour. Investigations are now being made to check up compliance with this order by the manufacturers giving out home work. (Pages 9-10.)

A problem of a different kind and altogether more complex was presented by the tobacco stemming warehouses. Within a short time after the adoption of minimum wage order No. 1, the commission was flooded with requests for special licenses to work for less than the living wage, from women employees in the tobacco warehouses. These employees were all piece-workers, and it was found that many of them were unable to make 22 cents an hour at the prevailing piece rates. Because it realized that this might mean that the piece rates were too low, the commission refused to be hurried into the

issuance of a large number of special licenses in this industry, prior to a careful investigation of this problem. Such an investigation, however, was undertaken immediately, and practically every tobacco stemming warehouse in the state was visited by the women deputies of the commission. (Pages 10-11.)

It was found that this industry gives employment to an unusually large number of elderly women, many of whom are not efficient. On the other hand, it was also found that the piece-rates which were paid in most of the warehouses were so low that many other employees in addition to the elderly women were unable to make the living wage. After a conference with the officers of the company which controls most of the tobacco warehouses in Wisconsin, an agreement was reached that the commission would permit all tobacco stemming warehouses to pay their women and minor employees either the time rates prescribed in minimum wage order No. 1, or a piece rate of 3½ cents per pound, which was ½ cent per pound more than the rate paid at most of the warehouses. After this agreement was formally adopted as minimum wage order No. 6, reports were required from all the tobacco warehouses to make certain that back pay to August 1, 1919, was given to all women and minor employees who were paid less than the time rates of minimum wage order No. 1. No less than 1442 women were given back pay under this order, totaling $5564.76. (Page 11.)

No complete record has been kept of the collections of back pay thus made for women employees other than in the telephone and tobacco industries. A partial list of such cases, prepared by the minimum wage deputy, shows payments of back pay through the active efforts of the commission to 68 women employees, totaling $1284.63. (Page 13.)

While one year is too short a period to accurately gauge the effect of the enforcement of the minimum wage law, it is very apparent that most employers do not regard the law as a serious hardship. There are no reliable statistics upon wages in Wisconsin, either before or after

the enforcement of the minimum wage law. It is probable, however, that before the adoption of minimum wage order No. 1, one-fourth to one-third of the women employees of the state, not including learners, were paid less than 22 cents an hour. The effect of the order, however, was not confined to those employees who had previously been paid less than 22 cents per hour. In fact, at the hearing on August 4, 1919, upon the application of employers for a postponement of the date of enforcement of the order, their claim of great losses was based not upon increases in wages rendered necessary to bring their women employees up to 22 cents an hour, but upon "sympathetic" increases which they felt obliged to make to women employees who had been paid more than 22 cents an hour. There can be no question, also, that the minimum wage has not become the maximum. In practically all industries the great majority of the women employees are being paid more than 22 cents an hour. There has also been no reduction of opportunities for employment of women; in fact, there never has been a time when the number of calls for women help at the employment offices so greatly exceeded the number of women applicants for positions. (Pages 13-14.)

Wisconsin. Industrial Commission. Official Statement. October 29, 1920.

While the Wisconsin minimum wage rate of 22c an hour is less than the rate in most other states having minimum wage laws, there is no question but that the establishment of this rate by order of the Industrial Commission on August 1, 1919, has had the effect of materially increasing women's wages throughout Wisconsin. This has been true especially of women employed in mercantile establishments, telephone exchanges, and tobacco warehouses. Comparatively few women employed in factories or offices were paid less than 22c an hour even before the Commission's order became effective, but many of these employees also secured wage increases, because less efficient employees had to be increased to 22c.

Wisconsin. Industrial Commission. Progress of Work Report. February, 1922.

A much larger number of violations of the minimum wage law are now being reported than a year ago. It also seems that a larger number of women employees are working at the minimum wage than formerly; but only a comparatively small number of employers have made cuts below the minimum rates. (Page 12.)

There were a much smaller number of violations of the pea canning rules during this season than during any previous season and most of the violations which occurred represented only slight departures from the commission's rules. (Page 13.)

One-half of the women employees [during 1921 in the pea canneries] were paid 25c per hour, although 22c was the minimum rate established by the commission. There were a somewhat smaller number of women employees, however, who were paid more than 25c than there were in 1920.

A study has also been made of the adequacy of the piece rates established for bean snipping in the 1921 rules —1½c per pound for flat beans and 2c per pound for round beans. This study shows that these piece rates on the whole barely yielded the minimum rate of 22c per hour, and in some canneries did not do so. (Pages 12-14.)

(4) Peculiar Local Experience.

Wisconsin. Industrial Commission. Biennial Report. 1918-1920.

There was little opposition to this determination of the living wage. The Wisconsin Manufacturers' Association, however, on behalf of some of its members and of some other manufacturers, requested a re-opening of the matter with particular reference to whether the date of enforcement could be postponed to January 1. A hearing was held upon this application on August 4, 1919, in which the full advisory wage board sat with the commission. It was the unanimous decision of the board and of the com-

mission that it would be unfair to postpone the date of enforcement, because most employers had already put the commission's order into effect. Employers who claimed that they would suffer great financial losses on account of the early enforcement of the minimum wage law, were advised that relief might be given them by special order, but also that such action could be taken only after they presented their books and records to prove their losses. Not an employer in the state accepted this challenge, and the great majority of the employers accepted the determination of the living wage as fair and reasonable. (Page 60.)

Wisconsin. Industrial Commission. Statement in the Matter of Minimum Wage Rates and Hours of Labor for Women and Minor Employees. June 28, 1921.

This matter comes before the commission upon a petition filed on November 18, 1920, by the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, The Milwaukee Council of Social Agencies and the Wisconsin Consumers League. . . . It is also asked to revise its orders heretofore issued and to establish a minimum rate of pay for women and minors "more commensurate with a proper living standard."

At the conclusion of these hearings the Advisory Wage Board—some or all members of which were in attendance at all of the hearings—recommended to the commission that the minimum wage rate should be fixed at 25 cents per hour in all cities with a population of 5000 and over and at 22 cents per hour in cities, towns and villages with a lesser population. (Page 1.)

The recommendations as to minimum wage rates, we believe, are amply supported by the evidence which was developed through investigations made by the commission and at the public hearings. The determination made in June, 1919, that the living wage for women employees was then 22 cents per hour was acknowledged to be a compromise, as is the determination now made. This rate was lower than the rate prescribed in most other

states which have minimum wage laws. In the two years which have intervened room rents have materially increased in practically all of the larger cities, with little or no tendency to come down. Board and restaurant prices have also increased with only comparatively slight reductions in the last months. We believe that it is clear from the evidence that the rate of 22 cents per hour is no longer a living wage in cities with a population of 5000 or more. With the average hours of labor for women employees around 50 per week the 22 cent rate meant an allowance of $4.50 for board, $2.00 for room rent, $2.50 for clothing and $2.00 for incidentals. To give self-supporting women employees a living wage, a rate of 25 cents per hour is clearly necessary in cities with a population of 5000 or more. Such a rate will make possible a budget for a woman employee working 50 hours per week of $5.25 for board (75c per day), $2.50 for lodging, $2.50 for clothing, and $2.25 for incidentals. It is true that the record shows that a considerable percentage of women employees who are apparently self-supporting are expending less for room and board in cities with a population of 5000 or more than these allowances. The record shows, however, that very many of the women employees who have low expenditures for room and board live with relatives, or do housework for part of their expenditures, in addition to their work in industry. In other cases it appears that women employees in larger cities, who earn only the present minimum rate of 22 cents per hour spend more than 60% of their entire income for room and board, and, thus manage to live only by getting along on less than the allowance in the 1919 budget for clothing and incidentals.

The record also clearly establishes that in the smaller towns room rent and board cost less than in the towns with a population of 5000 or more. Again in such smaller towns there are no expenditures for carfare which on the average probably amount to at least 25 cents per week for all women employees in the larger towns. We are convinced that a wage of 22 cents per hour will go at least as far in the small towns as a wage of 25 cents an

hour in cities with a population of 5000 or more. We recognize that 5000 is an arbitrary limitation and there is very little difference in the cost of living in cities just above and below this line. This would be true, however, wherever the dividing line was drawn and we believe that the classification suggested by the Advisory Wage Board is as fair as any that could be made. Within the class of the 5000 cities, however, should also be included communities and isolated establishments which lie within the industrial area of such cities, although outside of their territorial limits.

Great Britain.

(1) Minimum Wage Rates.

Great Britain. Report to the Minister of Labour of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Working and Effects of the Trade Boards Acts. London. April, 1922.

List of Trade Boards Established to 31st December, 1921, and Date of Establishment.

Great Britain.

Boot and Floor Polish, 11th July, 1921.
Boot and Shoe Repairing, 5th July, 1919.
Brush and Broom, 17th July, 1919.
Button Making, 13th February, 1920.
Chain, 3rd January, 1910.
Coffin Furniture and Cerement Making, 16th December, 1919.
Cotton Waste Reclamation, 16th September, 1920.
Flax and Hemp, 27th January, 1920.
Fur, 25th October, 1919.
General Waste Materials Reclamation, 27th August, 1920.
Hair, Bass and Fibre, 20th February, 1920.
Hollow-ware, 4th August, 1914.
Jute, 8th December, 1919.
Laundry, 1st May, 1919.
Linen and Cotton Handkerchief and Household Goods and Linen Piece Goods, 28th May, 1920.
Made-up Textiles, 24th November, 1920.
Ostrich and Fancy Feather and Artificial Flower, 3rd February, 1921.
Paper Bag, 14th July, 1919.
Paper Box, 29th July, 1910.
Perambulator and Invalid Carriage, 20th January, 1920.
Pin, Hook and Eye and Snap Fastener, 17th February, 1920.

†Ready-Made and Wholesale Bespoke Tailoring, 17th February, 1920.
†Retail Bespoke Tailoring, 12th December, 1919.
Rope, Twine and Net, 3rd December, 1919.
Sack and Bag, 2nd November, 1921.
Shirtmaking, 6th February, 1914.
Stamped or Pressed Metalwares, 13th February, 1920.
Sugar, Confectionery and Food Preserving, 6th February, 1914.
Tin Box, 30th July, 1914.
Tobacco, 23rd April, 1919.
Toy, 19th August, 1920.
Wholesale Mantle and Costume, 13th December, 1919.

England and Wales.

Aerated Waters, 2nd January, 1920.
Dressmaking and Women's Light Clothing, 15th January, 1920.
Grocery and Provisions, 23rd June, 1920.
Hat, Cap and Millinery, 12th January, 1920.
Milk Distributive, 27th February, 1920.

Scotland.

Aerated Waters, 8th January, 1920.
Dressmaking and Women's Light Clothing, 29th March, 1920.
Grocery and Provisions, 1st November, 1920.
Hat, Cap and Millinery, 31st March, 1920.
Milk Distributive, 17th August, 1920.

Great Britain and Ireland.

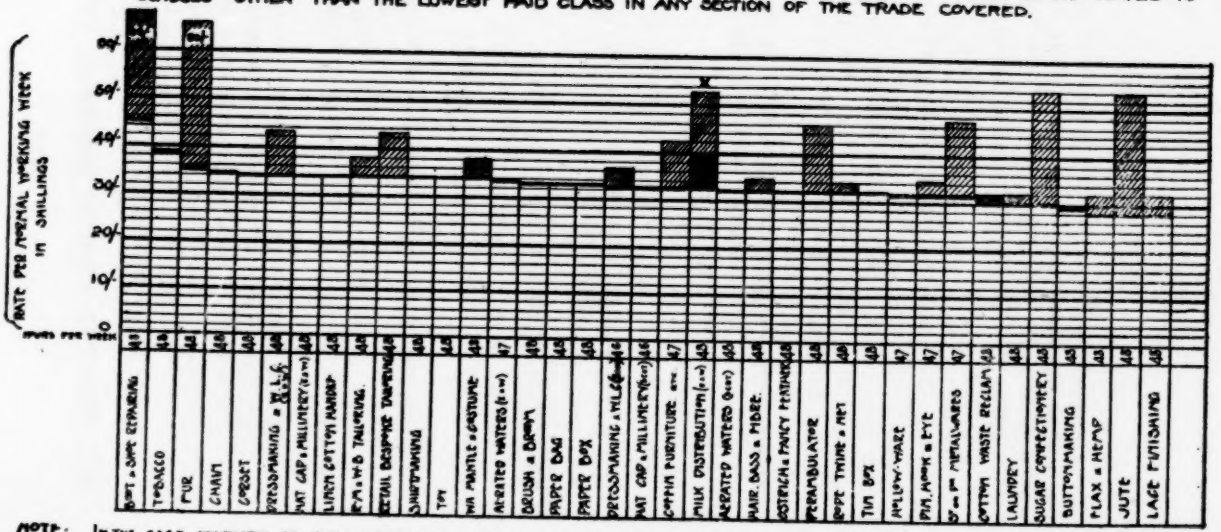
Corset, 17th July, 1919.
Lace Finishing, 7th September, 1910.

† These Boards were set up in place of Boards for the Tailoring Trade in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, established under the Act of 1909.

DIAGRAM "Y": SHOWING MINIMUM TIME RATES FIXED BY TRADE BOARDS IN GREAT BRITAIN FOR FEMALE WORKERS IN OPERATION ON THE 31ST DECEMBER, 1921.

KEY:

1. THICK BLACK LINE ——— INDICATES THE RATE APPLICABLE TO QUALIFIED ADULT WORKERS OF THE LOWEST PAID CLASS IN ANY SECTION OF THE TRADE COVERED
2. PORTIONS SHADED ▓▓▓ INDICATE THE RANGE OF DISTRICT RATES APPLICABLE TO QUALIFIED ADULT WORKERS OF THE LOWEST PAID CLASS IN ANY SECTION OF THE TRADE COVERED.
3. PORTIONS SHADED ▓▓▓ INDICATE THE EXTENT OF PROTECTION AFFORDED BY TRADE BOARD RATES TO CLASSES OTHER THAN THE LOWEST PAID CLASS IN ANY SECTION OF THE TRADE COVERED.



NOTE: IN THE CASE MARKED X THE RATES FOR CLASSES OF WORKERS ABOVE THE LOWEST ARE ALSO DIFFERENTIATED ON A DISTRICT BASIS.

(Appendix C.) (Page 84.)

The Trades Union Congress and The Labour Party. Trade Boards and the Cave Report. London. 1922.

Table II.—Showing Original and Present or Proposed Rates for Adult Female Workers in Trades Covered by a Trade Board Under the 1909 Act.

N. B.—In certain cases deductions have been proposed. As these will almost certainly be shortly carried into effect, the proposed rate and not the actual rate is given as affording the fairest basis of comparison.

Trade Board (Great Britain).	Original Rate per hour.	Present Rate (May, 1922) per hour.
Chain Hand Hammered....	2½d. (1910).	7¾d.
Tailoring (Wholesale)	3¼d. (1912).	7½d.
Lace Finishing	2¾d. (1911).	6¼d. (proposed).
Paper Box	3d. (1912).	7⅝d. (proposed).
Shirtmaking	3½d. (1915).	7½d.
Sugar Confectionery	3d. (1915).	7d.
Tin Box	3¼d. (1915).	7½d.
Hollow-ware	3d. (1916).	8d.

(Page 20.)

(2) Evidence on the Elimination of Sweating.

Great Britain. Report to the Minister of Labour of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Working and Effects of the Trade Boards Acts. London. April, 1922.[1]

Constitution of Committee.

The Rt. Hon. the Viscount Cave, G.C.M.G. (Chairman)
The Rt. Hon. Lord Weir of Eastwood
The Hon. Mrs. Alfred Lyttelton, D.B.E.
Mr. W. T. Layton, C.H., C.B.E.
Mr. E. L. Poulton, O.B.E., J.P.
Mr. A. MacCallum Scott, M.P.
Dame Adelaide M. Anderson, D.B.E.
Mr. James Bell, M.P.
Sir Arthur F. Pease, Bart.
Mr. A. Pugh
Mr. H. D. Hancock (Secretary).

Trade Boards Act, 1909.

4. The Act of 1909 originally applied to four trades only, viz., Ready-made and Wholesale Bespoke Tailoring, Paper Box Making, Machine-made Lace and Net Finishing, and Chain Making; but the Board of Trade were authorized to apply the Act to other trades by Provisional Order subject to confirmation by Parliament. (Page 6.)

6. In addition to the four trades mentioned in the Act, four more were added by Provisional Order in the year 1913, viz., Sugar Confectionery and Food Preserving, Shirtmaking, Hollow-ware and Tin Box Making, and Linen and Cotton Embroidery. For the eight trades above mentioned thirteen Trade Boards were set up, viz. eight for Great Britain and five for Ireland, covering in all about half-a-million of workers. These Boards in fixing minimum rates displayed care and prudence, and

[1] It is essential to bear in mind that whereas the Act of 1909 is the prototype of American minimum wage legislation except that in England it applies to men as well as women, the Act of 1918 permits the regulation of minimum wages for skilled workers.

the effect of their operations was gradually to remove from the trades concerned the reproach of "sweating," [. . . . that is to say, to the unfair exploitation by unscrupulous employers of the necessities of the poorer and more helpless class of workers by requiring them to work for wages inadequate to their needs or for excessive hours or under insanitary conditions. (Page 5.)] and (so far as the evidence shows) without injury to those engaged in the industries or to the consumer. (Pages 7-8.)

Effect of the Act of 1918.

9. The passing of the Act of 1918 was followed by a large increase in the numbers of Trade Boards. Fifteen Boards were established by the Minister in 1919, thirty-four in 1920, and three in 1921, thus bringing the total on the 31st December, 1921, up to sixty-three, of which nineteen were Irish Boards and of the remainder five were for England and Wales, five for Scotland and thirty-two for Great Britain and two for Great Britain and Ireland. . . . It is estimated that the Acts have now been applied to trades employing about 3,000,000 workers, of whom about 70 per cent. are women.

10. The new Act also produced a considerable development in the exercise of the rate-fixing powers of the Boards; for although it made little difference in the powers given to the Boards when formed, the circumstance that a Board could now be formed for a trade, not only when the wages prevailing in the trade were "exceptionally low," but in any case where no adequate machinery existed for the effective regulation of wages, was taken as an invitation to use the Boards less as instruments for the prevention of "sweating" than as machinery for the general regulation of wages in the trades concerned. Thus of the 37 British Boards whose rates were in operation on the 31st December, 1921, all but 14 had fixed different time-rates for different classes of male workers, and all but 18 had fixed different time-rates for different classes of female workers; 10 Boards

had fixed general minimum piece-rates and 29 had fixed piece-work basis time-rates. The general minimum time-rates for unskilled and semi-skilled adult male workers varied from approximately, 44s. to 66s. a week and for unskilled and semi-skilled female workers from 28s. to 38s. 6d. a week (excluding a special London rate of 40s. fixed by the Milk Distributive Board); some of the time-rates fixed for skilled workers or foremen reached a high level such as 93s., 94s. and (in one case) 96s. a week.

11. . . . It is admitted that in some instances the rate fixed as a minimum has been, not a minimum, but the current rate of wages paid under existing trade agreements; and cases have been brought to our notice in which a Board has not really considered the question of minima at all, but has been content to adopt and make compulsory a scale of wages agreed upon by the organisations of employers and workmen outside the boardroom.

12. . . . The movement of Trade Board wages during and for some time after the war was almost uniformly upwards, and during that period the complaints were few; but in the year 1920, trade became depressed, and towards the end of that year the higher wages began to press severely upon manufacturers and traders. It was found that reductions of the wage scales fixed by Trade Boards were often resisted by the workers, and even when assented to could not be legalised without a delay of some months. Thereupon dissatisfaction ensued, complaints of evasion of the Acts became frequent, and urgent appeals were made for the modification of the Acts. It was under these conditions that we were requested to enquire into the working and effect of the Trade Board legislation. (Pages 10-11.)

13. The evidence given before us has been submitted by—

(1) Witnesses representing Associations of Employers of a general character. . . .
(2) Witnesses representing Associations of Employers connected with particular trades.

(3) Witnesses representing general Organisations of Workers. . . .
(4) Witnesses representing Trade Unions connected with particular trades. . . .
(5) Witnesses representing the Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Congress.
(6) Representative members of Trade Boards both on the Employers' and Workers' Sides.
(7) Chairmen and other appointed members of Trade Boards.
(8) Officials or former officials of the Ministry of Labour, including Inspectors appointed under the Trade Boards Acts.
(9) A former official of the Board of Trade.

The general tendency of the evidence given by witnesses falling within the first six of the above categories may be summarised by saying (*a*) that nearly all of them desired the retention of the provisions of the Act of 1909, directed to the prevention of "sweating"; (*b*) that of the witnesses representing employers, while a strong minority were willing that the Act of 1918 should continue in force subject to amendments in its machinery, the majority desired the repeal or drastic amendment of that Act; (*c*) that the witnesses representing workers and the Co-operative Congress were in favour of retaining both Acts, but (*d*) all the witnesses criticised the machinery of the Acts and wished to have it amended. (Page 12.)

44. Notable tributes have been paid by employers to the achievements of Trade Boards in the Ready-made Tailoring, Paper Box, Paper Bag, Tin Box, Shirtmaking, Sugar Confectionery, Wholesale Mantle and Costume, Lace Finishing, Corset, Boot and Shoe Repairing and Milk Distributive Trades and by workers' organizations to the working of the system as a whole.

45. It has been stated by a number of employers' organizations, especially by those interested in trades to

which the Act of 1909 was applied, that as a result of the operations of Trade Boards the conditions of the poorer and less skilled workers in the unorganised trades, and particularly of women workers, have been substantially improved; and it appears to us that, speaking generally, Trade Boards have succeeded in abolishing the grosser forms of underpayment and regularising wages conditions in trades brought under the Acts. (Pages 22-23.)

50. The total repeal of the Trade Boards Acts was proposed by very few of the Associations representing employers, and we are of opinion that such a repeal would not be in the public interest. It appears to be almost universally admitted that the oppression by some unscrupulous employers of their needy and helpless work-people which existed before the year 1909 was an evil calling for legislative remedy, and that the machinery established by the Act of 1909 has been effective to deal with it in the trades to which that Act has been applied. Women workers, and especially those who do home work, find it difficult to organise; and although the increases of pay consequent on the Trade Boards Acts have enabled them to join trade organisations to an increasing extent, there are still very many who have not taken that step. If the Trade Boards were abolished without the creation of some effective machinery to take their place, the earnings of these poorer workers would be likely to fall very rapidly and "sweating" would return; and in that event public opinion would undoubtedly, and properly, require that it should be met by preventive measures. Further, there are still some trades in which the wages paid to workers appear to be exceptionally low and no efficient organisation for securing better wage conditions exists; and it is undesirable that the workers in these trades should be deprived of all hope of protection. Indeed, it is only fair to say that the employers represented before us were wholly opposed to the "sweating" of labour, and were desirous that it should be prevented by legislative action. (Page 24.)

53. . . . Is it the intention of Parliament that the coercive powers of the State should be used to prevent the oppression of the worker by forcing him to work at wages below the level of subsistence and under conditions injurious to his health; or is it desired that they should be applied (through the medium of the Trade Boards) to the general regulation of wages? In other words, is the intention of the Act of 1909, which we believe to have been directed to the prevention of "sweating," to prevail; or is effect to be given to the interpretation widely put upon the Act of 1918, namely, that it is to be used as an instrument for the public regulation of wages throughout the industries concerned? In our opinion, the former is the correct view.

54. It appears to us that, while the coercive powers of the State, and particularly the criminal law, may properly be used to prevent the unfair oppression of individuals and the injury to the national health that results from the "sweating" of workers, the use of those coercive powers should be limited to that purpose and that any further regulation of wages should be left, so far as possible, to the processes of negotiation and collective bargaining. It is one thing to say that an employer shall not pay to his adult worker a sum insufficient for his or her maintenance under the conditions of the time, be the sum 35*s*., 40*s*., or 50*s*. per week; it is quite another thing to provide that he shall not pay to a skilled worker of a particular class less than 70*s*., 80*s*. or 90*s*., even though the worker is prepared to work at a lower wage, and that if he does so he shall be liable to fine or imprisonment. It may be desirable that the higher wage should be paid, and it may not be unreasonable for a trade organisation to insist on that wage being paid and to enforce its decision by economic means; but to compel the payment by the threat of criminal prosecution appears to us to be an oppressive use of the powers of the State. (Pages 26-27.)

56. We proceed then to frame our recommendations, and in the first place we are of opinion that the Minister

should not be empowered to apply the Acts to a trade unless both the conditions above described are fulfilled, that is to say, unless an unduly low wage prevails in the trade or some branch of it and there is a lack of such organisation among the workers as is required for the effective regulation of wages in the trade. This would, in effect, restore the conditions laid down by the Act of 1909, except that the power to apply the Acts would rest (as we think it should rest) primarily with the Minister and not with Parliament. But it appears to us that the decision of the Minister to apply the Acts should be taken only after full enquiry and after an opportunity has been given to all persons concerned to bring forward their objections, and accordingly we think that in every case a public enquiry should be held before the Acts are applied to a trade.

57. With regard to the functions of a Trade Board when formed, we are of opinion that the course which is most consistent both with the prosperity of trade and with the intention of Parliament is that the Trade Board system should be directed, first, to giving protection to the workers in each trade by securing to them at least a wage which approximates to the subsistence level in the place in which they live and which the trade can bear; and secondly, to using the machinery established for that purpose in encouraging the improvement of relations between employers and employed and the development of trade organisation. (Pages 27-28.)

EVIDENCE OF OFFICERS ADMINISTERING TRADE BOARD ACTS.

Statement of Mr. Humbert Wolfe, C.B.E., Principal Assistant Secretary Ministry of Labour in charge of the Trade Boards Branch. October 12, 1921.

The actual achievements of the Boards in respect to the improvement of wage conditions. (Page 34.)

548. . . . So far as women are concerned, it is roughly true to say that there is very little difference

between the rates payable to women in the Trade Board trades and women in allied trades outside the operation of the Acts. . . .

555. . . . It is the less highly paid trades that have already been covered by the Trade Boards. . . . Therefore if I have established my point as far as I have put it, it is to show that if there have been excessive increases in rate in Trade Boards trades that is only because the rates from which the increases started were unduly low. Where they have been normal rates to start from, Trade Boards rates have kept pace with the general tendency of rates of wages fixed voluntarily throughout the country, and therefore an allegation that the Trade Boards have unduly upset industry can not be sustained if those figures are correct. . . . (Page 35.)

599. When the employers [jute and flax trades] put it to us strongly that we should withdraw the Trade Board the workers said, "If you withdraw the Trade Board the whole history of the jute trade shows that we shall get back to the conditions in which we were before there ever was a Trade Board; we do not believe that any conciliation board would have satisfactory results in the jute trade"; and in fact they went so far as to say that they would not be parties to a voluntary conciliation board if the Trade Board were withdrawn.

601. There was no application to us for removal [of the ready-made tailoring trade] from the Trade Board; far from it, when we tentatively suggested that there might be a case in view of the nature of the agreement reached off the Trade Board, both sides repudiated the suggestion as an insult. . . . they put it to us that they only represented a proportion of the trade, and that if the Trade Board were withdrawn the rates would go down again in all the unorganized parts of the trade. (Page 38.)

Statement of Sir George Barnes, K.C.S.I., K.C.B.

Responsible for administration of the Trades Boards Act, 1909, from 1911 to March, 1916, as Comptroller-General of the Labour Department of the Board of Trade during the first part of the time and afterwards as one of the two Permanent Secretaries of the Board of Trade. (Page 899.)

12,591. . . . The old policy was to fix a minimum wage for workers who could not help themselves. The first Act was an anti-sweating Act only. At least, that is how we all regarded it. I think we considered that all interference by the State in commerce, industry, or wages, was in itself an evil, but it was capable of justification in this case, because there was a still greater evil to be combated, namely, the great evil of sweating. What has struck me lately is that that old policy has been departed from to some extent. I think there seems to me a tendency, so far as I am able to gather—this is mainly from papers—to fix standard wages and not minimum wages. Further, I think wages have been fixed in certain cases for people who are not helpless. At least, judging by the rates fixed, wages have been fixed for people who ought, I think, to be able to help themselves. (Page 902.)

Statement of Miss Power, Officer in Charge of Staff Engaged on Non-Compliance Inspection Under the Trade Board Acts. Feb. 15, 1922.

a. *Under the Act of* 1909.—Generally speaking, there was no feeling of hostility towards the 1909 Act either among employers or workers. The employer welcomed the Act as supplying him with a fair basis for competition by eliminating the "sweater." The worker welcomed the Act as securing to him a basis rate below which he knew his earnings could not fall. Where hostility was found it was generally in the case of small employers such as tailoring sub-contractors who, through failure to understand Trade Board notices, had unwittingly incurred liabilities in respect of arrears of wages. (Page 911.)

EVIDENCE OF ASSOCIATIONS OF EMPLOYERS OF A GENERAL CHARACTER.

Statement of Mr. Arthur Balfour on behalf of the Executive Council of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce. December 7, 1921.

4846. *Lord Weir:* I take it that that does not mean that you object, for example, to the 1909 Act?—I am entirely in favour of the 1909 Act and I think that in any industry where it can be shown that there is sweating you must have something like the 1909 Act; but I do not think that you can apply it generally and set up Trade Boards for every trade in the country. I think that you get into an impossible position if you do.

4847. *Mr. Pugh:* But if in the case of the higher wage that tends to become the maximum would not your minimum based upon sweated conditions tend to become the maximum?—I am afraid it does. That is why I am against setting it up except in a trade where there is real necessity.

4848. You are in favour of the 1909 Act applied to sweated trades, but would not your argument equally apply there? —I think it does apply there: I think that is one of the difficulties in attempting to legislate by Government or by anything controlled by Government between employer and employee.

4849. It hardly disposes of your difficulty, does it, because that is surely an argument against the 1909 Act? —I agree that it is. I think that these things ought to be settled between employer and employee better than by any interference of the Government; but on the other hand you have to meet the point which was raised in some of these Trades in the 1909 Act, and you have to do something, and I think it is better to do that than to do nothing. That is my view. (Page 364.)

4879. . . . We find that there is no objection at all to the Act of 1909 or the principles of the Act of 1909 and

all our Chambers seem to be in sympathy with the idea of that Act. (Page 365.)

Statement of the National Chamber of Trade (300 Chambers; 100,000 members, principally retailers in distributive trades affected by Trade Boards on Hat, Cap and Millinery; Dressmaking and Women's Light Clothing; Retail Bespoke Tailoring; Milk Distributors; and Grocery and Provisions.) November 30, 1921.

The National Chamber has consistently supported the principle of employers and employed conferring together and arriving at mutual agreement for the settlement of wage and other problems. It recognizes that the Trade Boards established under the original Act, not only by legislation, but also by the authority of public sanction, have served a most useful and necessary purpose. (Page 252.)

Statement of Mr. Ashley Ward on behalf of the National Union of Manufacturers, Member of the Waste Materials Reclamation Board. November 24, 1921.

2965. *Mr. Poulton:* Do I gather clearly that you wish for the entire withdrawal of the Act, or do you think it can be so amended or so improved as to make it a workable Act from your standpoint?—I do not think it can be amended for this reason. If you are going to constitute an Act which has got to regulate wages of all classes in sub-divisions, you can only do it in districts, and it is going to be such a huge structure that it will absolutely fail because it is so huge. If you are going to keep hold of the 1909 Act for the prevention of sweating and paying people something less than what is recognized as a subsistence wage, then we have no quarrel with that, whatever the Government may decide upon. (Page 248.)

Statement of Mr. Gordon T. H. Stamper on behalf of the National Union of Manufacturers, Member of the Grocery and Provisions Trade Board. November 24, 1921.

2833. . . . So far as the National Union of Manufacturers are concerned we have no grave objections to the operation of the 1909 Act—that is quite definite as far as we are concerned—and I think, my Lord, that any evidence that you have received from the employers' side in favour of the Trade Boards can be traced as emanating from gentlemen whose trades are covered by Orders made by the 1909 Act. (Page 238.)

2929. . . . before the Boards were set up under the 1909 Act there was a general overhaul of the trade concerned in the shape of an enquiry. It was not altogether like a body of people coming in without knowing anything about the facts of the case.

2930. *Dame Adelaide Anderson:* Would you pursue that by suggesting some development that would improve the 1918 Act in that direction?—I think it is impossible to do it. I think the whole job would be too colossal. The Act was originally introduced to stop sweating. It was never accepted by anybody that it was for any other purpose and I do not agree that it is necessary to regulate wages in any trade by Act of Parliament, unless it can be proved that sweating has taken place. I think it is fundamentally wrong in principle.

Statement of the Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Congress. December 7, 1921.[1]

It speaks, therefore, on behalf of the whole of the Co-operative Movement of the United Kingdom, the membership of which is approximately 4,500,000 adults [and more than 200,000 employees, affected by 31 Trade Boards]. The Committee is unanimously in favour of the retention of Trade Boards, . . .

1. Co-operative Wholesale Society, Limited, Manchester. Evidence of Mr. J. E. Johns.

We are strongly of the opinion that Trade Boards should be retained and worked as national machinery for the regulation of wages, hours and conditions of employment, particularly in those trades which are not sufficiently organised to demand adequate and reasonable remuneration and conditions of employment by their own efforts. If they were abolished we are of the opinion that the tendency would be to revert to sweating and long hours by unscrupulous employers, who would take the opportunity of adding to their profits at the expense of the worker. Wages would be left to bargaining between employers and employed; a method successful in the highly organised trades where the first necessity of

[1]Statement of Mr. Humbert Wolfe, C.B.E., Principal Assistant Secretary at the Ministry of Labour, in charge of the Trade Boards Branch in regard to Co-operative Societies. February 22, 1922.

13,324. *Lord Cave:* How are you to meet the point about the co-operative members?—I should be very loth to express an opinion, and I speak as an outsider upon this question. But I am bound to say that the co-operatives have not behaved, in my view, in a manner unlike other employers. I think they are more conscious of the workmen's difficulties. I think their own troubles with their own workmen at times shows that they are conscious of the workmen's point of view.

13,325. *Mr. Pugh:* Are they not in precisely the same position as other people, that their workers are organised in Trade Unions and they have to adopt the same machinery of negotiations for settlement, and, indeed, they very often have considerably more difficulty than a private employer? That being so, there is no particular reason why they should favour the workmen on the Board?—I do not think there is.

13,326. *Mrs. Lyttelton:* They do not have quite the same limitations as ordinary employers?—In what way do you mean?

13,327. They are not taxed in the same way, are they?—I believe there is a difference in that way.

13,328. And they distribute their profits, so that they have a different point of view?—To some extent, yes; but when it comes to the point, they have to live as business people and do as other people do. There are certain differences, but they really are not in business for their health!

13,329. *Mr. Poulton:* They have to meet the position competitively?—Yes, they have, and I am not sure, honestly, that there is a very good case against them. I do not see why they should not have the same position as the ordinary employer. (Page 949.

fair bargaining—that of negotiations between equal powers—could be fulfilled, but hopeless where the power is on one side only, and the individual worker must accept whatever offer is made. Such conditions would call upon private charity and out-relief to supplement inadequate earnings. This would also create unfair competition, and those employers whose desire it is, to treat their workers fairly would be compelled, in order to maintain their trade to offer wages which would be repugnant to their conscience; therefore it is highly important, in our judgment, that Trade Boards, both in the interests of employer and employed, should not be abolished.

From our experience of the working of Trade Boards, being as we are, engaged in a large variety of industries in which wages are governed by Trade Board Machinery, we firmly believe that they have been conducive to more harmonious working.

Speaking generally, they have, in no uncertain way, improved wages and established better conditions for workers, and, at the same time, put employers of labour on one common basis so far as wages costs are concerned. Employers should introduce scientific management and use modern methods and machinery to enable them to compete in an open market. Efficient production is, without doubt, preferable to inefficient methods bolstered up by sweated labour.

Trade Boards have, to a large extent, eliminated spasmodic disturbances engineered by local Unions, but the fact must not be overlooked that the inception of the majority of the Boards came at a time when wages generally were being advanced. Time alone will tell whether the same degree of success will be achieved by future wage variations as the opportunity arrives for working under normal conditions.

Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., Glasgow. Evidence of Mr. D. Gardiner.

Trade Boards, in the opinion of the writer, are of much service to both employers and employees, inas-

much as they protect the former against the competition of those who are inclined to pay sweated wages, and also the workers against sweated rates being imposed on them.

The abolition of Trade Boards would, in my opinion, result through time in a return to "Sweating," and all that the same means in the shape of unfair competition against fair-minded manufacturers and hardships on the workers.

The opinion advanced by some that Trade Boards tend towards unemployment has, in my opinion, little or no foundation in fact. Hardships may at times occur, particularly to those who have to go out to work as learners comparatively late in life, but an amendment of the regulation which fixes wages according to age and not according to ability, would, in my opinion, meet the case, i. e., pay them according to their ability and not according to their age. (Pages 335-336.)

The differentiation in wages as between one part of the country and another ought to be avoided, and are uncalled for.

From the standpoint of national welfare, the abolition of Trade Boards would be a retrograde step. The force of law behind any regulation in regard to rates of wages is much more powerful than any regulation of Trades Unions, inasmuch as the former cannot easily be evaded, whereas in connection with the latter that is not difficult of accomplishment on the part of those who may set out to do so.

3. Co-operative Union Limited of Great Britain and Ireland, Holyoake House, Hanover Street, Manchester. Evidence of Mr. James Pollitt, Labour Adviser to the Co-operative Union.

The Co-operative Movement as a whole is strongly in favour of the existence and extension of Trade Boards, particularly in respect to the distributive trades, and as an earnest of our support of them we have invariably sought representation upon all those likely to affect our

employees in the various branches of service. In many cases this has been granted.

The rates of wages fixed under the Trade Board orders have had little or no disadvantageous effect up to now upon our societies, mainly because we pay higher rates (Appendix 2), but apart from this it is our opinion that the Boards have been of considerable financial and moral benefit to the trades concerned. We think they have been of benefit to the employer—especially the good employer—because he knows he cannot suffer from the unfair competition of other employers in the same business who would, if they could, pay lower wages. We are convinced also that the fixing of a fair minimum wage is conducive both to better service and improved organisation which benefit the employer and public alike. Again, we believe Trade Boards can be of great service in bringing about an improvement in the standard of work by including under their supervision, as they have power to do, the system of apprenticeship and enforcing rules for the proper training of apprentices.

We have heard a good deal of agitation recently from certain sources against Departmental interference, and the cry is set up for complete freedom of action in regard to labour matters—of a desire to return to the bad old days of commercial *"laissez faire"* whereby labour would be completely and entirely at the mercy of the laws of supply and demand. It is to these conditions—the conditions of 1908-9, responsible for the introduction of the Acts which are on their trial today—to which these people want to get back. We state emphatically that the question of a legal subsistence wage is a question that cannot, that ought not to be, left in the hands of a single individual to determine.

Evidence of The Co-operative Productive Federation, Ltd., Leicester.

We have been in communication with our federated societies to ascertain if, and how far, there existed a consensus of opinion among them regarding the consti

tution and operations of Trade Boards. As a result we have to record a unanimous and emphatic view concerning the necessity for Trades Boards, or some similar machinery, in order to keep up the standard of wages in trades where labour is inadequately organised; and also to prevent inconsiderate employers of labour from lapsing back to the deplorable condition of "sweating" which obtained prior to the passing of the Trade Boards Act, and thereby placing better intentioned employers at a competitive disadvantage.

Whilst not resisting the criticism that Trade Boards are not swift in bringing new scales into operation, we urge, in extenuation of this, that most representative Boards of this description work rather slowly, and we feel that the Cave Committee could most usefully direct its energies towards finding ways and means of expediting decisions. (Page 339.)

4389. Evidence of Mr. A. V. Alexander, Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee of the Co-operative Congress.

4391. . . . we have never received any opinions from within the movement against the continuation of the Trade Boards; the movement is unanimous in support of their continuance, and indeed of their development.

4395. . . . we are of opinion that there should certainly be no suspension of the activities, for a limited period even, of the Distributive Trade Boards. In our view, in the present industrial situation, the functions and operations of Trade Boards are more necessary than ever. Then with regard to a further point, if there is no suspension of the Distributive Trade Boards we think that there ought certainly to be no removal from the scope of the Trade Boards (as was mentioned last week) of the bespoke dressmaking, millinery, and women's tailoring trades, because we feel that such a movement would bring back again underpayment of workers in the

small workshops—the very small kind of workshop which exists in these particular trades. (Page 341.)

4397. What we do stand for is the ideal which we think underlies the whole movement for Trade Boards, the ideal of a minimum living wage for the workers of the country; and it seems to us that there is no difficulty which would preclude us, after having secured the minimum living wage, from securing a reward to people who merit remuneration above the living wage secured. (Page 342.)

Statement of Mr. John Carr, Director of Peek, Frean and Co., Ltd. (biscuit makers) in behalf of Manufacturers' Section of London Chamber of Commerce. November 2, 1921.

918. . . . There is no general desire for the total abolition of the system, and, further, any proposal to adopt such a course would meet with opposition from some traders on the ground that the Boards have prevented sweating, and have thus eliminated unfair competition amongst traders by this means. It is, however, apparent that strong objection does exist to the Act of 1918, under which many matters of detail hitherto left to the Boards were transferred to the Minister of Labour, causing duplication of work and increased expense. The repeal or the amendment of this Act would therefore be generally welcomed, and would not destroy any of the benefits provided by the original Act of 1909. (Page 113.)

1072. *Mr. Layton:* Your constituents have not generally complained about the extension so far as the field covered was concerned under the 1918 Act?—No, the general opinion is that the Boards have been of value. (Page 119.)

933. What kind of amendments are proposed?—A greater elasticity in the fixing of wages to meet varying conditions of industry from time to time.

934. . . . some Trade Boards have got beyond fixing a minimum rate, and have entered into a discussion

as to what an industry could afford to pay, and have fixed some rate which is perhaps above what would be considered a minimum rate. Those people under those Trade Boards now want some greater elasticity to rectify that somewhat high minimum rate which has been established when the cost of living and conditions of industry make it difficult to maintain that higher rate.

935. . . . Then the next [chief and only other] point is the speeding up of the machinery for altering rates. (Page 114.)

Statement of Mr. Herbert Kay on behalf of the London Employers' Association (400 members, 60,000 to 70,000 workers) and member of six Trade Boards, women's clothing, millinery, feathers, corsets, etc. December 14, 1921.

6131. *Lord Cave:* You mention the difference between the two Trade Boards Acts, with which the Committee is now familiar; what is the attitude of your association towards Trade Boards?—As defined here, we say, in the first instance, that the Government should make very sure that wage-regulating machinery is necessary before applying it, and, if that be the case, then we say that we have no objection to Trade Boards; in fact, we prefer them to other machinery, provided their work is confined within limits similar to those imposed by the Act of 1909.

6132. Your view, I gather, is that rates of pay are better determined by collective bargaining than by wage-regulating machinery?—Yes, provided always that the organisation is sufficient on either side to justify that position.

6139. *Lord Weir:* Assuming that a Trade Board has been applied to a trade, what is the essential point for which you prefer the 1909 Act?—Because of the reason I have just stated, that we feel that the prevention of sweating is desirable, or the prevention of real under-

payment, whereas, as I understand, the Act of 1918 is a piece of machinery which is intended in fact to regulate wages throughout the industry. (Page 440.)

6152. *Lord Cave:* You agree that some of the rates of payment were too low?—I do. I think we cannot get away from that, and I have in mind particularly the conditions which were in existence before the Trade Board was actually set up in the dressmaking and other cognate trades. (Page 441.)

Statement of Newcastle and Gateshead, Incorporated, Chamber of Commerce.

As there is a fear that the abolition of the Trade Board might result in imposing sweated conditions, I suggest a low fixed minimum wage, to vary according to the rise and fall in the cost of living. Anything above this minimum wage to depend on ability. (Page 960.)

Statement submitted by The Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce and Manufacturers. December 15, 1921.

No general desire for the abolition of the Trade Boards is apparent. The general feeling seems to be that the 1909 Act should remain, but that the 1918 Act should be repealed or radically modified. It is generally agreed that the Act of 1909 achieved a good result in improving conditions of employment in sweated industries.

Statutory regulation of wages is economically as unsound as would be the statutory fixing of prices of commodities. Whilst it is highly desirable that abuses, such as sweating in certain industries, should continue to be prevented by legislation, it is time that Government interference in industry should be cut down and strictly limited to the prevention of abuses. (Page 958.)

Statement of Mr. Alexander Ramsay, Chairman of the Birmingham and Wolverhampton District Association of the Engineering and National Employers Association. Dec. 13, 1921.

6082. . . . If you take the manufacture of metal products, for example, my own Association covers 170,000 workpeople. I do not suppose that there are more than 2,000 within our control who are covered by the Trade Board. (Page 432.)

6033. *Mr. Poulton:* What would you do, then, with that great mass of employers who are outside organisations, and employees who are outside unions, because possibly some of their economic conditions are different from those of the organised parts of the industry. I mean, with some of the smaller men the wages might be exceptionally low; what would you do with them under your method?—What I should do is this: the Act of 1909, the parent Act, provides that where it can be shown that wages are exceptionally low in relation to other wages, a Trade Board should be set up. I should apply the 1909 Act.

6034. So that, as a matter of fact, although you have taken a strong view, at any rate, against the 1918 Act, you would not abolish Trade Boards altogether?—No, not at all, but I should change the "circumstances."

6035. *Lord Weir:* That is, you would leave the "circumstances" to be entirely a measure of "exceptionally low," rather than based on lack of organisation?—Lack of organisation often merely in the opinion of an official of the Ministry of Labour. (Page 430.)

Evidence of Associations of Employers in Trades Named in the Original Act of 1909.

Statement of Mr. David Little, past chairman of the Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers' Federation and employers' representative since July 1910 on the Tailoring Trade Board and its successor, the Readymade and Wholesale Bespoke Tailoring Trade Board. Dec. 6, 1921.

. . . The chief work of the Board has, of course, been the fixing of minimum rates of wages for male and female workers in the trade.

It may be noted that up till October, 1916, in the case of female workers and up till December, 1919, in the case of male workers, the minimum rates fixed were one rate for all adult female workers and one rate for all adult male workers, with, of course, proportionate rates for the younger workers in each case. As regards the former the reason for special rates for female workers employed as cutters, trimmers and fitters-up was an agreement with the Home Office to fix their special rates because they were taking up the place of male workers of the same classes who were engaged in the war. As regards the latter several of the more skilled classes of male workers were dealt with, and thereafter the various classes of skilled workers were taken into consideration, and minimum rates were also fixed for these special classes. (Page 311.)

I am aware that there has been a good deal of complaint on the part of employers throughout the country who have not had much experience of Trade Boards against the power which the Trade Boards have to fix minimum rates for skilled workers, i. e., special classes of workers. The power was given under the original Act of 1909, but it has to be borne in mind that the rates which the Trade Boards fix for special classes of workers can only be minimum rates. It is, however, open to question that Trade Boards in their initial stages should be able to fix such rates. The suggestion might be that in

the first instance they should simply content themselves with fixing the General Minimum Rates for the whole class of male workers and of female workers. This would enable the trade to settle down to the new conditions before beginning to deal with rates for the skilled workers. In that case it might be wise to lay down that until both the employers' and the workers' representatives agree to the fixing of such rates the Board should not have the power to do so at least for a period of say two years from the date when the first General Minimum Rates were made effective.

The employers' representatives have noted the agitation in the Press and otherwise against Trade Boards. Their view is on the whole that the work of Trade Boards so far as the Readymade and Wholesale Bespoke Tailoring Trade is concerned has been of benefit to the trade inasmuch as it has substantially raised the level of wages paid in the trade over those paid prior to its being set up and has created better organisation in the factories. It has also raised the standard of living of the workers concerned, and it may be added that the improved relationship between employers and workers has been more marked, and is largely due to the better understanding arrived at as a result of the frequent meetings of the Trade Board. The employers' representatives would point out that the high rates obtained in many Trade Boards have been largely due to the abnormal conditions of the war and are of opinion that had there been normal conditions the rates of wages would not have been so high and would have varied to something like the same extent as had taken place in the case of the early boards which were established about 1910.

The employers' representatives accordingly do not favour the abolition of Trade Boards. On the other hand, however, they have strong views upon the necessity of simplifying and improving the present administration. (Pages 311-312.)

It is understood that many employers object to the Act of 1918, seeing that it alters the basis of the Act of

1909, upon which the Trade Boards could be set up. The new basis under the 1918 Act is as follows, viz.:

> "That the Minister of Labour may make a special order applying the Principal Act to any specified trade to which it does not at the time apply, if he is of opinion that no adequate machinery exists for the effective regulation of wages throughout the trade."

No opinion is expressed with regard to this, but it is suggested that there is very little real difference between the two bases. Not merely is the want of organization of the trade necessary, but the rates of wages prevailing have to be considered, which obviously means the giving of consideration to rates of wages which are exceptionally low within the meaning of the 1909 Act. (Page 313.)

3837. *Lord Cave:* With regard to the minimum rate, do you think that the compulsory powers which you have are necessary?—In our industry, yes.

3838. That is, you would have employers who might pay a rate so low that it would not really be a proper rate of wage to pay?—. . . . In many cases we are of the opinion that without that compulsion there would be a large number of employers who would ignore what I would term the agreed rate as decided between the Federation and the Unions.

3843. *Lord Weir:* Then your interpretation was that the 1909 Act was an anti-sweating Act, and that all you had to protect was the lowest-paid worker?—They undoubtedly, in the first instance, received the first consideration.

3844. *Mr. Layton:* But with that system it was still the fact that higher rates were paid prior to 1916?—The minimum rates as fixed in the first instance were never considered to be the standard rates. Higher rates than those rates were generally paid.

3845. And under the pre-war conditions there was no tendency to reduce the difference between the rates paid for higher-skilled workers and the minimum?—No, undoubtedly there was not. In fact, I think on every determination, it may be somewhat pious, but there certainly was an understanding and words were inserted to the effect, that these rates were not to prejudice workers receiving higher rates.

3848. *Sir Arthur Pease:* Are the minimum rates which are now fixed by the Trade Board practically maximum rates?—No.

3849. Are they generally exceeded?—Undoubtedly, through the abnormal conditions prevailing during the war, the rates have increased to a point which brought them very near standard rates, and no doubt would influence an employer who was engaging labour, but I cannot admit that they were ever accepted as standard rates. (Page 314.)

3856. . . . . The rates of pay that could be earned in Leeds in our case never warranted being considered sweated rates, but our objection was only to being brought in because it was suggested that we were sweating our workers. We never objected to working the Act, in fact we decided to do our best to make the Act workable.

3857. *Dame Adelaide Anderson:* But do you not consider that it was very necessary, in other parts than Leeds, for raising the minimum wage?—We have always recognised that the Trade Board could do good to the industry. (Page 315.)

3920. *Lord Cave:* . . . I gather that the view of those whom you represent is in favour of the continuance of Trade Boards?—Undoubtedly.

3921. You think that they have had the effect of raising the level of wages over those paid previously?—Yes.

3922. I gather you think that your Board has improved the relationship between employers and employed?—I am sure of that.

3923. You point out that the wages have risen during the war to an abnormal extent?—That is so. There, undoubtedly, the cost of living was bound to influence the Board, because the position had become abnormal. (Page 317.)

4024. *Mr. Layton:* But that standard will cost very much less in Norfolk than in London?—We are not so sure of that from information which we have. We will admit at once that in certain country factories—and there are a few—workers can probably live for less. For one thing their rents would be less, and probably they would be at no expense in getting to their work; but all these points are very fully brought forward, as a rule, before any decision is arrived at.

4025. Then do I understand that the Board really has at the back of its mind that there is no justification economically for variations in wages?—We feel that the interests of the workers in the industry are fully served by one general minimum rate for that class of worker. In our industry there are more female operatives than men; we will take it that if you fix a legal minimum for a female worker of 18 years of age and over, you have fixed a rate which will give the necessary protection to the majority of the female workers in the trade.

4026. Do I understand your answer to be substantially that if you fix a rate which is an appropriate one for what I have called the low-wage district, it will in fact be a protection to other districts, because there is not a substantial difference in the minimum cost of living?—That is so.

4047. *Lord Weir:* From your experience of the two Acts—because you had a long experience of the 1909 Act—what particular benefit has the 1918 Act conferred upon a Trade Board? What help has it given?—We do not

think it has improved the position generally. We prefer to work under the old Act.

4048. Under the old Act you conld do anything for the good of the industry that you can do under the 1918 Act? —During the years that we were working under the old Act we did not feel any difficulty. (Page 322.)

Statements of Mr. C. J. Watts and Mr. Culross, representing the Paper Box Manufacturers' Federation and employers' representatives on the Paper Box Trade Board from 1910 to 1917 and from 1913 to date respectively. December 6, 1921.

4134. *Lord Cave:* You were one of the original trades?—(*Mr. Watts*): Yes, we were. (Page 326.)

4229. The Act of 1909 worked well?—(*Mr. Culross*): Yes.

4231. . . . Our view is that the old Act gave the protection to the trades which were necessary to be protected.

4232. And to the workmen in those trades?—Yes, and to the workmen in those trades. The Act has done our trade good; there is no question about that.

4233. It has raised wages?—It has improved the conditions. It has eliminated the person whom all decent employers objected to; it has eliminated the person who sweated his workpeople.

4234. *Dame Adelaide Anderson:* And it has also brought the employers and the workers more in conference together?—Yes, undoubtedly. We have had practically no trade disputes since we have come under the Board. There have been some occasions at times of difficulty, but they have always been got over. (Page 330.)

4268. *Lord Cave:* I would like to know the net effect of what you have said. You say the Trade Boards have done the trade good. On the other hand, you say that

certain rates of wages have done the trade harm by making the production more expensive. What is your remedy for it? Obviously you do not want to abolish the Trade Boards.—No.

4269. Do you want to reduce their operations in any way or to lay down certain rules to govern them?—I think on three grounds; we want greater elasticity in the working of the Act itself, a shorter period for such alterations as are necessary; we want to govern our own house without the continual interference (I use the word quite inoffensively) of the Ministry, subject, of course, to some ultimate control by the Minister, I quite agree; and it would be an advantage if we had some other words than "ordinary worker" in the Act. We want also some greater latitude in regard to the infirm person, because there are a very large number of infirm persons in our trade. (Page 331.)

Statement of the employers' side of the Lace and Net Finishing Trade Boards. November 16, 1921.

We have been doing our best for about eleven years to put up with the serious defects of the Trade Board system because it has one great redeeming feature, i. e., it gives power to take legal proceedings to compel the would-be sweater among employers to pay the minimum rates fixed and so tends to eliminate the undesirable or incapable employer. For this reason we have been content to wait for amendments to the Act to rid us of the serious difficulties which it has imposed on us, . . . (Page 199.)

(1) Middlewomen and middlemen.

Copy of a letter sent to the Minister of Labour:

Sir,

The members of

The Nottingham Chamber of Commerce,

The Nottingham Lace and Net Finishers' Association, and

The Nottingham Homeworkers' League

desire to draw your attention to difficulties that have arisen in the lace finishing trade owing to the fact that no cognisance is taken of middlewomen in the "Trade Board Acts, 1909 and 1918." In consequence no remuneration for middlewomen can be fixed by the Lace Finishing Trade Board. This anomalous position of the middlewomen results in their being grossly underpaid by the bad employers, thus penalizing the good employers, and inflicting hardship on the workers to whom the middlewomen distribute the work. (Page 200.)

(2) Foreign Competition.

The foreign competition which is most prejudicial to the Lace Finishing Industry is that of an exactly similar industry in France, in which country the scale of wages paid for precisely similar work is, at the normal or prewar rate of exchange, actually less than half the rates fixed by the Board, whilst at the present rate of exchange it is less than one-quarter of these rates. . . . It is absolutely essential therefore that there shall be new legislation providing that the appointed members *shall* take into consideration the incidence of the lower rates paid in these similar industries abroad which are competitive in the markets of the world and in the home market. Failing this, Counter-Vailing Duties must be imposed that will balance the difference between the rates paid abroad and the rates fixed by the Trade Board, so that if we cannot compete in foreign markets we may at least retain our home market. (Page 199.)

Evidence of Associations of Employers in Trades Brought Under the Act in 1913.

Statement of Mr. S. W. Pascall on behalf of the Food Manufacturers' Federation, original member of the Sugar Confectionery and Food Preserving Trade Board established in 1914. December 15, 1921.

The Sugar Confectionery Trade Board started with a minimum wage of 3d. for women and 6d. for men . . . .

Some employers, of course, thought the heavens were going to fall, but they have found it possible to pay the higher wages since fixed and to pay their own way.

The Food Manufacturers' Federation as a whole undoubtedly favours the Trade Board system with certain reservations. As to that, I understand, all the employers affected by the older Boards are agreed. It has reduced sweating to a minimum—it would have completely destroyed it had it been possible to secure rates being paid by all the small manufacturers—it has not only benefited the workers in this respect, but also the manufacturers by removing one source of unfair competition and by improving factory management rendered necessary by the obligation to pay increased wages. It has led to better relations between employers and employees, and induced both sides to become more thoroughly organised. (Page 465.)

Statement of Mr. Frank Nutter Hepworth, until recently Chairman of the British Tin Box Manufacturers' Federation, and employers' representative on the Tin Box Trade Board. December 6, 1921.

The witness handed in as his evidence-in-chief a statement in agreement with that handed in by the witness of the Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers' Federation, Mr. D. Little.

4275. *Lord Cave*: When was your Board formed?—In January of 1915, that is the first meeting. (Page 331.)

4285. Upon the whole, Mr. Hepworth, do you consider that the Trade Boards Act has been beneficial to the trade?—Yes, I do.

4286. It has improved the conditions?—Yes, I think that it has in every way.

4297. You were set up under the Act of 1909?—Yes.

4317. *Mr. Layton*: What would you say is the predominant idea that the Trade Board endeavours to give expression to?—Undoubtedly, to a certain extent, the cost of living, but also a feeling, I think, which a good many people have that the rates paid originally were not reasonable rates, and with a distinct desire to improve conditions as far as possible. (Page 332.)

Statement of the Wrought Hollow-ware Trade Employers' Association.

1. The Hollow-ware Trade Board (Great Britain) was established in 1913 and first began to regulate the wages of workers in the hollow-ware trade in 1916.

3. The Association desires to represent to the Committee that its members are strongly in favour of maintaining machinery in this trade for the enforcement under legal penalty of minimum day rates which shall apply throughout the whole of this trade irrespective of the district in which the individual factories are situate.

4. The Association is not aware of any alternative machinery which would be likely to fulfil this object more efficiently than the Trade Board now existing and while great importance is attached to the amendments suggested in this memorandum, the Association strongly urges that subject to these amendments the Hollow-ware Trade Board should continue to function. (Page 990.)

Evidence of Associations of Employers in Trades Under the Act of 1918.

Statement of Mr. H. Crabb, President of the National Federation of Boot Trades Association (200 branches, 8,000 employees) and employers' representative on the Boot and Shoe Repairing Trade Board. January 18, 1922.

Before the Trade Board was set up [April 18, 1919], the boot repairing trade was in a condition that left much to be desired. It was regarded as a dumping ground for the crippled and the mentally deficient . . . . This trade, which at one time was regarded as one of the skilled crafts of the country, had, immediately prior to the establishment of the Trade Board, come to be looked upon as almost an unskilled occupation.

I have great pleasure in testifying to the improved conditions in the industry during the short time the Trade Board has been in existence. The boot repairing trade has been raised from the position of a sweated industry to the level of other skilled trades, and credit for the improved status of the industry must undoubtedly be given in great measure to the operation of the Trade Board.

As President of the National Federation of Boot Trades Associations, I can claim to know the opinions of the majority of those concerned on the employers' side, and can say that, out of 200 branches covering the whole of England, only one branch has passed a motion in favour of the abolition of the Trade Board.

. . . From my experience as a member of the Trade Board, I am convinced that it is the only possible system to prevent the boot trade and other badly organised trades from reverting to pre-war conditions. (Page 697.)

Statement of British Brush Manufacturers' Association. December 15, 1921.

The employers in the brush and broom industry are in favour of the Trade Board principle of settlement of

wages, and consider the presence of Appointed Members on fixing the lowest minimum rate for unskilled workers is desirable. While the employers consider that the Trade Board should have the power to fix rates for skilled labour, owing to the want of knowledge of the Appointed Members of the various degrees of skill required for different operations, they should not be able to give their casting votes on the question of skilled rates in the case of dispute. (Page 475.)

Statement of the Coffin Trade's Section of the British Traders Association, Birmingham. December, 1921.

I am desired to say that on the whole manufacturers are of the opinion the Trade Boards Acts have been beneficial to the trade (coffin furniture and cerement making). At any rate, the advantages have outweighed the disadvantages. The greatest complaint we have to make is the unnecessary delay in administration. (Page 972.)

Statement of British Corset Manufacturers' Association, Ltd. January 26, 1922.

At a meeting of the employers' representatives . . . [they] expressed a view in favour of the continuation of Trade Boards, as in their opinion judging from their experience of the Board for the Corset making Trade, they consider its operation as having a decided advantage to the trade, in that it has (a) made for better conditions of living for the workers by the payment of the higher wages generally paid by the better employers; (b) brought about better organization in many factories; and (c) been the means of improving the relations between employers and employed as since the formation of the Board no disputes have taken place. (Page 972.)

Statement by Mr. Foster G. Robinson, employers' representative on the Paper Bag Trade Board since it was established in May, 1919, on behalf of the United Kingdom Paper Bag Manufacturers' Association.

The employers' representatives have no reason to complain of the rates which have been fixed from time to time by the Board since its formation . . . On the whole the employers' representatives cordially agree to the formation of the Trade Board and consider that it has been the means of doing much good generally to the trade, and on that account they strongly desire the continuance of Trade Boards. On the other hand, however, they have strong views upon the necessity of simplifying and improving the present administration. (Page 993.)

Statement of Mr. T. Ernest Jackson in behalf of the Incorporated Association of Retail Distributors. (85 distributive firms, 60-70,000 workers, and 20-25,000 more workers in manufacturing and "making up" trades). November 16, 1921.

It has been generally recognised by employers that the original Trade Board Act achieved a good purpose in raising the standard of life in the "sweated" trades, contained in the Schedule of that Act, and that the subsequent extension of that Act to certain other recognised "sweated" trades by sanction of Parliament also achieved a good purpose. (Page 190.)

If the original purpose of the Trade Board Acts, namely, to prevent "sweating" by fixing a minimum wage, had been adhered to, a considerable part of the objections raised by employers would be unnecessary. (Page 191.)

Statement of Mr. John Chalmers, Chairman Scottish Federation of Aerated Water Manufacturers' and Bottlers' Associations. November 30, 1921.

3758. . . . Immediately before the war the wages were from 10s. to 12s. per week; but before the Trade Board came along at all the wages had been raised to 22s. and 24s. a week.

3759. *Lord Weir*: So that normally under the 1909 Act you would not have expected a Trade Board to be set up for the trade?—Not at the time it was set up. There may have been some justification in 1906 under the old Act. We do not object to the old Act, but we object to the 1918 Act. (Page 308.)

3772. *Sir Arthur Pease*: You express a view that wages in these industries would be higher than they had been before the war; but do you think that is possible? Do not you think that every class of the community will have to take lower wages and lower salaries than they did before the war, having regard to the wastage of war?— . . .

3774. . . . In answer to your question, I think our view is that they will be absolutely unable to share in it [the decrease of "real wages".] You cannot ask them to share in a thing which they are not able to do; and to drive them back to as low wages as they received in 1906 would be unthinkable.

3775. Even if conditions were the same—even if the cost of living were the same?—Yes, even if the cost of living were the same. (Page 309.)

Statement of Mr. R. M. Maxwell on behalf Scottish Garment Makers' and Millinery Trades' Federation [300 employers and 7,000 employees]. December 8, 1921.

4904. . . . "Generally speaking, our trade in Scotland, contrary, perhaps, to the majority of trades, and

certainly contrary to the trade in England, is in favour of the general principle of the regulation of wages."

4905. *Lord Cave:* Do you mean you are in favour of the regulation of wages for each class of worker, or only for the minimum wage to be regulated?—For the regulation and fixing of minimum rates.

4909. *Mr. MacCallum Scott:* You have different ranks of skilled workers. Do you mean one minimum for the lowest class, or do you mean different minima for each of the ranks of skilled workers according to the degrees of skill?—As far as dressmaking and millinery is concerned, we would fix minimum rates for the learners up to the age of 19.

4910. *Mr. Poulton:* Not beyond?—Not beyond. At 19 years of age then the minimum would be fixed whereon you could work for your experienced workers.

4912. . . . "We are in favour of this [Trade Boards] for various reasons, namely: (*a*) A more highly-organised community necessarily must mean the extension of the principle of collective bargaining in place of individual bargaining. We shall not be able to avoid this in the future—it is a necessary development; (*b*) these trades consist of a large number of small employers who have never hitherto been organised. Many such businesses do not have any employees at all, while in many cases dressmakers go out by the day to work in the houses of private persons. In view of the humble conditions of the businesses of many of such, the narrow margin of profit, and the nature of the occupations, it is very difficult to say if they ever can be fully organised; (*c*) these conditions result in a tendency, in many cases, from economic pressure to pay low wages. This tendency to pay low wages will be permanent in the trade unless some State regulation takes place." (Page 367.)

4935. "(*d*) In order to prevent this tendency it is desirable that some kind of minimum wage should be compulsorily and statutorily established. The Board seems to us the best method of doing so.

"(*e*) It has to be kept in mind that the payment of low wages by one employer tends to result, through competition, in the payment of low wages by others. The Trade Board system seems the only way of preventing this. It protects the good employer, paying reasonable wages, from the employer who pays a sweated rate of wages.

"(*f*) Further, in country districts the opportunities of shopkeeping employers are necessarily restricted, and employees have not, as in towns, the possibility of organising to secure reasonable wages. The Trade Board system seems the only method of safeguarding employees in country districts whose wages, through the operation of economic circumstances, may tend to become unduly low.

"(*g*) While in trades highly organised into federations of employers, it may be possible to arrange questions for the whole trade between employers and employees direct, this system is not practicable in the case of trades wholly consisting of small businesses up and down the country, owned by those who, in many cases, have little or no trade consciousness.

"(*h*) The Trade Board system, therefore, offers in our case a preferable method to that of fixing trade wages between the employers' federations (which, in the circumstances of our trade, can never include all employers) and the Assistants' Union (which, for similar reasons, can never include all the assistants). (Page 368.)

Statement of Scottish Blouse, Overall and Underclothing Manufacturers' Association.

Generally speaking this Association is in favour of Trade Boards, but not of the present machinery particularly as this relates to professional representation of the workers. (Page 793.)

Statement of Mr. J. D. Mounsey, wholesale manufacturer employing two men and 200 to 250 women, representative of the unorganized employers on the Hat, Cap and Millinery Trade Boards for England and Wales. November 16, 1921.

1892. My question was an attempt to ascertain your opinion as to the value of the Trade Board in your district—whether you would like to be without it now in your industry?—No, I have already stated that my personal view is that it should be maintained, but should only have power to fix a minimum wage; it should not go any further than the living wage. (Page 172.)

EVIDENCE OF OTHER EMPLOYERS' ASSOCIATIONS.

Statement of the National Farmers' Union.

In the opinion of the National Farmers' Union, Trade Boards should be restricted to their original function, i. e., dealing with sweated industries where workers are employed under anti-social conditions, thus involving an indefinite subsidy to such industries by the community. That the Trade Boards in practice have not accepted this as their proper function is proved by the fact that they have fixed varying minimum rates, not only for different industries, but in various branches of the same industry. In other words, they have become merely a piece of machinery for adjusting wage rates in industries already carried on under conditions which could not be classed as anti-social. For this function the machinery of the Trade Boards is too rigid and has broken down, especially during the period of economic disturbance through which we are passing.

Summary of Mr. J. J. Mallon in behalf of the Trade Boards Advisory Council of the General Council of Trade Union Congress and member of thirteen Trade Boards. February 8, 1922.

The Council feel bound to point out to the Committee that the main lines of attack pursued by witnesses opposed to the Trade Board system is an attack on any legal regulation of wages rather than mere hostility to certain detailed provisions contained in the Acts. From their knowledge of the conditions which have existed in trades now covered by the Acts, and which still exist in other trades in which protection has been delayed, the Council urge that any alteration in the Acts which makes a return to such conditions possible would be a national calamity.

They have tried to meet any criticisms based on a genuine grievance in the proposals embodied in this summary and in urging their acceptance upon the Committee, they desire to express the hope that the Committee will resist any attempt to make the present abnormal circumstances an excuse to weaken machinery which has stood the test of experience and has immense possibilities for good in the future. (Page 865.)

12,174. *Mr. Layton:* I fully appreciate your argument in general, but it is difficult to reconcile so strong an argument as this with the very general commendation which I think the overwhelming majority of the witnesses have given to the Act of 1909, under which most trades fixed just the single minimum rate? . . . (Page 873.)

12,175. . . . In the case of all those trades to which you have referred there was a quite deliberate departure, and a unanimous departure, from the principle of fixing a minimum rate to the principle of fixing an elaborate code of rates.

12,176. *Mr. Layton:* Later, after the war?—Yes.

12,177. But the commendation to which I was referring was of the effect before the war, when there was a single rate in operation?—All that they meant, I think, was that the Act in that form had conferred very great benefits on the trade, had furthered organisation, had brought employers and workers together, and had given to the trade an organ through which it could speak, and so on. That is all very true, but the result of their organisation was to make all these persons voluntarily depart from the principle of one rate to the principle of a code of rates, and I put it to you as very remarkable that not one of those Boards has expressed itself in any sense except a sense of, I think I might put it, very strong approval of the work of the Boards.

12,178. *Mr. Pugh:* That is to say the Boards that have had the most experience?—The Boards that have had the most experience. I think if you will analyse the objections of the employers you will find that they come not at all from employers who have had adequate experience; they come to a slight extent from those who have had a short experience; they come to a very large degree from those who have had no experience at all. Large bodies of employers who have never been under a Trade Board, but who have allowed themselves to be frightened by all sorts of bogies, have come along and have made a very large part of the trouble with regard to this matter; but every large body of employers who have had considerable experience of Trade Board machinery are, I think it is not putting it too high to say, satisfied with it. (Page 874.)

12,442. . . . The fact that the Boards and the Ministry of Labour have gone apart explains a good deal of the criticism which has been poured out on the Boards. A further explanation is that the dissatisfaction with the Boards is due very largely to the state of Trade. I can quite understand that in a time like this employers must be very anxious, or some employers must be very anxious, to get free of any restraint, and I think the protests to

which you have listened are just a register of that feeling. But I might make the suggestion that an analysis of the action of the Boards would show that these suggestions were not as numerous or as weighty as might appear. I have been looking into the matter since last week and so far as I can see, if you leave the Scottish Boards and the Irish Boards, as to which I am not so well informed, out of account, 19 Boards are in favour not only of the Boards continuing but of the exercise by those Boards of the powers which they at present possess. I will put in a list of those 19 Boards. I reckon that some 4 or 5 Boards are in a condition of divided mind and that possibly 8 or 9 Boards are against the Board continuing to exercise the powers which they at present exercise. Of those Boards one is the Grocery Trade which has not so far brought any rate into operation, and 2 or 3 are Boards which have had very little experience of the operation of the Act. I do suggest that that analysis shows that the great bulk of employers under the Trade Board system are in favour of it; and I would most earnestly like to put to you and to the Committee that if anything is done to weaken the Boards and to detract from their powers there will certainly be a very great national loss. I cannot overemphasize the extent to which, in certain trades, industrial relations have improved. On a number of the Boards we are working together as a team and there is a spirit quite new in the industry which holds out the most abundant promise for the future. All that rests on this power to fix rates of wages, not merely for those who are at the bottom of the industrial ladder, but for those who are higher up. We cannot have really satisfactory relations with these employers unless they are going to be able, along with the representatives of the workers, to draw up a scale of wages which they think to be fair and to see that that scale is imposed on the industry as a whole. If that power is conceded, under the shadow of it, a development of good industrial relations is possible, but not if that power is taken away. So that I do put it to the Committee that before anything, even the least power, is taken away from any Board it

should be considered how much may depend upon the subtraction of that power.

12,443. *Mr. Poulton:* On that last point with regard to the analysis, the 10 Boards that you name, I should like to be informed if you can give me any information, because I do not remember any such number as that being in favour of abolition. I thought it was only a few in favour of abolition?—Not abolition; this is not an abolition list.

12,444. A number of them said that they would like them altered, but they were in favour of the Boards continuing?—Yes. This is entirely on the question of retaining present powers.

12,445. It does not refer to abolition at all?—Oh, no.

12,446. *Lord Cave:* Will you hand in that analysis?—Yes.

12,447. Have you taken it from the evidence?—I have taken it from my own knowledge of the Boards, but I will buttress it with the requisite evidence.

12,448. *Dame Adelaide Anderson:* Have you a figure for those who really do desire abolition?—I think there are hardly any if there are any.

12,449. *Sir Arthur Pease:* There is the jute trade?—Yes, there is the jute trade possibly.

12,450. *Mr. Poulton:* And the Birmingham people, the Hook and Eye people?—There were two or three cases so far as I have followed the evidence in which preference was expressed for a national minimum wage as against Trade Boards, but I do not think anybody was against regulation in any form.

12,451. *Mrs. Lyttelton:* I think the Rope people were?—No. They asked me to attend the meeting of that Board (I am not a member of it) to consider the question of the evidence they should submit to this Committee, and I was allowed to take part in the discussion.

Mr. Buckpitt, who is a leading member of the Board, expressed his complete satisfaction with the Board—that was his view at the time—provided it was taken away from the Ministry of Labour.

12,452. *Lord Cave:* I suppose you are only dealing with the employers' sides?—Yes, I have assumed that all the workers' sides are in favour.

12,453. I think there was hardly any body of any importance which even suggested the abolition of Trade Boards?—No.

12,454. I mean my impression is that there has been a very strong consensus of evidence in favour of the anti-sweating powers of the Boards being retained, but have you included in your list those bodies which favour confining the Boards to anti-sweating, and really keeping to anti-sweating functions apart from wage-regulation?—Yes, I have treated all those trades which desire that the Board should be limited to the fixing of anti-sweating rates as anti. The Boards I put into the positive list are the Boards which favour the retention of present powers. I think in the list I can show 19 or 20, probably 20, trades. There are some trades which I have not put into any of these categories, because they have not given any evidence at all, and I do not know what their mind is.

12,455. I suppose an employer who is on a Board has rather a tendency to support it than an employer who is not on the Board?—Yes, I should say that was true in general, but I should explain it by saying that he knows more about the matter than the man outside.

12,456. *Mr. Poulton:* With your long experience of these Boards, right from the inception of the first Act, would you say, on the whole, apart from the question of raising wages, they have been beneficial to the country?—I think there is no kind of question about that. I should like to put this in. It is a letter which was sent to the *Star* on Thursday, October 6th, by a Mr. Duncan Campbell, of Messrs. Horne Bros. I put the letter in more

readily because I have never met Mr. Campbell, and I did not know what his views were. He says what has happened in the wholesale tailoring trade. He says, for instance—he is talking of the period before the Boards were set up—"The best employers were undercut by the products of the sweat-shops. Gradually, but surely, the skilled workers were being forced towards the pittance on which fresh importations from Poland could live in some East End cellar. Disease and discontent were spread through the community. Did such conditions exist to-day, the East End would be solidly Bolshevik, and who could blame them?" But he goes on: "This shameful state of things was ended by the Trade Boards. Their minimum wage secured the workers against sweating, and at the same time protected all the decent employers against being undercut by the sweat-shops. The Trade Boards are an ideal method for the peaceful settlement of industrial troubles. In some respects they need altering, but their abolition means the return of the hideous sweating system"; and so on.

12,457. *Dame Adelaide Anderson:* Have you ever read Lakeman's account in the Report of 1893 or 1894, or thereabouts, of the shops in the East End?—Yes, I did.

12,458. There are lurid details given there?—Yes. The experience of that trade is the experience of a great many trades with which I have had to do, and I have seen these trades being cleaned up by Trade Boards; and it fills me with despair that anybody, with all this evidence before him, should take a circumscribed view of the work of the Boards. (Pages 889-890.)

Statement of the National Women's Advisory Committee of the National Federation of General Workers (over 1,500,000 Trade Unionists of the unskilled and semi-skilled class). December 14, 1921.

Experience shows that some such method for regulating wages and controlling conditions is absolutely

necessary if a reasonable standard of living is to be secured and maintained for those engaged in occupations which are not strongly organized.

We do not propose to submit many examples showing how the application of Trade Boards has materially improved conditions, for this is generally accepted.

In the Net industry, a recent inquiry showed that the rate paid for making billiard-table pockets worked out at 2d. per hour. A Trade Board rate was fixed at 7d. per hour—an immediate improvement for the worker.

The Tailoring trade is an outstanding example of the value of Trade Boards. The conditions in this trade were a scandal, but since 1909, when the first Trade Board was established, conditions have very greatly improved, and the trade stands upon a much higher level. In slack times it was customary to ask the girls to work for lower wages to enable employers to make "stock", but we record with satisfaction that since the Trade Board was established disputes on such questions have been almost eliminated.

One of the first Trade Boards set up, the *Cardboard Box Board,* has as one of its sections members of the Match Industry, who manufacture 90 per cent. of the match boxes used in the trade. This section was notorious for its sweated rates of wages and had no organisation amongst its workers, and has at least gone along the lines indicated by Sir Montague Barlow. The workers and the employers are organised 100 per cent. and have a "Match Joint Industrial Council," which has a wage agreement covering the whole industry—higher than the Trade Board rates—and has not been reduced. It was the earnest desire of the full Joint Industrial Council to send a request to the Minister of Labour to ask that the Box Makers Section be exempt from the Box Trade Board. The members of the Council were in agreement that the Minister of Labour should be asked to receive a deputation, where all the evidence was laid before him, pointing out that Clause 3 of the Trade Boards Acts, 1909 and 1918, contemplates the possibility of the application of the Trade Boards Acts becoming unnecessary, in con-

sequence of alteration in the condition of employment in any trade.

The Match Industry at the present date shows an example of complete organisation on both sides, and is well known to have been one of our worst and often quoted sweated industries.

This instance shows that an industry, formerly requiring a Trade Board for the protection of the workers, has now reached the much higher stage of organisation fitting it for a Whitley Council. (Pages 451-452.)

Summary of Miss M. J. Symons, Assistant Secretary of the Women's Section (40,000 members), National Union of General Workers; Member of Boot and Floor Polish, of Laundry, of Ostrich and Fancy Feathers, of Stamped or Pressed Metalwares, and of Tin Box Trade Boards. February 15, 1922.

12,468. . . . . I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that in certain of these industries the rates of wages and the conditions which are now existing are quite as bad as the worst cases of sweating which led to the passing of the 1909 Act.

12,469. *Lord Cave:* Is that so in the catering trade? —In the catering trade and in some of the other trades which appear in this list which was given by Dr. Macnamara in the House of Commons in March, 1921. The distributive trades, of course, have been fully dealt with before you, and I will not go into them. But trades like the textile smallware trade—the small ribbon making and silk goods of the kind which are made in the Coventry districts, the hatters' fur trade and most of the trades which appear on this list—have got, if not general underpayment, either certain districts or certain small classes of employers who are at the present moment paying wages which certainly compare unfavourably with the instances which were quoted in support of the 1909 Act.

12,470. . . . . The difficulty which will, I think, be obvious to you in these trades is that it is quite im-

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12,470. . . . . The difficulty which will, I think, be obvious to you in these trades is that it is quite im-

possible to get anything adequate done in the absence of a Trade Board. Take the hatters' fur trade. I have met several firms in the London district lately, and in one or two cases the firm simply said that they could not raise their rates because of the competition of all these other firms who are underpaying. In other cases there is such victimisation that it is impossible for the workers to do anything. We have had severel cases in that trade where the workers who have approached us have been instantly dismissed and replaced by other workers. (Page 894.)

It must be pointed out that the time when low wages and unemployment are most prevalent, and therefore the need for the protection of the Trade Board greatest, is precisely when it is most difficult for the workers to come forward and give evidence as to low wages.

Recent experience with regard to the Catering trade proves that long hours, underpayment and the fear of unemployment render the workers increasingly unwilling to volunteer information as to their conditions. (Page 893.)

Evidence of Trade Unions Connected with Particular Trades.

Letter from National Laundry Workers' Union. December 10, 1921.

I have been requested to state that the Trade Board for Laundry employees has been highly appreciated by them, and their hope is that it may continue to ensure the necessary protection until this class of workers is better organised, protection from the sweated conditions and long hours to which some employers would certainly revert. (Page 1002.)

Statement by Miss M. C. Steen, Assistant Scottish Organiser, National Amalgamated Union of Shop Assistants, Warehousemen and Clerks, Member of Dressmaking and Women's Light Clothing Trade Board (Scotland) (Workers' Side), secretary of Workers' Side, Hat, Cap and Millinery Board (Scotland).

While I do not think that Trade Boards can adequately legislate for all the needs of Dressmaking and Millinery Workers, their retention is in my view absolutely necessary in order that a reversion to the state of affairs, which at one time existed, may be prevented. (Page 1000.)

A very large proportion of the nation's young women are employed in the sewing trades, and from the view of race preservation alone it is essential that they should be guaranteed at least a minimum of comfort. Organisation can do a great deal in large towns and establishments, but the Trade Board alone can legislate for the trade as a whole. (Page 1002.)

Resolution of the Scottish Council for Women's Trades and Union for the Abolition of Sweating.

In view of the beneficial effect which Trade Boards have had in their application to sweated and low paid industries, the Scottish Council for Women's Trades and Union for the Abolition of Sweating while recognizing that in some cases the administration of the Boards may be open to revision, would strongly urge their retention by the Government as an absolutely necessary protection for large sections of women workers. (Page 1010.)

Statement of Professor F. Tillyard, Professor of Commercial Law at the Birmingham University, Chairman of the Birmingham Court of Referees. Chairman of Lace Finishing, of Coffin Furniture, of Chain, of Hollow-ware, and of Tin Box Trade Boards and member of the Tailoring Trade Board. February 15, 1922.

12,483. . . . Most of my Boards are what I might call local Boards, and we are legislating more or less for a particular district. But I was for some years on the Tailoring Trade Board, which is a national Board, and there there was a very strong feeling against legislation by district, though the conditions of the districts did in fact vary very much indeed.

12,484. *Lord Cave*: If a lower rate were fixed for a particular district the trade would migrate to that district?—Yes.

12,485. *Dame Adelaide Anderson*: Does a national Board like that tend to make the minimum rather lower than it might have been in some cases?—It did make the minimum lower than it might have been, but strange to say, it was more effective in some of the higher-paid districts than we had any anticipation that it would be. For instance, we knew when we fixed the rates in the tailoring trade that the great bulk of the employers in Leeds would be paying a higher rate than our Trade Board rate, yet we discovered that there was a certain number of small people in Leeds who were not paying even the Trade Board rate. It did operate to some extent in Leeds though nothing like to the extent that it did in the Eastern Counties. (Page 896.)

Evidence of Chairman of Trade Boards.

Statement of Professor L. T. Hobhouse, D.Litt., LL.D. Chairman of ten Trade Boards. (Has resigned from four of these which appeared to have come into smooth waters, namely, the Paper Bag, Tin Box, Wholesale Mantle, and Boot and Shoe Repairing Boards.) January 12, 1922.

Three Boards were soon established under this Act, [1909] and after an interval a fourth was added. Very shortly before the war, four more Boards were added in Great Britain, making eight in all. These are the old Boards which still exist and have had a comparatively long and ample experience. The initial difficulties were considerable but two things may be said to have emerged from the experience of these Boards. The first is the effect on wages, namely that of levelling up payment in the worst sections or firms to the standard of the better, if not the best, employers. That standard might not be all that every worker could desire, but it was undoubtedly a very substantial improvement and it may be said that in these industries the more serious forms of underpayment were brought to an end. Secondly, in spite of divergencies of interests and opinions, the Boards settled down to a certain measure of co-operation. Both sides accepted the situation and made up their minds to do the best with it. Many points of contact and common interest were revealed, and this in particular that with the rate once fixed it was as much to the interest of the employers as of the workers to see that it was uniformly enforced. Rates could be paid when imposed upon every employer alike, which no individual employer could afford as long as he was exposed to the risk of being undercut by a competitor. It may be added that the apprehension which had been felt in Trade Union circles that the Boards would supersede the necessity for trade organisations and would thereby kill such germs of Trade Unionism as existed in these industries proved to be unfounded. On the contrary some possi-

bility of improving their conditions by collective effort arose for the workers for the first time. They realised the necessity for having skilled representatives to put their case, and the employers on their side discovered the advantages of having an organised body with which to negotiate. (Page 660.)

But the difference noted above between the Acts of 1909 and 1918, with regard to the grounds upon which a Board may be established has a significance. In the first Act it is a matter of common knowledge that what is popularly called "sweating" was in question. In the second Act, besides "sweating" there was a question of the regulation of wages in cases where trade organisation was not strong enough to stand on its own feet . . .

In any case, since 1918, we find a double motive in the Trade Board system—the prevention of underpayment and the adjustment of wages and hours with a view to peace, good feeling and mutual co-operation. It will be shown that in Trade Board practice these two objects have led in practice to different methods of settlement.

I will take first the question of underpayment. Underpayment has two meanings, the one relative and the other absolute. There is relative underpayment when a particular worker or section of workers is receiving less than a rate generally recognised as appropriate to the class of work. Employers, like other human beings, differ individually. Some are more, some less, liberal. Some aim at high organisation with efficient and willing workers at good pay. Others with less organising capacity place more dependence on a supply of cheap labour. In this sense underpayment may occur at any grade. Many professional men who are better acquainted with the art of doing a thing than with the art of geting paid for it suffer from this relative underpayment.

Underpayment has a more absolute sense when it is so serious as to make no adequate provision for the physical necessities of the worker. Here we come to a question upon which an outsider is as well entitled to an opinion as any one concerned in a trade, a question of great importance to the community. Underpayment in

this form is a menace to health, vigour and civilisation. Now the reason why remuneration is inadequate in this serious degree may be personal to the worker or they may proceed from the operation of the economic system. In the first case, where the worker through physical or mental defect is unable to yield the "fair day's work" that corresponds to the "fair day's wage" special provision has to be made. It is primarily a matter of charity and perhaps of discipline. (Page 662.)

It must be borne in mind that the experts who have suggested the minima considered above have never put them forward as standard wages. They are basic minima below which, if economic circumstances permit, none should fall, but above which any may rise. Further, considering the wide margin of uncertainty in determining the basis, the local inequalities in the cost of living and the wide variations in family circumstances, it is socially desirable that where industry can bear it the more liberal interpretation of the minimum should be applied, and exceeded in cases where extra exertion or some degree of skill is involved. So far therefore as higher rates have been fixed without injury to a trade good has been done. (Page 666.)

As a matter of fact the new Boards have proceeded on much the same lines as the old ones, that is to say, by levelling up rates of wages to those which many employers were already able to pay, and it is comparatively rare that this levelling has been materially exceeded through any rules of the Board. From almost all the Boards the same tendency to a general acceptance of the position, the same development of a spirit of mutual good-will and co-operation has, in a greater or lesser degree, manifested itself, industrial peace has been kept and several Boards have testified to the good effects of the system upon the interests of the trade as a whole. (Page 667.)

9426. *Lord Weir*: As I gather, your principle is to try and support protection for the majority grade in any particular trade?—It is a matter of descending impor-

tance as rates increase. I am most keen about protecting the lowest grade—the poorest worker. I am next keen about the next grade, and I remain exceedingly keen as long as you are in the region of that 20s. difference that I spoke about. I want to get the best terms I can so far as the trade allows, and I do not think anybody disputes that, employers or employed. When I get above that grade I say I am getting outside my sphere of competence. I wish anybody well who is trying to do better for himself; I wish him well, but I do not know how much he can get. It depends on economic circumstances, and on his skill and so on, and I feel it is getting beyond me. But within that range I do want to be able to operate. I see great difficulty in defining that range, either by figures or by definition, such as, for instance, "Subsistence Wage" and "Living Wage". One must think of some other device if it is insisted that the Boards' powers should be limited. As a suggestion, if it is very strongly insisted that the Boards' powers with regard to higher rates should be limited, I would say, first of all, with regard to the higher rates generally, there are two alternatives: One is to cut them out of the Board altogether; the other is to cut out the powers of the appointed members and to leave it to the two sides to fix them. But, secondly, I would say this: The most important rates are those which affect what we call the living wage. With regard to those I have a suggestion which may be worth considering; that is, whether the Order constituting the Board might not assign the classes of workers for whom the minimum rates should be fixed. The Minister in making up the constitution of the Board gets a very intimate account given to him of the structure of the trade, and from that he gets as good a general idea as anybody can get at that stage of who are the classes that are upon this sort of level. That leaves it a matter of judgment as to what sort of classes should be operated on. Take my grocery case again. I have no doubt that the Minister's Order would have specified assistants and porters, and it might have specified clerks, some of whom are very ill-paid in the industry.

As practice and experience developed, he could specify the classes in accordance with these general ideas of the Act, on which stress has been laid. I do not know how far that will meet your point, but it is the only thing I can put forward for consideration.

9427. *Dame Adelaide Anderson*: Would you add that the Board, on finding another pocket which had not revealed itself, of underpaid workers, should have power to add them?—I think that would be quite easy. They could recommend the Minister to do that; they would have to get his consent. You might find some unsuspected set of workers who were worse off than anybody.

9428. You say on a previous page: "The object of the Trade Board system is to discover a rate of wages which will provide a reasonable livelihood for the worker without causing dislocation in the industry." That is, there is a standard in your mind. Just as under the Factory Act it is a question of protecting the safety of limb and life and health, and establishing standard hours and so on, you want the protection of a sufficiency for the workers?—Yes. (Page 689.)

Australia.

Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics. Labour and Industrial Report No. 9. Prices, Purchasing Power of Money, Wages, etc., 1918.

Operations Under Arbitration and Wage Boards Acts.

Particulars of Boards and of Awards, Determinations and Industrial Agreements in Force at 31st December, 1913, and at Approximately Quarterly Periods to 31st December, 1918.

Dates	Boards Authorized	Boards Constituted	Boards which had made Awards or Determinations	Awards or Determinations in Force[1]	Industrial Agreements in Force
31st Dec., 1913....	505	501	387[2]	575[2]	401
30th April, 1914...	525	509	422[2]	575	415
30th June, 1914...	537	523	457[2]	584	429
30th Sept., 1914...	549	539	474	599	409
31st Dec., 1914....	553	544	478	576[2]	369
31st March, 1915..	560	551	486	589[2]	371
30th June, 1915...	568	557	495	638	481
30th Sept., 1915...	582	570	495	644	498
31st Dec., 1915....	573[2]	554[2]	498	663	546
31st March, 1916..	580	558	495	651	553
30th June, 1916...	589	571	512	678	581
30th Sept., 1916...	591	573	519	683	596
31st Dec., 1916....	594	572	525	706	609
31st March, 1917..	475[2]	470[2]	529	722	666
30th June, 1917...	476	471	530	714	663
30th Sept., 1917...	478	473	441[2]	734	666
31st Dec., 1917....	478	473	442	744	732
31st March, 1918..	478	473	444	767	722
30th June, 1918...	478	473	445	799	722
30th Sept., 1918...	480	475	445	843	812
31st Dec., 1918....	267[2]	260[2]	445	866	833

[1] Including awards made by Arbitration Courts.

[2] Owing to certain restrictions being imposed on the operations of Industrial Boards in each State, a number of awards which expired in New South Wales during the periods were not immediately reviewed.

It will be observed from the particulars set out in the above table that considerable expansion of the principle of fixation of a legal minimum rate of wage and of working conditions took place during the five years ending 31st December, 1918. Including the operations under the Commonwealth Arbitration Acts[9] and of the Western Australian Industrial Arbitration Court 291 additional awards or determinations were in force at the end of 1918.

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. South Australia New Minimum Wage Rates. December, 1921.

The South Australian Board of Industry has fixed the minimum wage for female workers over 18 years of age, in the metropolitan area, at 35s. ($8.52, par) per week, according to a consular report recently received by this bureau. This is an increase of 5s. ($1.22, par) per week over the minimum heretofore in effect, which was fixed by the South Australian Industrial Court in August, 1919.

The consular report states that:

This increase in the minimum wage for female employees has been awarded by the official board of industry at a time when many industries in South Australia are either idle or partially operating, and when the number of unemployed is growing larger. The premier for the State has announced publicly that any general increase of wages under the present state of conditions can only

3 Excluding awards or determinations which expired in New South Wales (under the Act of 1908) on 31st December, 1913.

4 Owing to a number of Awards made under the N. S. W. Industrial Disputes Act (1908) but still in force, the Boards constituted for such industries under the Industrial Arbitration Act had not made any awards.

5 See remarks with respect to re-authorization of Boards in New South Wales, Labour Bureau No. 12, p. 47.

6 Reduction in the number of Boards authorized, constituted and in existence is due to the dissolution of all Boards appointed under the Queensland Industrial Peace Act 1912.

7 Exclusive of Queensland Boards appointed under the Industrial Peace Act 1912.. The work of these Boards is now undertaken by the Court of Arbitration constituted under the Industrial Arbitration Act of 1916.

8 On the 13th December, 1918, an order was made by the New South Wales Court of Industrial Arbitration recommending the reconstitution of 220 Industrial Boards which had lapsed by effluxion of time, and on the 19th February, 1919, such Boards were constituted.

9 The Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Act 1904-18, and the Commonwealth (Public Service) Arbitration Act 1911.

result in increased nonemployment and increased business depression.

In determining this minimum wage, however, the board states that it acted on certain assumptions, some of which are quoted below:

That, while the need for public and private economy is equally evident and urgent, the State of South Australia is not quite so hopelessly bankrupt in resources of material, or of mind, or of will, as to warrant the board of industry in declaring as a standard living wage for unskilled workers generally a sum inadequate to supply what may be regarded as the bare necessaries of life in a supposedly civilized society.

That there is no impropriety in the belief that a sane economy should be sought through increased efficiency on the part of either employees or of employers, or of both, in the complex mechanism of production rather than through wages so low as to menace the health of the working population, to depress purchasing power in the local market, and to give a legal sanction to the creation or growth of a malnutritioned and discontented proletariat. Further, that the employers and employees of this State, speaking generally, are not so devoid of intelligence as to fail to realize the importance of a more effective cooperation in the processes of production.

That the "normal and reasonable needs" of the wage earner as referred to in the statutory definition of "living wage" are not to be ascertained by reference to what may be deemed a possible scale of wages in industries passing through a period of abnormal depression due to world-wide influences.

That, with respect to industries of the kind just referred to, the State industrial court will adhere to its frequently reiterated policy of bringing parties together in order that they may discuss the desirability of carrying on for the time being, and if so, the question of ways and means by agreement of the parties.

That although a previously declared living wage during some time that it has been in operation may have become ineffectual to maintain the standard of normal and

reasonable needs owing to a rapid increase in the cost of living due to world-wide cause, the duty of the board as indicated by the Industrial Code is simply to declare a living wage for the future on such evidence as it has before it.

That, while the national production and income are relevant for the purpose of considering what wage may be considered a living wage, the duty of the board in respect to woman workers is to apply the standard of needs as distinct from the standard of the relative value of the work of man and woman employees respectively. (Pages 110-111.)

Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics, Labour and Industrial Branch. Report No. 12. Prices, Purchasing Power of Money, Wages, Trade Unions, Unemployment, and General Industrial Conditions 1921. Melbourne, McCarron Bird and Co. 1922.

Labour and Industrial Conditions in Australia in 1921.

Operations under Arbitration and Wages Board Acts.

Industrial tribunals were active during 1916 to 1920, due mainly to applications for review of existing awards and determinations owing to the continued increase in the cost of living. During this period also awards were made for many industries and callings not previously subject to industrial award or agreement. This feature was most noticeable in Queensland and New South Wales, where arbitration has been extended to employees of the state public service.

During 1921 this activity of industrial tribunals continued, although the number of awards (422) made during the year shows a decrease when compared with the number (594) made during 1920, in which year the number is the highest recorded for any annual period since 1914 when these particulars were first compiled. At the end of 1921 there were 1,222 industrial agreements in force, as compared with 972 at the end of 1920.

There was a considerable expansion of the principle of the fixation of a legal minimum rate of wage and of working conditions during the eight years ending 31 December, 1921.

Industrial Disputes.

It is evident from the table below that industrial disputes were more frequent in 1921 than in any other year covered by the statistics, particulars being recorded concerning 624 dislocations of work. It is evident, however, that the significance and effect of industrial disputes is better estimated by considering the number of working days lost and the estimated loss in wages. On this basis the years 1919 and 1917 show the greatest losses, while in 1921 there was a considerable decrease on the two previous years.

A noticeable increase in the number of stoppages of work took place in 1921 in New South Wales. In all the other States the number of disputes was less than those recorded in 1920. The position which New South Wales occupies in comparison with other States is almost entirely due to the prevalence of disputes in connection with coal mining. Apart from these stoppages, the number of disputes in all other industries, while still in excess of that for each of the other States, does not compare unfavourably when the number of workers in each State is taken into consideration.

Table VI. Number and Magnitude of Industrial Disputes Involving Stoppage of Works in the Commonwealth of Australia 1913 to 1921.

Year	Number of disputes	Workers involved directly and indirectly	Working days lost	Loss in wages £
1913	208	50,283	623,528	287,739
1914	337	71,049	1,090,395	551,228
1915	358	81,292	583,225	299,633
1916	508	170,683	1,678,930	967,604
1917	444	173,970	4,599,658	2,594,808
1918	298	56,439	580,853	372,334
1919	460	157,591	6,308,226	3,951,936
1920	554	155,566	1,872,065	1,223,716
1921	624	165,101	956,647	757,028

(Page 216.)

Canada.

Alberta.

Canada. The Department of Labour. Labour Gazette. October, 1922.

A Minimum Wage Board has been appointed in Alberta in conformity with the Minimum Wage Act which was passed at the recent session of the Provincial Legislature. The new Board, which began to function early in October, is composed as follows: .....
(Page 1038.)

British Columbia.

(1) Reinvestigations for Compliance with Minimum Ordered.

Province of British Columbia. Department of Labour. Annual Report. For Year Ending December, 1919.

Comparative Statement Based on Returns from Employers in the Mercantile and Laundry, Cleaning and Dyeing Industries Showing Weekly Wages of Women Employees.

Wages	Mercantile Industry				Laundry, Cleaning and Dyeing Industry			
	1918—Before order Became Effective		1919—After Order Became Effective*		1918—Before Order Became Effective		1919—After Order Became Effective**	
	Number 18 Years and Over	Number Under 18 Years	Number 18 Years and Over	Number Under 18 Years	Number 18 Years and Over	Number Under 18 Years	Number 18 Years and Over	Numbe Unde r 18 Years
Under $6	3	42	...	...	...	...	...	...
$6 to $6.99	9	48	...	...	2	4	...	...
7 to 7.99	28	27	...	70	10	11	...	...
8 to 8.99	113	37	...	58	32	28	...	6
9 to 9.99	111	26	32	56	37	11	...	15
10 to 10.99	205	16	38	59	53	20	4	15
11 to 11.99	94	2	25	35	34	2	1	15
12 to 12.99	173	7	533	35	50	12	19	13
13 to 13.99	74	1	183	4	32	5	174	9
14 to 14.99	36	...	97	2	26	...	55	...
15 to 15.99	90	1	209	3	19	...	65	1
16 to 16.99	41	...	78	1	10	...	12	1
17 to 17.99	30	...	53	...	3	...	9	...
18 to 18.99	44	...	58	...	2	...	12	...
20 and over	78	...	122	...	2	...	10	...
Totals	1,129	307	1,428	323	312	93	361	75

(Compiled) (Pages 97-98)

*Wage order, $12.75 for a week of 48 hours and 26 9-16 cents per hour for additional work. Effective, February 24, 1919.

**Wage order, $13.50 for a week of 48 hours, effective March 31, 1919.

Province of British Columbia. Department of Labour. Annual Report. For Year Ending December, 1919.

General Comparative Summary of Mercantile and Laundry, Cleaning, and Dyeing Industries in British Columbia.

	Mercantile		Laundry, Cleaning, Dyeing	
	1918	1919	1918	1919
Number of firms reporting..	91	121	24	23
Average weekly wage—				
18 years old and over....	$12.75	$14.67	$11.80	$14.48
Under 18 years.....	7.80	9.73	9.69	11.19
Percentage of workers under 18	15.49	18.45	23.00	17.00
Average hours worked per week	49.6	46.1	47.2	45.1

(Pages 97, 98.)

A scrutiny of the returns reveals the pleasing fact that coupled with a general rise of wages there is a perceptible decrease in the hours of labour. (Page 85.)

In the Public Housekeeping Occupation the preliminary investigation showed the minimum wage to be $5; the average was $14.23 and the hours worked 50.6 per week. The legal minimum wage was set at $14 and became effective on August 16th, 1919. After that date the average wage rose to $16.20 and 48.95 hours were worked, or $1.97 per week higher than the previous average and the hours 1.65 less weekly. Before the Minimum Wage Order came into force no less than 55 per cent of the women eighteen years of age or over engaged in this occupation were receiving less than $14 a week. The proportion of those receiving $20 per week and over has risen from 4½ per cent to nearly 13 per cent. Girls under eighteen years of age have also participated in the general rise of wages.

In the Office Occupation the minimum wage was $4 per week before any Order had been made. Investigation showed that previous to the Conference in 1919 the average wage was $17 a week and 43.7 hours were

worked. The legal minimum wage was set at $15 and became effective on August 16th, 1919. From that date the average weekly wage rose to $18.24 and the hours worked fell to 43.6. There was a slight decrease in the number of employees and an increase of 0.52 per cent of girls under eighteen years of age. Here again an increase is shown in the number receiving more than the minimum wage, and also in the number receiving more than $20 per week.

In the Manufacturing Industry the weekly minimum wage before the Conference in 1919 was as low as $1.50 in some occupations, and the average was $12.55 for 46.6 hours worked. The weekly minimum was set by the Order at $14 and became effective on September 1st, 1919. The average wage increased after that date to $15.13 and the hours worked were reduced to 45.9. The last investigation shows a decrease in the employment of girls under eighteen years of age and an increase in the whole number of females employed. Here again the number of women in the better-paid positions—i. e., those receiving more than the minimum wage—shows a large increase. Analysis of the returns in this occupation is incomplete, as the Board has not yet fully established the rates of pay for apprentices or for inexperienced workers, nor the period that may be allowed workers in these classes to become proficient. At the time of compiling this report these matters are still under advisement.

The remaining Orders issued by the Board during the year 1919 have not been in operation long enough to warrant comparisons being made. (Pages 98-99.)

Province of British Columbia. Department of Labour. Minimum Wage Board. Report for the year 1920.

Improvement in Wages.

No one can study the returns made to this Board without remarking the general improvement shown in not only wages, but in hours of employment. While here and there girls may have lost their positions because

employers did not consider them worth the legal minimum wage, the returns show a distinct rise in wages of the whole body of women workers in British Columbia. Lower wages have been raised, and, contrary to all prediction, advances in higher wages are plainly indicated, a great number of employees passing up into the better-paid classifications. For example, in the mercantile industry the returns appear to indicate more than twice the number of adult women receiving the highest salaries ("$25 a week or over") in 1920 than in 1919. The pay-rolls show the fear has not been justified that the setting of a legal minimum wage for adult workers would cause wholesale replacement by those under age. The statement that the wages of the higher-priced employees would be lowered in an effort to spread out the "wage fund" in order to cover those whom the law required to be paid the legal minimum is also not sustained. (P. 57.)

Province of British Columbia. Department of Labour. From the Annual Report for the Year 1921. Report of the Minimum Wage Board. 1922.

Statistical Report.

In all, forms were returned by 1,923 employers relating to 9,722 female employees. The tables are herewith appended:—

Average Weekly Wage of Women (over 18 years) in 1921.

Occupation	No. of Women	Average Wage	Minimum Wage
Mercantile	1,788	$15.99	$12.75
Laundry	449	14.43	13.50
Public Housekeeping	994	15.87	14.00
Office	2,434	19.37	15.00
Manufacturing	1,145	16.00	14.00
Personal Service	69	15.62	14.25
Telephone, Telegraph	988	16.18	15.00
Fishing	36	14.81*	15.50
Fruit, Vegetable	145	17.37	14.00

(Compiled.) (Pages 4-9.)

* [illegible] due to short hours, the season of 1921 not being an active one (page 8.)]

Wages Show a Better Balance.

No one can study the returns made to the Board without remarking the general improvement shown in hours of employment and the greater numbers receiving the higher wages. While here and there girls may have lost their positions because employers did not consider them worth the legal minimum wage, the returns show a better balance in wages of the whole body of women workers in British Columbia than in former years. More employees are passing up into the better-paid classifications. For example, in the mercantile industry the returns indicate that adult women receiving the highest salaries ($25 a week or over) number more than twice as many in 1921 as in 1920. The pay-rolls show no justification for the fear sometimes expressed that the setting of a legal minimum wage for adult workers would cause wholesale replacement by those under age. (Page 10.)

Unemployment.

During the period of high wages the benefit of minimum-wage legislation and the protection given to fair employers was not so clearly realized as it is now, and will be in the immediate future. . . . Upon the recent opening of a large establishment in British Columbia for 400 places there were over 4,000 applicants, the majority of these being women.

Collecting Arrears of Wages.

It is gratifying to report that the Board has been able to make many collections, several of considerable amounts, of arrears owing in cases where, either through misunderstanding or design, the full minimum wage had not been paid. While there is a steady increase in the number of adjustments between employers and employees, they are conducted with as little publicity as possible to either side. The effort of the Board is to adjust controversies concerning either hours or wages with the least friction, but with justice to both parties. (Page 10.)

Problems in Fixing Rates.

A matter which has frequently been under consideration by the Board has been in relation to the question of schedules of wages, and the length of time during which inexperienced women and girls may work in the manufacturing industry for a lower wage than that to which experienced women are entitled. The question is a perplexing one by reason of the many varieties of work embraced by the Manufacturing Order. (Page 1.)

In all these discussions the Board has had constantly in mind the danger of fixing a period either too long or too short for inexperienced workers to arrive at the legal minimum wage. If the scale of advance is too slow the workers become discouraged, and they pass from shop to shop and trade to trade in an attempt to find more rapidly some industry affording a wage with which they may support themselves. This is one of the primary factors in the increase in labour turnover. Owing to the recent distressing unemployment situation among the fathers, brothers, and husbands of these women, a growing number of girls are finding it impossible to remain for long periods at learners' wages. The help formerly received from the men of the family has frequently not only been cut off, but the women have had to contribute to the upkeep of the family.

The Principle of Apprenticeship.

On the other hand, employees must be given opportunity to acquire reasonable experience before employers may in fairness be required to pay the minimum wage. Manufacturers have to realize also that it is not necessary that employees should be experts before they attain this minimum. Too lengthy apprenticeship, too low wage scales, and insufficient instruction are factors—not always recognized—in reducing the supply of learners in some trades to the lowest point. Employers in certain well-defined occupations complain not only of the lack of applicants or learners offering, but of their lack of interest after entering a trade. At the same time some

employers urge Minimum Wage Boards to set long terms and low wages for beginners, apparently failing to comprehend that it is the discouraging prospect of such long low-paid learning periods in occupations which at best are seasonal that fail to attract entrants. Such industries are likely to draw mostly those who lack initiative to seek more promising prospects, or who take them up as a passing fancy or a makeshift till better things offer. Particularly is this true of millinery and dressmaking.

The basic principle of apprenticeship should be that long learning periods be permitted only in those occupations which ultimately promise the competent worker promotion and adequate wages. The establishment of technical schools and millinery, dressmaking, and commercial classes in our public and high schools serve to overcome some of the obstacles encountered by the wholly untrained worker. The children passing through these classes, even though not trained perhaps for some special occupation, should bring to the industrial life of the Province educated hands and minds and a general knowledge and facility that ought to raise the standard of competence.

Licences.

Since the inception of the Minimum Wage Orders a system of licencing inexperienced adult employees has been adopted. In all, 529 licences have been issued, of which number to date 500 have been cancelled. The mercantile industry has used 156 of these licences and 135 of them have been revoked. In the laundry industry 125 have been issued and 120 nullified. There have been issued in the office occupation 44 licences, 42 of which have been rescinded. In the telephone and telegraph occupation 302 licences have been issued annd the same number cancelled. The personal service occupation has required 1 licence, which has since been annulled. One licence has been issued in the manufacturing industry and is still in effect.

Licences are given for a specified time. Most of the cancellations have occurred owing to the expiration of

the licences. In some instances they have been cancelled, not by lapse of time, but because the holders have been raised to the minimum wage. Some employees leave positions before their licences run out, and the latter are thus automatically cancelled. Each licence is issued for a particular individual, permitting her employment by a specified firm. The licensee, therefore, may not use her unexpired licence under any other than the original employer designated. Should a licence-holder desire to work for the remainder of her period with another firm in the same industry or occupation, a new licence may be obtained for the residue of her learning term upon application to the Board. (Pages 1-2.)

(2) Peculiar Local Experience.

Canada. Department of Labour. Labour Gazette. June, 1921.

[Minimum Wage Act of British Columbia.]

The amendment to the Minimum Wage Act strengthens those clauses which protect apprentices and physical defectives from being employed at a lower wage than that fixed by the Board. Special licences may be issued by the Board in the case of women over 18 years of age who enter a trade or industry where apprentices are not usually employed, but who are not sufficiently experienced to qualify as experienced employees. The number of employees holding special licences who are permitted to be employed in any establishment is now placed at one-seventh of the whole instead of one-tenth as formerly, and the aggregate number of employees holding special licences and employees under eighteen years of age employed in any one establishment is limited to thirty-five per cent of the total number of employees.

Manitoba.

Province of Manitoba. Minimum Wage Board. The Minimum Wage for Women and Girls in Manitoba. October, 1920.

During the last Spring and early Summer of 1919, the figures agreed upon in May, 1918, as necessary for a living wage came up for revision, and the members of the Board were convinced that the minimums set for workers in laundries, food stuffs, soap, paper-box, drug and cigar factories, would have to be increased if the minimum wage was to be a living wage. Consequently, after being advertised, a public hearing was held, and it was agreed by representatives present that a minimum of eleven dollars should be established. (Page 4.)

Province of Manitoba. Minimum Wage Board. Annual Report. Manitoba Public Service Bulletin. March, 1920.

As had been anticipated, the minimum wage regulations are having a stimulating effect upon wages in general. The board feels now that practically all women in industry come under the scope of the Act—that the condition of the woman wage-earner in this province is second to none in the Dominion. (Page 13.)

Canadian Department of Labour. Labour Gazette. February, 1922.

Orders were issued by the Manitoba Minimum Wage Board standardizing the regulations previously made regarding rates of wages for female employees in various industries. (Page 197.)

Ontario.

(1) Minimum Wages Ordered. [Summarized.]

Orders for experienced female employees over 18 years. Effective between May 1, 1921, and October 16, 1922. Ranging according to the size of the locality.

Laundry Dry Cleaning, $12, $11.

Confectionery, Biscuit, Chocolate, Jam, Gum, Grocery Specialties, Crushed Fruit, Syrup, Pickles and all allied Industries; Paper Box, Corrugated Paper Box, Paper Bag, Manufacturing Stationery, Envelope, Tag and Cheque Book and allied Industries, $12.50, $11.50, $11, $10.

Retail Stores, $12.50, $12, $11, $10, $9, $8.

Telephone, $12.50, $12, $11, $10, $9, $8, $7.

Textile Factories, which includes all wearing, knitting, spinning and allied processes, $12.50, $11.50, $11, $10.

Needle Trades, which includes making of Garments, Tents, Awnings, Flags, and allied machine-sewing trades, $12.50, $11.50, $11, $10.

Canada. Department of Labour. Labour Gazette. September, 1922.

All these orders provide that any employee who has worked in the industry for a year or more before reaching the age of 18 years is entitled to the full minimum wage on attaining that age; or if she has worked for less than a year on attaining that age she becomes entitled to the minimum wage on completing a year of work in the industry. No employee of 18 years or over may be paid less than the rate fixed for inexperienced adults. The number of inexperienced adults or young girls employed in any establishment must not exceed one-third and the number of inexperienced adults and young girls together

must not exceed one-half of the total female working force, temporary employees whose term of employment is less than one month, not being included. The foregoing rule does not apply to plants employing four or less female workers. The rule governing piece-workers is that at least 80 per cent of these must receive wages comformable to the order. The piece-work rates may be averaged for any worker provided that the average is maintained at each payment. No deductions below the minimum wage line for absence may exceed the value of the time lost, reckoned in proportion to the normal working hours. An employee who is required to wait on the premises is entitled to be paid for time so spent. The usual penalties for violations of the orders are imposed under Section 22 of the Act, namely, a fine of not more than $500 or less than $50 for each employee affected, the employer being also required to pay to such employee the amount by which her wages fell short of the prescribed minimum. All establishments are required to keep copies of these orders posted in a conspicuous place.

(2) Peculiar Local Experience.

Province of Ontario. Minimum Wage Board. First Annual Report. 1921. March 13, 1922.

Ontario may fairly claim to be the leading industrial Province of Canada. No other Province musters so large an army of employees, nor has spread its industries over so wide an area. Not only are the larger cities filled with factories, but many of the small towns and even villages are also seats of industrial activity. Besides, there are over one hundred thousand retail stores in Ontario, of which a considerable number employ women.

The Board is fortunate in the nature of its task, which rests upon an economic and moral principle so simple and convincing that all admit its cogency. This principle is the right of the worker to live from her work.

It asserts the value and dignity of human life within the industrial sphere. It does not fix wages, but sets levels below which wages may not fall. (Page 5.)

The laundry industry was first studied, as from a survey published by the Bureau of Labour in 1920, low wages seemed customary in it. It is but fair to say that our investigations, made later, showed that some laundries were paying good wages. It is only within limits that comparisons of wages can be made between one trade and another. Wide variations are found in every trade.

The Board compiled a budget for a female laundry-worker in Toronto in the month of February, 1921. This was approved, with slight alterations, by the conference of representatives from the industry, and a minimum wage rate of $12.00 per week was formulated.

Several months later, when saleswomen in retail stores came under discussion, this budget was revised. In spite of a decrease in certain prices, the higher cost of living for a worker in this industry led to the total being raised to twelve dollars and fifty-six cents ($12.56) per week.

As prices vary, sometimes with considerable rapidity, and thus such budgets require revision, the Board decided that each of its orders, all of which are based upon the cost of living, should be annually revised. This ensures certainty and regularity of revision, whereas, were revisions to depend upon the request or complaint of either workers or employers, no such certainty or regularity would be attained. (Page 7.)

The next task of the Board was to gather wage sheets from the several laundries, dry-cleaning establishments and dye-works of the Province, in which undertaking the Laundrymen's Association and the laundrymen generally greatly assisted the Board. These wage statistics, as already indicated, when gathered, disclosed quite surprising variations. The prevailing notion that wages are standardized throughout given localities or trades is quite incorrect, in the women's employments. All the later wage investigations conducted by the Board have

revealed the same state of affairs. Indeed, similar investigations in all parts of the world have disclosed the same condition. The fact is that women's wages are without standards. The strange spectacle may be seen of two factories or stores which appear to a casual observer to be precisely alike, situate within a few blocks of each other, buying the same raw material in the same market, selling the same finished product in the same market, procuring their workers from the same labour market, using the same machinery and methods of doing business—yet one of these two twin-like establishments may be paying wages ten, or twenty, or thirty per cent higher than the other, and, very frequently, the establishment paying the higher wage is the more prosperous of the two. It is apparent, then, that the comparisons which are often made between wages in one city and another, or in one Province and another, have by no means the substantial foundations which are generally assumed to exist. And, moreover, the fixing of minimum wage rates can never mean universal and equal increase of wages throughout any trade or in any locality. As a matter of fact, they generally mean the raising of the standards of those establishments paying lower wages to a level already occupied by some of their competitors. One incidental consequence is that the better type of employer is secured against an unfair type of business competition. (Pages 7-8.)

The Board applied its first order to the city of Toronto. This was soon extended, with suitable modifications, to the cities having a population of more than fifty thousand. A third division was made of the remainder of the Province.

When other industries came under investigation, some of which are not so much confined to the cities and larger towns, it became apparent that the smaller towns and villages, as well as the country districts, required to be studied intimately.

In these latter places, most female workers live at home or with friends, and the contributions which they make in return for their support are not according to

any commercial standard. It was suggested to the Board that the wage rates in such places might disregard this element, on the ground that board and lodging often cost the worker nothing. With this position the Minimum Wage Board could not agree, feeling that any gift to a woman worker from her father or relative should be for herself and not to be handed on to her employer. A second suggestion, that only the additional cost of the food that she consumed should enter into the budget calculation was also rejected, on the ground that the principle of the living wage required that she should be an independent and self-supporting member of the household. (Page 8.)

While it is too soon to make a statement regarding the effect of the orders of the Board which shall have wide statistical value, it is yet possible to recite certain facts, which suggest the nature and scope of the improvement which is being accomplished. One employer, who has taken an active interest in the formulation of the orders applicable to his industry, writes: "I wish to express my gratification at the very painstaking way you have considered this question, and the very wholesome moderation with which you attack it."

Occasional evidence has reached the Board of decided increases following the issuing of an order. These increases tend to run throughout the entire wage schedule, disproving, as is constantly the case in Minimum Wage administration, the pessimistic forecast that the minimum may become the maximum. There is no evidence that an elevation of the lower rates in any establishment has the effect of depressing the higher wage rates. On the contrary, the tendency is that the lifting of the lower wages tends to lift also, though to a less extent, the higher wages.

The Board believes that the general welfare of the industries dealt with is promoted by its action. The conferences which call together representatives from different plants serve the purpose of focusing attention upon the things in any industry which are of common interest to both employers and employees, and thus the

spirit of harmony is developed. Again, the meeting together of several employers to discuss wage conditions in their common industry is of great value. This is a topic which is seldom discussed in employers' associations. Many employers hold the belief that the same rate of wages prevails in all the plants throughout their industry. The discovery that wages vary widely and that the more successful businesses are often those paying the higher wages, has the effect of turning their attention toward other methods of lessening cost production, than by beating down wages. This discovery may be, for an employer of little experience and low efficiency, the beginning of a better type of business operation. The testimony of Minimum Wage Boards in all parts of the world is to this effect.

The period during which the Board has been active has been one of business depression, when wage reductions were everywhere taking place. The effect of its orders has sometimes been, not so much to increase wages as to prevent their falling to unwholesome levels. (Pages 12-13.)

Permits.

The Board has issued ten permits to handicapped workers to the end of the statistical year. Three of these were on account of physical handicaps, two because of advanced age, three because of mental incapacity, and two to juveniles who had begun to work at fourteen years of age, and who are still plainly incapable of earning the standard experienced adult minimum wage.

Enforcement.

As has already been intimated, the period of inspection and enforcement is just beginning. (Page 14.)

The comparatively few complaints which have reached the Board have been taken up directly with the employers concerned and in each case have resulted in the difficulty being overcome. So far, the Board has not met any employer who has adopted an antagonistic or contumacious attitude.

Co-ordination.

As each Province is in competition with all the other Provinces the comparative cost of manufacturing is important. In the cost of manufacturing the item of wages is always a real consideration. No reliable statistics exist which show the difference in wages between one Province and another. It is desirable that the prevailing suspicions and rumours which make the several Provinces look jealously at one another, should either be vindicated or destroyed by a calm examination of the actual facts. It is also desirable that no Province of Canada should cherish the doubtful advantage in competition of keeping her workers below decent living conditions. Such a condition in any Province would inevitably react upon all the provinces. On the other hand, any Province accused of such a policy deserves a chance to defend or justify herself. Moreover, all Minimum Wage Boards know that great variations in wages exist within each Province, so that one does not need to travel away from home to find high and low wages competing with each other. Your Board feels that only good could result from a frank and sympathetic conference of Minimum Wage Boards from all over Canada. To this end it plans to continue its attempts toward possible co-ordination. (Pages 15-16.)

Quebec.

Canada. Department of Labour. Labour Gazette. February, 1922.

A programme of labour legislation on the lines of the resolutions passed by the Trades and Labour Congress of Canada at its convention held at Winnipeg last August, was submitted by the Quebec Provincial Executive of the Congress on January 27, to the Premier and Executive Council of the Province of Quebec, with the request that measures in accordance with these resolutions be passed at the present session of the Legislature. The reforms suggested were as follows: . . . (f) Minimum wages for women. The delegation complained that the act passed in 1919, authorizing the Lieutenant Governor to appoint a minimum wage commission of three members had so far remained a dead letter, and expressed the hope that a commission would shortly be named. Amendments to the act were suggested making compulsory the nomination of the commission; increasing the number of commissioners from three to five, of whom one should be a woman; and making allowance to cover the necessary expenses of the members in attending the meeting of the commission. (Pages 115-116.)

Saskatchewan.

Province of Saskatchewan. Bureau of Labour. Ninth Annual Report. For the Year Ended April 30, 1920.

Minimum Wage.

Since the last annual report the administration of *The Minimum Wage Act* has been added to the duties of the Bureau. This Act came into force on May 1, 1919. (Page 17.)

The investigations of the board seemed to prove very conclusively that a girl dependent on her own earnings required $15.00 a week to live in reasonable comfort in Saskatchewan cities at that time. (Page 17.)

Orders were issued as follows:

Shops.—48 hours per week with following wage schedule: $9.50 for first six months as learners. $11.00 for second six months as learners. $13.00 for third six months as learners. $15.00 minimum wage for experienced workers.

Mail Order Houses.—48 hours per week with following wage schedule: $8.00 for first six months as learners. $10.00 for second six months as learners. $12.00 for third six months as learners. $14.00 minimum wage for experienced workers.

Factories and Laundries.—9-hour day, 50-hour week, with following wage schedule: $9.50 for first six months as learners. $11.00 for second six months as learners. $12.50 for third six months as learners. $14.00 minimum wage for experienced workers.

The Minimum Wage Act was amended at the 1919-20 session of the legislature, extending its operations to hotels, restaurants and refreshment rooms, and on February 13 the board met and drafted orders governing the employment of female workers in these establishments as follows:

Hotels, Restaurants, Refreshment Rooms.—48 hours per week with following wage schedule: $12.00 per week

for the first three months as learners. $14.00 a week minimum wage for experienced workers.

"No female under sixteen years of age shall be employed, nor shall a female under eighteen years of age work after eight p. m. in any hotel, restaurant or refreshment room.

"Where meals are furnished by an employer to an employee as part payment of the wages of said employee, not more than $5.25 a week may be deducted from the weekly wage of said employee for a full week's board of twenty-one meals; a fraction of a week's board may be computed upon a proportional basis.

"Where lodging is furnished by an employer to an employee as part payment of the wages of said employee, not more than $2.50 a week may be deducted from the weekly wage of said employee for a full week's lodging of seven days.

"Where aprons or caps are required by an employer in a hotel, restaurant or refreshment room they shall be furnished, laundered and repaired by the employer without cost to the employee." (Pages 17-18.)

Province of Saskatchewan. Bureau of Labour and Industries. First Annual Report. For the Year Ended April 30, 1921.

Minimum Wage Board.

On May 19 and 20 the board held open sessions in the city of Saskatoon and Regina for the purpose of hearing evidence from employers and employees in the millinery and dressmaking industry and in hotels, restaurants and refreshment rooms. (Page 26.)

The open session in Regina on May 20 was followed by a meeting in camera for the purpose of amending the regulations covering the above establishments. The work was not completed that day and the board adjourned to meet again on May 31. During the interval further investigation was made and when the board met on May 31 the regulations were amended allowing a longer period of apprenticeship and a lower rate of wage

for apprentices in the dressmaking and millinery industries. The rate of wages was not altered for hotels, restaurants and refreshment rooms, but a clause was inserted in the regulations permitting establishments which operate seven days a week to employ females for fifty-six hours a week, all time worked in excess of forty-eight hours to be regarded as overtime, all overtime to be paid at a minimum rate of not less than the ordinary or minimum rate plus fifty per cent. (Page 26.).

From the following statistical report it will be noted that the total number of employees directly affected by the minimum wage regulations is 2,184. Of this number 892 are employed in shops and stores; 304 in factories and laundries; 348 in mail order houses, and 630 in hotels, restaurants and refreshment rooms.

Shops and Stores—This classification includes dressmaking, millinery and tailoring shops, which, strictly speaking, are factories when three or more persons are employed, but appear here to conform with Order No. 1 of the board. The number of women employed in these establishments embraces cloakroom attendants, elevator girls, cashiers and saleswomen. In all there were 892 women, 212 of whom were inexperienced, 429 received more than $15.00 per week; 227 received $15.00 per week, and 194 received less than $15.00 per week for full time, while 42 were working part time or on piece work. The part time workers served in the afternoons only at refreshment counters, millinery shops and in variety stores. The piece workers were the hem-stitchers in the sewing shops and experienced tailoresses.

Overtime permits covering 361 days were issued to 25 shops and stores during the year. These were issued to meet the exigencies of the millinery and tailoring trades, the rush of Christmas business and to allow for stock-taking in stores. In some establishments it is not customary to pay for overtime. In others the women receive from time and a quarter to time and a half, while in other places the staff is compensated by bonuses or Christmas presents.

Special licenses were issued to 11 employees. Eight of these were millinery apprentices, three dressmaking apprentices. (Pages 26-27.)

Laundries and Factories.—Besides laundries this classification includes dry cleaning, job printing, milling and meat packing plants, knitting and chemical factories and photographers' studios, where three or more persons are employed. There are 304 women employed in these establishments, 80 being rated as inexperienced. Of the total female employees 131 received more than $14.00 per week; 64 received $14.00 per week, and 82 received less than $14.00 per week for full time, while 27 worked part time or on piece work. The part time and piece work employees were found in the milling and meat packing plants, which, because of business depression, were only running part time with very much reduced staffs. The women were paid at an hourly rate of from 29c to 50c per hour.

Hotels, Restaurants and Refreshment Rooms.—In the survey of the above establishments all the women who work in them were included, that is housekeepers, chambermaids, headwaitresses, waitresses, kitchen help, laundry maids, clerks, telephone operators and cigar stand attendants. In all they totalled 640 persons, 36 of whom were considered inexperienced. Of the total number employed, 266 received more than the minimum; 126 received the minimum, and 235 received less than the minimum for full time, while 13 were part time workers. It will be noticed that a very small proportion of the employees were considered inexperienced and most of these were working in refreshment rooms. Employers in restaurants and hotels do not classify their workers as experienced or inexperienced. Each employee is given a trial, and if she does not measure up to requirements, is dismissed. Employees begin in smaller cafes and hotels where less skill is required, and as they become more efficient aspire to work in better class establishments. Therefore, inexperienced rates are not necessary to this class of work.

In hotels and restaurants which are open to the public seven days a week difficulty has arisen in determining exactly how many hours the employees work. The large number of employees reported as receiving less than the minimum for full time are included in this class; they work more than 48 hours a week, but, owing to the fact that the employers have been unaccustomed to keeping a register of the hours worked, it has been impossible to determine just how many hours have been worked, and when they receive less than the minimum rate for 56 hours they are reported as below the minimum. By insisting that employers keep a register in conformance with the regulation of the board, it is hoped to overcome this difficulty.

Mail Order Houses.—There are only two mail order houses in the province, the employees of which come under the regulations of the Minimum Wage Board, and both are in Regina. There are 348 female employees in these establishments, and of these 135 were inexperienced and received less than $14.00 per week. (Pages 27-28.)

Province of Saskatchewan. Bureau of Labour and Industries. Minimum Wage Board Order 4. Hotels, Restaurants, Refreshment Rooms. 1922.

Effective June 30, 1922. Minimum Wage per week for females with 18 months' experience.

	Six-Day Week.	Seven-Day Week.
Kitchen Employees	$12.00	$14.50
All Others	14.00	16.50

Deductions from wages permitted for lodging $2.50, for board (21 meals) $5.25, and in proportion for fewer meals.]

2. Industrial Efficiency of Both Employers and Employees Stimulated.

Evidence accumulates that the necessity of paying higher wages stimulates the employers to better management and organization, more emphasis on personnel work, the training of employees and the consequent cutting down of the labor turnover. A striking statement of the value of a living wage in increasing efficiency of the workers is made by a manager of a five and ten cent store. In the past such stores paid notoriously low wages.

The British experience shows the excellent effect of a law well enforced throughout a number of years.

District of Columbia.

Minimum Wage Laws are Good Business. Extracts from Letters by Employers Operating under a Legal Minimum Wage. National Consumers' League. New York. October, 1920.

H. D. Ormsby, S. S. Kresge Company, Store No. 54 (5 and 10 cent store) Washington, D. C. October 6, 1920.

"I believe in the minimum wage in the District. We are getting a higher standard of efficiency as a whole, however with the minimum wage has come the necessity of educational work on salesmanship. I believe the minimum wage has brought employers and employees closer together and has taught the employer to build for a higher standard of service and has also taught employees that greater efficiency must come with higher salaries. I believe as a whole the minimum wage is a step toward higher better morals which is so greatly needed today in all walks of life."

The Minimum Wage. IDA M. THRASHER, *of Lansburgh & Bro., Washington, D. C. Prince Alumnae News. The Prince School of Education for Store Service. February, 1920.*

In the Spring of 1919, Congress passed a law making a minimum wage for the District of Columbia to take effect sixty days after the settlement of a wage scale. This went into effect October 28, 1919.

This scale set a minimum wage of $16.50 for all women over eighteen years of age who had had at least seven months' experience in the mercantile world. According to that law, the beginner was to receive a salary of $12.50 for the first three months of her probation period, and $14.50 for the next four.

Perhaps it is too early in the game to form any conclusion worthy of consideration, as the law has been in effect for a period of only a little over three months. Whether it is a good law or a bad law, time alone can prove, but at present the results strike me as being almost wholly on the side of the good. As one of the workers in the firm of Lansburgh & Bro., I shall, of course, speak largely of the effects of the law as they seem to be working out in our own store.

The most interesting and far reaching results of the passing of the Minimum Wage Law seem to be that of a general increased efficiency, and a decreased labor turn over. During the weeks previous to the passing of the law, there had to be a gradual process of weeding out of those who were failing to earn what the store was at that time paying them, and who gave little or no promise of measuring up to a higher standard; it simply meant the survival of the fittest and every girl was conscious of that fact. That knowledge resulted in a spirit of increased earnestness throughout the entire store, a spirit which I believe is with us still and will remain. If the girls had it in them, they did measure up, and considering the number on our pay roll, a surprisingly small proportion were among those found wanting and consequently dropped.

There can be little doubt but what the Minimum Wage Law has had a wholesome effect upon more than the salespeople. Applicants for positions are not taken into the organization unless they are promising from the start; they are carefully watched during the early part of their term of employment, and dropped if they fail to give good returns for the salary paid. Those who come to us as beginners have every opportunity of knowing what is expected of them, as classes in salesmanship are being formed of all who are serving the probation period. If they do not make good, it will be either their own fault or misfortune, not because the store is failing in its efforts to help. The girls realize that the store is in a position to demand adequate returns and that if they do not give those returns, they will be asked to join the unfortunate number whom no store can afford to keep in its employ, because of their physical or mental unfitness for the job. (Page 9.)

That the law has worked a hardship on some least able to bear it, cannot for one minute be denied. There are some whom no firm can afford to pay what the law demands, who are capable of barely earning a lesser wage but no more. The Minimum Wage Board has the power to issue permits to cover just such cases, but it is not their policy to issue many; the reason for such an attitude needs no explanation. Any good law may be detrimental to a small number, but that this law is working out for the best good of the greater number, I have no doubt. (Page 10.)

No store can render effective service, and at the same time have a high percentage of labor turnover. One of the best results of the new law from my standpoint, is the decided decrease in the number of people who are leaving us. The girls are earning a living wage, working under happy conditions, and in a store where recognition is made of genuine worth. (Page 10.)

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Bulletin No. 3. Wages of Women in Hotels and Restaurants in the District of Columbia. October 10, 1919.

The irregularity of employment in the hotel and restaurant business was made apparent in this investigation both by the testimony of individual employers and by the payroll figures. In many of the smaller restaurants the employers stated that they never bothered to learn the names of their dishwashers because they changed so frequently. The payrolls of several of the large hotels serve to indicate the extent of turnover. Of the 153 women on the payrolls of three hotels, 68, or 44.4 per cent. worked less than a full month. Of the 127 women on the payrolls of two other hotels, 49, or 38.6 per cent. worked less than a full half-month. This second percentage really represents a higher turnover than the first, since it shows the amount of irregularity of attendance for a period of half the length.

The loss to both employers and employees resulting from such irregularity of employment is a matter for serious consideration. (Pages 4-5.)

California.

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. Second Biennial Report. 1915-1916.

From the business point of view labor cost and not the rate of wages is the most important item to be considered in the matter of the payment of labor. This is particularly the case in the laundry industry where labor is the heaviest item of cost. Power laundries are classed as manufacturing establishments, but they differ from ordinary manufacturing establishments in that they do not convert raw material into finished products, consequently labor is a much larger item than in the ordinary factory. (Page 220.)

The following comparison of labor cost with the average weekly earnings of men and women by cities demon-

strates that the higher wages are accompanied by higher labor cost, but not nearly in proportion:

Table XII. Value of Work Done in Selected Establishments, Percentage of Total Number of Employees represented by Reporting Establishments, with Average Weekly Earnings of Men and Women, and Productive Labor Cost.*

City	Number of Establishments Reporting	Per cent. of Total Number of Laundry Workers in Each City	Value of Work Done	Women's Average Weekly Earnings	Men's Average Weekly Earnings	Productive Labor Cost (Per cent)
San Francisco	12	56.4	$124,312.01	$9.89	$16.36	37.99
Los Angeles	12	70.2	145,814.81	7.78	12.65	33.55
Oakland	8	60.9	51,695.73	8.38	15.75	35.30
Fresno, Stockton and San Jose	9	68.5	28,049.00	8.94	18.20	38.95
Pasadena	2	57.6	17,794.51	8.47	12.68	31.15
Colton, Riverside and San Bernardino	4	86.3	12,362.77	7.05	15.00	29.02

*(Cut down and combined with Table XIII)

(Pages 220-221.)

California. Industrial Welfare Comission. Third Biennial Report. 1917-1918.

Summing up the accomplishments of the mercantile order, the effects were found to be:

1. That no establishment was forced out of existence by the order. (Page 48.)

A summary of the effects of the order of the Industrial Welfare Commission in the laundry industry leads to the same conclusions as in the mercantile industry:

1. No establishment was forced out of existence by the order. (Page 87.)

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. Report of the Regulation of Wages, Hours and Working Conditions of Women and Minors in the Fruit and Vegetable Canning Industry of California. May, 1917.

On the morning of January 17th the Wage Board continued further the discussion of rates. Much interesting information was developed by both sides, the employees especially bringing out clearly the loss to the worker because of inadequate instruction as to the best and quickest way of cutting and canning fruit. Also the loss to them caused by waste of time, inefficient management, and by requiring them in some canneries to carry fruit and waste and trays on their own time, thus reducing their piecework earnings materially. Many instances were cited of the handicaps to the workers in arriving at their highest productivity. This seemed of great interest to the employers.

On January 18th at two o'clock p. m., the Wage Board proceeded to its final discussion of minimum rates. The canners' representatives said that they believed their recommendations, with the improved working conditions that the commission would introduce, would yield a good wage. (Page 43.)

It was further stated by the canners' representatives that they believed great concessions had been made in raising all their fruit rates and they were confident that with the improved management, eliminating lost time, and the standardization of the sizes of boxes of fruit and vegetables to be cut, due to setting the cutting rate on a hundred-pound basis, that the women would average a much higher hourly production than in the past. (Page 44.)

The rulings of the commission went into effect April 14, 1916. Practically the entire season pack of 1916 was thus controlled by the regulations. The effects of the orders are given in detail in the following report.

Minimum time rates were fixed for women and the same rate was fixed for minors. The rate for inexpe-

rienced workers was 13 cents per hour and the period allowed for gaining experience three weeks, after which the worker received not less than 16 cents per hour. The general rate paid previously for ordinary "day work" had been 10, 12½ or 15 cents per hour. Most of the smaller children had been employed at 10 cents an hour or even less. With this low pay went a large waste of time. The employment of many children makes efficient factory organization impossible. The result of these rulings on time rates was that the wages of the women and children were raised and the number of small children very much reduced. (Page 65.)

In 1914 the commission made a careful survey of the question of children in the industry. In the 41 plants covered in that investigation 2,344 children were working. In the same 41 canneries in 1916 only 1,092 children were working, showing a reduction of 53 per cent. in two years. (Page 67.)

Massachusetts.

The Dennison Minimum Wage Plan. The Survey. December 4, 1920.

The Dennison Manufacturing Company of Framingham, Mass., has elaborated an interesting minimum wage plan in its box factory. A standard of performance is set and girls who fail to meet this test are given more training or are transferred to other work. T. G. Portmore, manager of the works, sums up the experience of the company, as follows:

At the end of each month a carefully tabulated statement is made by the accounting department of all girls who have failed to reach the minimum requirements during the month preceding. This list is sent to the employment manager who then discusses personally with the division superintendent in charge of the various girls the case of each of them, and endeavors to find out why each one was not able to earn the minimum amount.

If it is decided that the reason is lack of training the

girl will immediately be transferred into the training department to receive more experience in the work. As yet no transfers of this sort have been made. If it is found that she is not adapted to the work she will then be transferred to another department in the factory where the particular skill such as is needed in box making is not required.

In the case of the girl who is thought to be capable of earning the requirement, but who is simply not working to her full capacity, the division superintendent takes the matter up directly with her, and warns her of her failing, talking over with her the reasons why she has not earned her minimum. So far most cases have been these cases where warning was given.

We employ in box making 568 women, and the results we have obtained during the three months of the operation of this plan with them are these: During the month of July in which our box division worked but two weeks there were seventeen girls who fell below the minimum requirements, and the total deficiency was in excess of $40. During the month of August the number of delinquent girls had been reduced to ten, although the total amount of deficiency was $43. In the month of September the number had been further reduced to five, and the total amount of deficiency was only $6.

We have been obliged to discharge no girl as yet on account of her inability to make the requirements, although in one or two cases the girls failed to return to work when they had been told about the possibility of future discharge if they did not show improvement.

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. Report for the year ending November 30, 1920.

An interesting development in connection with the inspection work is the indication that the adoption of minimum rates tends to promote industrial efficiency. In 71 of the cases coming up for adjustment girls who were not considered worth the minimum were changed from

time work to piece work at the regular piece rate of the factory, and in each case were able to earn the minimum or over. In this connection the method employed by a large manufacturer in meeting the requirements of the decree is significant. Each of the foremen in the factory was held responsible for seeing that the girls under his supervision earned the minimum. This was accomplished by ascertaining that the employees were properly instructed about their work, and by adjusting them to the tasks for which they were best suited. When a girl fell below the minimum the foreman looked into the matter to see whether she needed more training, or whether she was on the right kind of work. She was then given further instruction or transferred to another process, as the situation warranted. As a result of this method the firm reported that not only were they able to meet the decree without discharging a single employee, but the efficiency of their workers had been increased and production stimulated. (Page 20.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 14. Wages of Women in Muslin Underwear, Petticoat, Apron, Kimono, Women's Neckwear and Children's Clothing Factories in Massachusetts. May, 1917.

Out of the total number of women employed for four weeks or more, only 6 per cent. worked a full year, although 27.2 per cent. worked forty-eight weeks or more. About half (54.1 per cent.) had employment for six months. That in general there is a relation between low wages and irregularity of employment in these industries is shown by the fact that the two most poorly paid branches of the women's clothing trade, namely, the neckwear and children's dress industries, were those in which the fluctuation of employment was greatest, while it was least marked in the petticoat industry, which paid the highest wages of any of the garment trades. (Page 25.)

Washington.

Washington. Bureau of Labor, Statistics and Factory Inspection. Tenth Biennial Report. 1915-1916.

Employers' Comments.

Mr. A, a proprietor of a ten-cent store, said he never realized that it was profitable to keep efficient help as since he was paying his girls $10.00 per week it was not necessary to keep close tab on their departments at all nor straighten the counters after hours, all of which gave him more time for constructive work in the store.

Mr. B, proprietor of a 5-10-15 cent store, who has only two apprentices and one minor on his payroll of forty-five people, said: "If the minimum wage is ever repealed I will never go back to cheap help, for I find it was a big loss to our business, as we haven't changed girls under the minimum wage for two years, while before we had from two to five changes every week."

Mr. C said: "You don't hear us complain; we like it, as it has made the girls more efficient, as they realize they have to make good and earn the wage or they'll be discharged. It serves as an incentive better than anything we could have planned." (Page 273.)

I, head of an underwear department, Spokane, said: "The minimum wage has surely been a benefit in this department, as the girls under me have become 50 per cent. more efficient since they receive more pay and the apprentices have all made good." (Page 272.)

Hon. Edward W. Olson, *former chairman, Washington Industrial Welfare Commission. Tenth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor, Statistics and Factory Inspection. 1915-1916.*

The important branch of the minimum wage legislation is that of apprenticeships. Upon this rests the efficacy of the entire scheme. Unless apprenticeships are properly limited, the structure falls of its own weight.

Unless the question is controlled by the state, the law is practically unenforceable. (Page 268.)

A system of licensing workers is in effect. Each applicant must furnish evidence to the Commission of her former experience before a license is issued. When the license is granted, the apprentice's name is registered for future reference. The license is operative in a particular establishment only, so the Commission knows how many licenses are in effect in all the state's establishments.

Frequently the Commission makes a special investigation before a license is issued. The terms of apprenticeship vary from thirty days to one and one-half years, according to the skill demanded. When the apprenticeship time exceeds three months, it is divided into two or more periods with wage advances each period till the minimum is reached. This is an incentive to the learner. Under the old system thousands of girls were made to feel they were misfits because they worked several years at wages of $5 or $6 before getting any increase. They lost interest. Their ambition was dwarfed. Soon they relegated themselves to the sub-average class. This is an impossibility under the present system.

As evidence of the efficiency of the apprentice-license system is the following table of the number of workers and apprentices in the various industries of the state. The figures cover employment in April, 1916, nearly two years after the first minimum wage became effective. (Page 269.)

Mercantile Establishments.

Total number of women employed	8,500
Total number of licensed apprentices	609

Includes salesladies, milliners, dressmakers, 58 of which are receiving $9 per week; 36, $8 per week; 283, $7.50 per week; 113, $6 per week or over; 119, $6 per week or less, most of the latter being millinery apprentices.

Factories.

Total number females employed.....5,300
Total number of licensed apprentices..... 559

Of these apprentices 225 are receiving $7.50 per week or over; 284, $6 per week or over; and 50, less than $6 per week.

Laundries.

Total number of females employed.....2,800
Total number of licensed apprentices..... 54

Of this number 17 are receiving $7.50 per week or over; and 37, $6 per week or over.

Telephone Exchanges.

Total number of females employed.....3,200
Total number of licensed apprentices..... 479

Receiving from $6 to $8 per week.

Office Occupations.

Number of females employed.....7,250
Number of licensed apprentices..... 6

No apprenticeships exist in either hotel or restaurant occupations. (Pages 269-270.)

In General.

Minimum Wage Laws are Good Business. Extracts from Letters by Employers Operating under a Legal Minimum Wage. National Consumers' League. New York. October, 1920.

Efficiency of the Workers Increased.

James McCormack, Pres., McCormack Bros., (retail dry goods) Tacoma, Wash. Dec. 30, 1919.

"I am a strong advocate of a state law fixing a minimum wage for women. From personal knowledge, I am

convinced that it has been a benefit to the women wage earners of the state of Washington, as well as to the employer. I am opposed to a wage that eliminates initiative and individual effort. I am strongly in favor of a wage sufficient to cover the necessaries of life, and let the worker compete for the wage that furnishes the luxuries. I find by that method we get greater efficiency."

Thomas Roberts, Roberts Bros., (dry goods, shoes and men's furnishings) Portland, Ore. Jan. 6, 1920.

"It has attracted a higher grade of help to the stores, and also while the wages are more, the efficiency is also more."

Elizabeth C. Quinlan, The Young-Quinlan Co., (high grade attire for gentlewomen) Minneapolis, Minn. Feb. 13, 1920.

"They" [minimum wage regulations] "have increased the efficiency of employees and have resulted in girls who hitherto worked for a small wage, at work for which they were not fitted, finding suitable employment where they could earn a minimum wage. Anything which drives home the fact that a business is most prosperous when all its employees are prosperous and free from worry cannot help but be a great influence for good in the community."

Great Britain.

Great Britain. Report to the Minister of Labour of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Working and Effects of the Trade Boards Acts. London. April, 1922.

45. Nor must it be overlooked that in some instances the enforcement of higher rates of wages has acted as a stimulus to improvement in working methods; and our attention has been drawn to cases in which improvements in machinery and organisation so brought about have increased production and thus have enabled the earnings of piece-workers to reach the statutory basis without any increase in the actual piece-rates paid. (Page 23.)

Great Britain. Committee of Enquiry into the Working and Effects of the Trade Boards Acts. 1922. Documents Annexed to the Evidence submitted by Mr. HUMBERT WOLFE, *C.B.E. Annex V. Effect of Trade Board Legislation on Industrial Efficiency. October 14, 1921.*

Important evidence on the effect of Trade Board rates in increasing efficiency in equipment, organisation, and methods of supervision has been obtained in the course of inspection, and the good effects in these respects have been admitted by employers. Some of these have, under the pressure of circumstances, so reorganized their methods as to pass from a position in which they had accumulated arrears of wages amounting to hundreds of pounds to one in which they were fully capable of keeping their trade, while paying Trade Board rates.

The following notes give summaries of a few cases in the Corset, Shirtmaking and Laundry Trades. Examples from other trades could also be given.

1. *Corset Trade.—Machinery and Equipment.*—The inspector found four groups of piece-workers underpaid to the following extent:—9¾ per cent., 10¾ per cent., and 26½ per cent. (two groups). He found that the

power provided was insufficient properly to drive the cutting machines and the stitching machines. The machines' speeds were very poor and had a big effect in causing the low earnings of the general machinists. The position was explained to the employer. At a later visit it was found that the firm had had the engine and the machines overhauled by competent engineers and the improvements were reflected in the improved earnings of the machinists.

2. *Corset Trade.—Organisation, Supervision and Equipment.*—The failure to pay the Trade Board rates was traced in this case to a variety of causes. The equipment was fairly good, but the machines were of varying values owing to different drives. This was reflected in the workers' earnings and output. The organisation was found to be bad. The machinists had to do their own fetching and carrying, as well as other operations, which the Inspector considered should have been done by juveniles. The stitchers had to keep the machines idle 10 per cent. of the working day while they did boning. As regards supervision, the Inspector reported that the factory had apparently been run in a slipshod manner and that this was largely responsible for the low earnings. Later the firm undertook to make good the deficiencies, including the lack in supervision and general management.

3. *Shirtmaking.—Equipment and Organisation.*—The Inspector reported that in this case both equipment and organisation were bad. Breakdowns were frequent owing to the poor quality of the gas used for the gas engine. Even when there were not stoppages there was often a slowing down of the engine, which materially affected machine speeds. He considered that the machines ought to be run at a speed 20 per cent. higher than they were when he made tests. Workers were frequently kept waiting for work, and the machinists had to do their own fetching and carrying, which ought to have been performed for them. Later the firm admitted that

they had relied on their apparently more than adequate piece prices to fulfil the Trade Board requirements, and that they had not realised the importance of the conditions referred to.

4. *Shirtmaking. — Equipment, Organisation and Supervision.*—In this case the Inspector reported that the inability to pay the Trade Board rates was due to faults in respect of equipment, organisation and supervision. The machines were reported to be very poor and worn. During one visit of the Inspector he reported breakdowns in three different machines during the short time he was in the factory. These the workers themselves had to repair, the lost time varying from 8 to 15 minutes. Work was found to be given out oddly and irregularly; the workers came and went at their own times and no time records were kept. There was a big variation in work, which was done in short runs. An improvement which had taken place between two visits of the Inspector was attributed in part to the appointment of a foreman in place of a forewoman; the foreman stayed behind, when necessary, in order to tune up the machines. The employer admitted that the very low earning power had been due to the working conditions.

5. *Shirtmaking.—Organisation.*—In this case piece prices paid appeared to be fairly high. The employer showed from an adverse audit report that the firm could not, without grave risk, again raise their piece prices. On examination, the Inspector found that the low yield of the piece-rates was due to a very poor system of manufacture. He pointed out to the employer that he should be able to keep the machines working full time and to increase daily output from 20 to 30 per cent. if he made the following changes:—(1) slight readjustment in supplying work; (2) the creation of a full-time and properly balanced creasing team, using the slowest stitchers for this purpose, first on time-rates and afterwards on piece-rates; and (3) readjusting the stitching rates to allow for the taking away of the creasing.

6. *Laundry.—Organisation.*—The inspection in this case was made at the instance of the firm itself. The management felt that although apparently high piece-rates were being paid, the earnings of the workers on these piece-rates might not be sufficient to satisfy the Trade Board requirements. The firm desired, therefore to have the matter cleared up by the Inspector. The Inspector found that the earnings of the piece-workers were inadequate, requiring to be increased by about 25 per cent. He found the piece prices, however, the same as had in other circumstances yielded higher earnings and, on examination, reported that the low earnings were due to the following causes:—(1) waiting for work, especially on Fridays; (2) time lost by workers (ironers) in fetching and carrying their own work; (3) faulty preparation of work, i. e., either too wet or too dry; (4) workers (ironers) doing their own goffering; (5) workers folding and pinning shirts after ironing them. The Inspector made suggestions remedying each of these deficiencies.

As illustrative of the manner in which Trade Board inspection work may lead to greater efficiency and at the same time bring to light facts as to uneconomic employment of juvenile labour, the following remarks from the report of a special inquiry into the wages paid on the carding of safety pins (Pin, Hook and Eye Trade) may be noted:—"Most home workers were found to card by the quickest method, i. e. opening pin, inserting pin in card, and closing pin in one operation; other workers taking much longer to get through the work were found to card by first opening all pins, next inserting all pins and lastly closing all pins (such workers usually had the help of children, who generally opened all the pins ready for the mother to insert them in the cards, afterwards helping in the closing)." (Pages 108-109.)

Statement of Mr. W. E. Counsell (Officer Appointed Under the Trade Boards Acts in charge of Special Inquiries Section. February 15, 1922.

Effect of Trade Board Legislation on Industrial Efficiency.

Many employers frankly welcome the fixing and enforcing of minimum rates because they provide a basis for equitable competition by materially reducing, if not eliminating, that element of the trade which previously "cut" market prices by "trimming" the wages of its workers.

That the enforcement of these minimum rates has resulted in most employers acquiring a greater knowledge of the details of their businesses is beyond question, and may properly be attributed to one or more of the following factors:—

(*a*) Realisation of the possibilities of increasing industrial efficiency by improved methods of working, thus maintaining rates of wages while reducing costs of production.

(*b*) Sympathy with the Acts and anxiety to carry out their provisions.

(*c*) Knowledge that non-compliance might incur liability for proceedings.

While it is true to say that each advance in the minimum rates causes a large number of employers to look around with a view to improving the organisation and equipment of their establishments, it is equally true that it has been a constant source of surprise to officers in the past to find how high a proportion of businesses are run on a "rule of thumb" principle. It is in respect of this class of case that the greatest difficulty is experienced in enforcing the rates laid down. If, for example, inspection in such an establishment discloses piece rates yielding, say, 20 per cent. below the minimum, the employer when informed of the deficiency would probably declare

(*a*) that his rates were as high or higher than those paid by his competitors on the class of

work in question, and that the low output of his workers was due entirely to slacking on their part, and

(*b*) that to be compelled to increase his rates would result in closing down his business.

In such a case it would be the duty of the officer to explain—

(*a*) that piece rates must be valued according to the conditions existing in each establishment, and

(*b*) that it is not always necessary to increase rates in order to increase their value, *i. e.*, that workers' earnings depend almost as much on factory organisation and equipment as upon the rates themselves.

It not infrequently happens, however, in cases where the employer appears to lack the initiative or ability to determine for himself the defects in his factory organisation that it is possible for the officer to do this for him. In one case of this kind the officer found the rates in different departments were inadequate by from 9 per cent. to 26 per cent. The firm declared its inability to increase its piece rates and blamed the workers for slacking. Investigation into the cause of the low earnings showed that—

(*a*) the factory engine was overloaded and consequently working badly and driving the machinery irregularly and at low speed;

(*b*) apart from (*a*) the machines, in many instances, were found to be in bad condition, *i. e.*, belts on wrong pulleys and slack, etc.

After the inspection the firm called in competent engineers who remedied the defects complained of, with the result that in a few weeks' time the output of the respective departments had been increased to a point which enabled the workers to earn the minimum without practically any increase in rates taking place. The firm's

directors personally thanked the officer for putting the factory on a more economical basis than was previously the case, and paid without protest the large arrears due to the workers as a result of the previous mismanagement.

Another type of case is that of a firm asking for inspection in order to have its organisation tested. In one case of this type suggestions, other than mechanical, were made which materially increased the factory output, with the result that piece-rates which at first appeared grossly inadequate proved adequate to yield the basis rate.

Some of the effects of Trade Boards legislation on industrial efficiency may be summarised as follows:—

1. *Hours.*

   The provision that all time spent by a worker at an employer's premises for purpose of employment shall be paid for, whether the worker is actually working or not, has resulted in a more economical method of working through the elimination of waiting and other forms of non-productive time.

2. *Departmental organisation.*

   The above provision has also resulted in improved organisation between department and department and has generally tended to speedier methods of manufacture, usually on sub-divisional lines. The obligation on employers to keep proper wages and time records and to fix their piece-rates on a definite and known basis has led many firms to make effective use of these figures in another direction, *i. e.*, to use wages analyses as a measure of output variation either among individuals or groups of workers.

3. *Training of learners.*

   The fact that many Trade Boards have provided in their determinations for the proper train-

ing of juveniles, together with the fixing of wages on a basis of age and experience, has undoubtedly resulted in a more careful and intensified method of training these workers than hitherto existed. When discussing the question of learners with employers it is common to be told "I have had to put the girls on more important work because they will be entitled to more money next month and I want them to be worth it." If it had not been for some such provision as the one in question it is possible that many of these workers might have been kept for years on some "blind alley" occupation.

4. *Equipment.*

There has undoubtedly been a big improvement in mechanical efficiency in those trades where Trade Boards have been longest in operation, and it is safe to say that partly as a result of Trade Board legislation speedier and better types of machines are now generally in use as compared with those which obtained some few years ago. (Pages 913-914.)

13,047. . . . . I think that the provision of learners' facilities in the determinations has resulted in the juveniles in many of the trades receiving much more efficient training than they otherwise might have done. The fact that in the clothing trade an employer has got to raise his rates in the case of juvenile workers is an incentive to him to make that worker worth her money each time he has got to raise her rate, so that he is continually pushing her along—giving her better or more highly skilled work.

13,050. . . . . It was common in 1912, 1913 and 1914, in some of those trades in which the rates had not been long in operation, to find juveniles who had been perhaps for two or three years at one little job. They were taught nothing of the trade. Enquiry would show

that a girl had been paid perhaps the one rate for two or three years—probably a few shillings a week.

13,051. *Mr. Poulton:* I suppose they become very expert by being kept at that one job?—They did not attempt to train them at all. They just kept them on at some blind alley job in the factory for an improper length of time.

13,052. *Sir Arthur Pease:* That must, of course, depend to some extent on how the people above them move, must it not?—It must; but at the same time the groupings in the factories and workshops were not as well balanced as they might have been. Firms may have had an undue proportion of juveniles in the factory, and they were more or less uncommitted to the training of a large proportion of the people that they took in. But under the present regulations an employer has got to give each of those youngsters proper facilities for learning the trade, and he takes care, as he has got to increase her rate each six months, to push her on. When a Trade Board has been in operation for a number of years there is generally, I think, a wider field of skilled labour for the trade than existed before.

13,053. In going to these factories, have you much difficulty in dealing with employers as a rule? Is it the rule or the exception where you have difficulties?—I think, generally speaking, one finds employers very reasonable. Where difficulties arise, they do so very frequently because employers have not got detailed knowledge of the conditions obtaining in their own factory. They are dependent on managers and foremen for their information, and they are often very much surprised at the information we pass on to them. (Page 932.)

Statement of Mr. T. B. Harmer, representing the Eastern Counties Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers' Association. December 6, 1921.

4074. . . . . Where you have got factories in a centre the organisation is very good and the method of

production is very swift. The result of the Trade Board rate was to some extent to transfer these methods to outlying districts. The old method in the country districts was to make garments very largely by one person, just as a carpenter might make a chair or a table or something else. The result of the Trade Board regulations was to introduce the team system which was prevalent in the larger centres, and the consequence was that the production is very much more rapid. Each person instead of doing the whole process does a very short process. (Page 324.)

Statement of Mr. E. H. C. Wethered, O.B.E., M.A., LL.B., District Chairman, of the Court of Referees 1913-1918, of the Local Munitions Tribunals 1915-1918; District Umpire for the National Wool Textile Industrial Council; and Honorary Member of the National Council of the Pottery Industry. Chairman of the Brush and Broom, of Hair, Bass and Fibre and of General Waste Materials Reclamation Trade Boards. February 1, 1922.

11,438. *Sir Arthur Pease:* You have really come to the point as to whether it is worth while making a rate so that these trades can struggle on, or whether you will make rates which will stop them altogether in many cases?—I have never so far come across a case in which it has been suggested that they have stopped industry. What I think may happen if a reasonable standard rate is insisted upon is, that old-fashioned and badly managed shops in an industry may find it impossible to come up to the standard of wages imposed; but I have never heard a suggestion of an industry being stopped as such.

11,439. A large part of an industry?—I have never heard of such a case. You see rates which have been fixed by Trade Boards, as far as my experience goes, have never been at all in excess, or at any rate appreciably in excess, of rates which were already being paid by well-managed shops; or reasonably managed shops—I will not say "best managed"—in that industry; that is to say

rates which those in well managed shops in the best places are in fact paying.

11,441. . . . . The actual effect of the Trade Board fixing a rate right through the country has been to bring backward shops which wanted to keep in business up to the more reasonable standard which other people had found it possible to achieve.

11,442. *Mrs. Lyttelton:* In fact the standard has been rather set by the well-managed shops in the industry?—Yes. The effect of the minimum wage legislation by the Trade Boards has been to put the screw on the apathetic and slow employers in many cases and to make them put their house in order and to bring their business up to a higher level of efficiency. In my judgment that is one of the most important things Trade Boards have done. (Page 826.)

Statement of Professor F. Tillyard, Professor of Commercial Law at the Birmingham University, Chairman of the Birmingham Court of Referees. Chairman of Lace Finishing, of Coffin Furniture, of Chain, of Hollow-ware, and of Tin Box Trade Boards and member of Tailoring Trade Board. February 15, 1922.

12,499. . . . . I do not think you can go on raising wages indefinitely apart from increase in efficiency; but, on the whole, I think the Trade Board regulation of wages has promoted efficiency in the trades, and has, therefore, enabled employers to pay a higher wage.

12,500. *Lord Cave:* That means in order to pay a Trade Board rate they must sometimes improve their machinery and their organisation?—Yes; and there has been great room for it apparently. (Page 897.)

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Vol. 90. February, 1917.

Mr. Robert Leonard Outhwaite, Member from Hanley:

The policy involved in that argument is that a low wage is an economic wage, and that low wages mean

cheap production. On the contrary, low wages mean high cost of production. It is because you pay agricultural labourers starvation wages that they cannot work at their highest capacity; they have not the requisite physical condition, and are unable to work efficiently machinery which requires skill. (Page 186.)

The Prime Minister—(Hon. Lloyd George):

I do not believe any farmer looking at the prospects, can fail to see that the old wages are gone—and a good thing, not merely for the labourer, but for the farmer. The best farmers in a district are those who give the best wages. (Pages 1601-2.)

Right Honorable Walter Runciman, Member for Dewsbury:

The mistake that has been made in agricultural districts in regard to wages is that they have kept wages down to the old level, instead of raising them continuously. It is quite true—it was said, I believe, earlier in the debate by the Right Hon. Gentleman himself—that the best farming is to be found in the districts where the best wages are paid. That is absolutely true, and I believe if the best wages were paid now in some of our counties which are supposed to be yielding nothing like enough in foodstuffs, there again you would have prosperity restored to the farmer, for you will combine with those high wages the necessary degree of intelligence which must accompany good farming. (Pages 1631-2.)

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Vol. 107. June 17, 1918.

Colonel Lord Henry Cavendish Bentinck, M. P.:

The trade boards already instituted have shown that while they may not secure to the worker a real living wage, they do get 50 per cent added to that wage, and in bringing about that result not only have they not done

an injury to the employer, but they have actually benefited him; they have forced him to set his house in order, they have made him adopt more efficient machinery and they have given him a body of workers more efficient than before—far more efficient because they get something like a living wage. (Page 83.)

Report of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry. Great Britain. Cmd. 135. London. 1919.

But all the facts revealed in the present enquiry show that women are still very far from having attained a position which would permit them to bargain independently with employers or maintain their rights in demarcation questions against other organizations. It is necessary first to give them an escape from the vicious circle of low efficiency—low wages—low organization. The evidence shows that the principal obstacles have lain in their low wages and precarious tenure of employment, and that the establishment of minimum rates by the Trade Boards has in several cases been followed by a greatly strengthened Trade Union Organization. There is thus no inconsistency, but rather an intimate connection between the protective measures we recommend and our belief that the best hope of real and permanent amelioration of the position of women in industry lies in Trade Union action. (Page 173.)

Memorandum by Dr. Janet Campbell, to Committee:

7. The results of employment of women under war conditions have emphasized the importance to health of good food, clothing and domestic comfort which can be obtained when the wages represent a reasonably adequate recompense for labor. They have also proved that properly nourished women have a much greater reserve of energy than they have usually been credited with and that under suitable conditions they can properly and advantageously be employed upon more arduous occupations than has been considered desirable in the

past even when these involve considerable activity, physical strain, exposure to weather, etc. (Pages 251-2.)

Minority Report of the War Cabinet. Committee on Women in Industry. Great Britain. MRS. SIDNEY WEBB. *Cmd. 135. London. 1919.*

One of the most important social reactions of the resolute enforcement of uniform minimum rates is, we believe, its continuous influence on the relatively inefficient. From the standpoint of promoting the maximum efficiency of production we have seen that it must be counted to the credit of the enforcement of uniform minimum rates that it is always compelling the employer to pick his workers for quality; and, in his filling of vacancies to strive, as he cannot get a "cheap hand," to obtain for the price that he has to pay, greater skill or strength, a higher standard of sobriety and regular attendance, and a superior capacity for responsibility and initiative. The fact that the employer's mind is thus set on getting the best possible workers silently and imperceptibly reacts on the wage earners. (Page 303.)

Australia.

South Australian Industrial Reports. Vol. 1. 1916-18. President of the Industrial Court, Mr. Jethro Brown:

The Salt Case.

The President is bound by law to award not less than a living wage. If that wage is higher than has been previously fixed, the excess may come out of the profits of the employer. But if it should so happen that the excess cannot be paid out of profits, there are other sources to be drawn on. There is the possibility of increased economy or increased efficiency in the conduct of the business concerned. There is the possibility that an increased output on the part of employers may enable the employers to avoid shutting down. A great deal of evidence might be adduced to show that in Australia the sources to which I have referred as available for paying higher wages—increased economy or efficiency of business organization, and an increased output on the part of the worker—are sources from which, under the stimulus of necessity, much more might be drawn than at present. I do not speak of *all* industries, but my remark is fairly applicable to a large number. . . . . I dwell upon these things, because I wish to show that if this Court, in declaring a living wage, declares a wage which apparently cannot be paid by the industry concerned, the Court is not necessarily shutting down the industry. In a number of cases which have come before Australian industrial tribunals, the argument has been brought forward that a particular business or industry would have to be closed down if the wages were raised, and yet the industry or business has continued despite increased wages, and is to-day paying reasonable dividends. Whether the result be due to the potential economy of high wages, or to the fact that employers have discovered that necessity is the mother of invention, or to other circumstances, I need not pause to consider. That fact is indisputable. (Pages 3-4.)

The Living Wage—Tinsmith's Case.

Nor is it sound business to underpay the worker. It is true that particular employers may make *profits* by the award of a wage lower than the true living wage. But *the interests of the employers as a whole* are not to be promoted by sweating wages, or even by a bare subsistence wage. . . . . I cannot too strongly emphasize the fact that it is for the interests of the employers themselves, as well as for the employes, that the living wage awarded by this Court should be such as to ensure to every workman a wage sufficient to maintain him in a high state of industrial efficiency, and to provide his family for the necessaries for health and well being. When economists speak of the *potential economy of high wages* they are not talking in the air. They are talking of something which has been demonstrated in the industrial development of modern communities. . . . .

The mistake that is often made by private employers is the mistake so commonly, and I fear justly, attributed to Governments — the mistake of *seeking efficiency through economies rather than economy* through *efficiency*. (Pages 80-81.)

South Australian Industrial Reports. Vol. 2. 1918-19.

President of the Industrial Court, Mr. Jethro Brown:
The Printing Trades Case.

Sound national economy embraces the recognition of the need for securing such a return for work, whether mental or physical, as will maintain the worker in health and efficiency, and stimulate his or her ambition. The realization of the fact, in its bearing upon maximum production at lowest cost of production, leads to the conclusion that lowest cost of production should be sought for, less in low rates of wages, than in increased skill in the management, and in increased efficiency of the worker. (Pages 45-6.)

The Furniture Trades Case.

It may be conceded that an increase in the price of a commodity produced has sometimes been inevitable where wages have been increased. But I do not hesitate to express the opinion that, in a majority of cases, the increase of prices, aside from fluctuations in the world's markets, and omitting for the moment the possibility of some diversion of profits to wages, might have been avoided by a greater efficiency on the part of employers and employees by eliminating, as far as possible, the waste of disorganized industry, by the installation of up-to-date plants, and the adoption of the most effective methods of business organization. (Page 235.)

Canada.

Canada National Industrial Conference of Dominion and Provincial Governments with Representative Employers and Labour Men, on the Subjects of Industrial Relations and Labour Laws, and for the Consideration of the Labour Features of the Treaty of Peace. Ottawa, September 15-20, 1919.

Miss Helena Gutteridge, United Garment Workers, representing women workers:

A man may be unskilled, but the fact that you employ him shows that he is necessary. No one employs more help than he has to. That being so, the workers should be paid sufficient to enable them to keep the human machine in good condition, sufficient to enable them to get plenty of food and rest and so they may have plenty of energy to go on with the work of the next day.

Province of British Columbia. Annual Report of the Department of Labor for the Year Ending December 31, 1919.

Successful employers understand the advantages that accrue from a body of workers rendered cheerful and contented by good wages and conditions.

Since the introduction of minimum-wage legislation many employers with large staffs of workers, having come to a realization that an undue percentage of their help was below the proper economic standard of efficiency, have adopted better business methods. So soon as a minimum wage was ordered in their industry employers became more careful in the selection of new hands, and demanded greater efficiency not only from these, but from their executives and heads of departments. Where formerly an employe, untaught and unsupervised, was allowed to stagnate year after year at a small salary in an unimportant department, without the probability of advancement to act as incentive to better service, today, because she must be paid the minimum wage, she bene-

fits in that the employer is stirred to a new investigation of his pay-roll. He soon perceives that an employe kept overlong performing trivial duties at a low wage is a dead-weight in the business. (Page 85.)

All the inefficiency is not confined to the employe. It exists fairly often in the office and management, and for the errors and mistakes originating there incompetent employers habitually endeavored to recoup themselves by underpaying the workers.

Employers themselves capable, generally appreciate and understand competence in others. It is usually the incapable or unbusinesslike head of an establishment who undertakes the hopeless task of attempting to make his profit on the difference between what he does pay his working force and what he should pay them.

An undue proportion of learners or inexperienced workers placed on the pay-roll for the sake of a lower wage is not only unjust and cruel, but is a clear manifestation of inferior management and lack of executive ability.

Under the Act special licenses may be issued to women and girls handicapped by physical defects and to "female apprentices in any occupation in which apprentices are usually employed. . . . . The number of special licenses shall not exceed in number one-seventh of the whole number of employes," or "where less than seven employes are employed one apprentice holding a special license may be employed." (Page 86.)

Mr. Grier need not worry about the skilled worker. He said that a man who had a greater degree of ability should receive more than one who had not so much ability. I agree with him; but that does not alter the fact that even the man who lacks the higher degree of ability must be given a living wage.

We have been told during this Conference that the industries of the country could not possibly stand the strain that would be put upon them—that they would have to go out of business. If that is true, it simply means that it would be better that they should go out of

business than exist upon the degeneracy of the workers. (Page 107.)

I work at the tailoring trade, and am interested in the garment-making trade. The textile trade is a somewhat similar line of industry. It is in some of those lines we are told, particularly in regard to the wages of women, that we must not press for too high wages, for those industries cannot bear it. I am going to quote what was discovered after a Government investigation of one particular industry, the Dominion Textile Mills. I am informed that recently there was a strike of the employes of that particular firm for increased wages; and that that strike was justified is quite evident, because the investigation showed that 312 per cent profit was made by that particular firm during the four years of the war. Now, Mr. Chairman, if you tell me that an increase in wages, or a living wage paid to the workers in that industry, is going to drive that firm out of business, is going to ruin it, you will have to bring forward some very great proof indeed, in view of the results of that investigation into the profits that were made by that industry. Now, I am not assuming that every industry is in that position; but you cannot possibly tell me that the paying of an adequate living wage to employees in any particular industry is going to drive that industry out of business unless you bring forward evidence showing the cost of the operations required in producing the particular articles which it produces, and just how much there is of what you call profits. (Pages 107-108.)

3. Competing Employers Benefited.

Certain employers in every low paid industry have paid higher wages than their competitors because they believed in the policy of good wages. Minimum wage legislation removes the disadvantages of the "cut throat" competitor.

(1) General Statements.

District of Columbia.

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Second Annual Report. December 31, 1919.

There were found to be very marked differences in wage rates between stores of the same type and great lack of standardization within an individual establishment. Interviews with employers and employees revealed the fact that to a considerable extent the wage paid was the result of an individual bargain. The woman who demanded more got more and the woman who did not ask for a raise seldom received one. It was a general practice in stores to instruct the new employee that she must on no account tell her fellow workers what wage she was receiving, and these secrets apparently were well kept. This secrecy rendered possible unequal pay for equal work. (Page 8.)

California.

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. Third Biennial Report. 1917-1918.

In 1916, 22,000 women were employed in the canning industry. The output was worth approximately $36,000,000, more than double the gold output of the state.

The conditions that have existed in the canning industry throughout the United States have too often been the subject of inquiry and report to need repetition here.

California was not exempt from the charge of low wages and poor working standards. It is pleasant to state that the continuance of such conditions was not desired by the management of the canneries. Just as soon as an agency was made available that could insure better standards throughout the state, so that no one progressive plant would be subject to unfair competition of unscrupulous managers, the cannery owners willingly co-operated.

What has been accomplished—increase in wages, decrease in hours worked and great improvement in sanitary conditions, assuring wholesomeness for the consumer no less than for the employee—is a very real accomplishment, the more difficult of attainment because of the seasonal nature of the industry, and freedom from previous supervision. (Page 10.)

Massachusetts.

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Fourth Annual Report. December 31, 1916.

Report of Women's Clothing Wage Board.
Financial Condition of the Industry.

The next duty of the board was to inquire into the financial condition of the industry, and the probable effect thereon of an increase in minimum rates to $8.98 a week. (Page 22.)

The results of the board's study showed that the industry in Massachusetts competed to some extent with the industry in other manufacturing centers. Although it was found that the great bulk of the products of this industry in Massachusetts were sold in New England, the board felt that Massachusetts industry should not be forced to manufacture on such terms as would keep it limited to the present market. Nevertheless, in so far as the investigation yielded any facts, these did not indicate that the additional labor cost, brought about by the establishment of the contemplated minimum wage, would seriously handicap the industry in competition with other States.

A survey of the industry revealed anarchical conditions which were substantiated by the investigation. Little capital is required to start, and this is often advanced by the large retail stores. The result is a high birth rate of new concerns, bringing inefficient management and poor working conditions continually in competition with established concerns, forcing prices down to the cut-throat level. The business death rate is correspondingly high, but there are always new concerns to take the field. Even among established houses, manufacturing substantially the same lines of goods, there is little uniformity in management, rates of wages or cost accounting. Some establishments reported that the proposed minimum wage would not affect their business at all; others that its effect could be met by better management or more efficient labor; others that it would decrease their profits to a slight extent; others that it would drive them out of business in Massachusetts. The investigation indicated all of these possibilities. Whether or not the rise in wages entailed by the establishment of a minimum wage could be offset by more efficient management and labor could not be answered positively, but many factories which were already paying a minimum wage close to the sum suggested were apparently in sound financial condition. (Pages 23-24.)

Mandatory Minimum Wage Recommended.

The board felt that if the minimum wage were accepted by all manufacturers it would not be a hindrance to the industry, but would tend to equalize wages and relieve the more progressive factories of competition with sweat-shops and family shops. On the other hand, a minimum wage, accepted by some and rejected by others, would accentuate the inequalities in wages paid by different establishments. It was therefore unanimously voted that this board go on record as favoring a mandatory minimum wage at the earliest possible date. (Page 24.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Seventh Annual Report. November 30, 1919.

[The evidence] indicates, further, a changing attitude in regard to the minmum wage work; a recognition on the part of many business men that a minimum wage is as much in their interest as in the interest of their employees; that since it is a minimum, and not a standard wage, it protects them from unfair competition by leveling up rates at the lower end of the scale to more nearly approximate those set by representative employers in the occupation. (Page 55.)

Washington.

Washington. Tenth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor, Statistics and Factory Inspection. 1915-1916.

Employers' Comments.

E.—"It has helped our store wonderfully, as we always paid good wages and the competition was keen before, now we have clear sailing."

F, proprietor of a laundry, said: "The eight-hour law and the minimum wage are two of the best laws that have ever been passed for the laundryman. It does away with cutting of prices and helps the laundryman, who has always wanted to pay good wages, but was prevented on account of competition." (Page 274.)

In General.

Minimum Wage Laws Are Good Business. Extracts from Letters by Employers Operating under a Legal Minimum Wage. National Consumers' League, New York. October, 1920.

Employers Who Pay a Living Wage Protected from Unfair Competition.

Preston McKinney, Secretary, Canners League of California, San Francisco, Cal. March 11, 1920.

"The Act has been in effect since 1916, and it gives complete authority to The Industrial Welfare Commis-

sion to establish minimum rates of pay for women and minors, as well as giving the Commission very complete authority covering sanitary conditions as affecting the workers in the plants, seating arrangements, safety devices, etc.

"As administered by Mrs. Edson and the other members of the Commission, we are convinced that the industry itself has benefited. In any large industry, the majority of the units are managed by broadminded men who see the human as well as the business side of their work, but it is equally true that in any large industry, a certain percentage of the units are administered by men who lack these elements. The effect of the work of the Industrial Welfare Commission has been to bring up the 'low end' and in so doing, has served to place competition on a better basis.

"Above is the effect on the industry as an industry. We have in addition the satisfaction which accrues to us because of the knowledge that our operatives are unusually well paid and work under particularly favorable conditions."

W. T. Gamage, Supt. Canning Dept., Gorton-Pew Fisheries Co., Gloucester, Mass. Feb. 4, 1920.

"The raise in wages is of advantage to the more liberal minded employer since it usually forces competitors who have paid lower wages to advance their pay, thereby eliminating an unfair advantage possessed by the latter. In our experience we found that no employers objected to the recommendations of our Board. All employers seemed willing to submit to a fair advance in wages, provided all in the industry were placed on the same basis."

D. D. Dayton, The Dayton Company, Minneapolis, Minn. Feb. 5, 1920.

"There isn't any question that a minimum wage helps all legitimate business as against the employer who has not developed to the point where he realizes that good wages are a good investment."

E. L. Thompson, Treas., Portland Woolen Mills, Portland, Oregon. Dec. 3, 1919.

"It has removed the opportunity of the wage cutter and inefficient manager, the opportunity of under-selling and taking undue advantage of his more just and righteous competitor."

B. C. Beck, Store Manager, The Bon Marché, Seattle, Wash. Dec. 24, 1919.

"Establishment by the State of costs of living in various trades and localities is surely desirable. Fixation of minimums related to these living costs, below which wages paid shall not fall, only assists the constructive employer to do what ought to be done by forcing the opportunist employer to do what he ought to do anyway."

C. C. Carpenter, Pres., The MacDougall & Southwick Co., (retail dry goods) Seattle, Wash. Dec. 31, 1919.

"I am heartily in favor of a minimum wage under control of the State. Such control protects the fair-minded, right-thinking employer."

Great Britain.

Great Britain. Report to the Minister of Labour of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Working and Effects of the Trade Boards Acts. London. April, 1922.

45. . . . . in establishing statutory minima Trade Boards have afforded protection to the good employer, able and willing to pay a reasonable rate of remuneration to his workers, from unscrupulous competitors, prepared to take unfair advantage of the economic necessities of their workers. The existence of such competition has been stated by employers to have been an important factor in preventing a general improvement in conditions in their trades in the past. . . (Page 23.)

Great Britain. Committee of Enquiry into the Working and Effects of the Trade Boards Acts. Minutes of Evidence. 1922.

Statement of Mr. Humbert Wolfe, C.B.E., Principal Assistant Secretary Ministry of Labour in charge of the Trade Boards Branch. October 12, 1921.

83. *Mr. Poulton:* Is there a third factor which enters there: that regard also should be had to protecting the good employer against the unscrupulous employer?—I think that is true. That is why so many of the best employers in Trade Board trades, I think, would still be prepared to defend Trade Boards.

84. *Lord Weir:* That is really to provide effectual machinery for regulating wages and conditions?—Exactly. (Page 7.)

Statement of Mr. John Carr, Director of Peek, Frean and Co., Ltd. (biscuit makers) in behalf of manufacturers' section of London Chamber of Commerce. November 2, 1921.

1073. *Lord Weir:* If you consider you are organised now, is it now time to give up the Trade Boards alto-

gether and progress towards Industrial Councils?—No, I am afraid that ambition will never be realised. You must in an industry have some legal power to enforce your decisions, and in an Industrial Council you have no legal power to enforce your decisions.

1074. *Lord Cave:* In an unorganised industry?—If you are a highly organised industry and you agree in the Industrial Council to pay a given rate, however highly organised the industry is, there is sure to be some one manufacturer in it or some one manufacturer will start in it who will pay less, and you have no legal power to make him pay the rates.

1075. What you say is rather in favour of extending the compulsory power?—Personally I am in favour of extending Trade Boards with a compulsory legal backing behind them.

1076. Even in an organised industry?—Yes. As an instance of that, the tobacco trade asked for it and the biscuit industry have asked the Minister of Labour to set up a Trade Board for the industry. Although we have our minimum rates fixed, every manufacturer in the country is a member of our organisation, and we can fix minimum rates which we impose upon ourselves, at the same time we feel that it would be of value to have a Trade Board.

1091. Taking your own industry, you said you had applied for a Trade Board, although you had a minimum rate already in operation: what is the object of applying for a Trade Board?—It was realised that there were manufacturers who were not prepared to abide by the findings of the Manufacturers' Association.

1092. Did your Association fix more than minimum rates as minimum rates for one class of workpeople, or were minima fixed for other classes?—There was simply a minimum rate for the unskilled worker.

1093. And it did not deal with the skilled workers?—No. (Pages 119-120.)

Statement of Evidence submitted on behalf of the Wholesale Mantle and Costume Manufacturers' Federation of Great Britain.

Employers recognised the need of some machinery to regulate proper rates of pay throughout the whole industry, otherwise competition in this vast trade, with its ramifications, is unfair to the employer anxious to pay reasonable wages. (Page 999.)

Statement of Mr. S. W. Pascall on behalf of the Food Manufacturers' Federation, original member of the Sugar Confectionery and Food Preserving Trade Board established in 1914. December 15, 1921.

The Board has undoubtedly had a steadying influence and has added an element of certainty by the prevention of unfair competition by employers paying an unduly low rate of wages. (Page 465.)

6623. *Lord Cave:* The operations of that Board have been of benefit to the workers?—Unquestionably, and to the trade as a whole.

6624. And, I suppose, to the employers, by removing unfair competition?—Removing unfair competition, and removing an element of uncertainty.

6625. And it also led to better relations between the employers and the employed?—I think in the main, yes, though the relations were usually very fair previously to that. (Page 467.)

6673. . . . . We had a certain number of employers, even under that early Act, who thought that the end of the world had come so far as they were concerned. Of course, some people still dislike them in our trade, and in every trade, but it was only when they got experience that they came to see that after all they were more of benefit than they were of harm. (Pages 469-470.)

Statement of Mr. John Campbell, Chairman Scottish Retail Drapers' Federation and ex-Chairman of the Scottish Garment Makers and Milliners' Federation. December 7, 1921.

4734. —We say that we, as a drapery trade, are in favour of Trade Board principles, but there is much apprehension amongst other distributive trades in Scotland. They are rather opposing the principle of setting up Trade Boards as applied to their individual trade. We think there is a good deal of apprehension on their part in regard to the consequences, and I think that very largely arises from a want of knowledge of the operations of the Act. We have had practical working experience of these Trade Boards as applied to the making-up sections of our trade, and while we do not agree altogether with their results, we are not scared by any means as to the consequences of the wages and conditions being fixed by the Trade Board. We feel that any defects are temporary in nature and are quite capable of being rectified. As I have said, it must not be assumed that we accept everything that has been done by those Boards as satisfactory. We, as a matter of fact, are very critical of the present working of the Boards, but we are, nevertheless, of opinion that the principle underlying the Trade Board system is sound, is calculated to be of benefit both to employers and employees, and their present defects (although in many cases serious) are capable of being remedied. Among the reasons for our acceptance of the principles are, first, that it is desirable to have the minimum wage scale set up; secondly, that we are, like all retail distributive trades, only partially organised. This may be said equally of employers and employees. Thirdly, that owing to its conditions, the trade necessarily includes a large number of businesses whose profits are very small and whose margins of existence are very narrow. Under these conditions, the tendency to pay low wages in such businesses is strong. On the other hand, the paying of low wages by some employers always tends to keep depressed the wage level all round. Fourthly, in

country places, opportunities of employment are limited. Employees in such districts cannot organise; and as they are, in many cases, by their conditions, restricted to some kind of employment in the district in which they live, they are defenceless against unduly parsimonious employers; and lastly, so far as we can see, there is no way, other than by the Trade Board, of protecting a good employer desirous of paying a fair wage from the unscrupulous competitor paying low wages. (Page 356.)

Statement of Miss M. J. Symons, Assistant Secretary of the Women's Section (40,000 members), National Union of General Workers; member of Boot and Floor Polish, of Laundry, of Ostrich and Fancy Feathers, of Stamped or Pressed Metalwares, and of Tin Box Trade Boards. February 8, 1922.

12,154. . . . . At an arbitration case which was held in July, 1921, the Secretary of the Employers' Association, [Drug and Fine Chemical Trade] Sir William Glyn Jones, read to the Court a letter which he had sent to the Trade Unions on this joint negotiating body, in which he says: "At a general meeting of the Association, held yesterday, it was decided to seek the establishment of a Trade Board to cover the business coming within the scope of the Association." He remarked: "Usually, I believe, the demand for the Trade Board comes from the other side; in this case it is coming from the employers' side. It is only fair to say that it is supported by the unions, but the initiative has been taken by the employers." Then the letter continued: "The Association has been led to this conclusion by reason of the difficulty of continuing in existence as a voluntary organisation, in view of the competition with firms which are not members of the Association, and consequently not under any obligation to pay the wages agreed upon, and which, in fact, do pay considerably less than these rates." In that case application for a Trade Board was made, but the Trade Board has not yet been set up owing to the recent policy

of the Government to suspend the setting up of new Boards. (Page 872.)

Statement of Mr. W. Addington Willis, Chairman of Boot and Shoe Repairing, and of Toy Trade Boards, and Deputy-Chairman of Brush and Broom, of Hair, Bass and Fibre, and of Grocery and Provisions Trade Boards, and arbitrator or conciliator in over 260 industrial disputes. February 1, 1922.

Some form of minimum wage legislation appears to me necessary. (Page 794.)

One of the advantages of the Trade Board system to employers, and indirectly to their workers, and an advantage which I believe is appreciated by fair dealing employers (and in my experience they form the great majority) is that the system tends to secure them against unfair competition by a minority who trade on underpaid labour. (Page 797.)

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Vol. 107. June 17, 1918.

Sir R. H. Barran, M. P.:

The industry with which I am connected has been working for nine years under the trade boards, and we are satisfied with them, and we should be glad to see an extension of them. They have been a very great advantage to the workpeople without being a corresponding disadvantage to the employers. They have done a great deal to level up the wages that have varied in different parts of the country. In that way they have been of assistance to the better class of employers against the less generous class of employers. In many trades it has been a great disadvantage to have a lower rate of wages paid in one part of the country than in another, and nothing has tended more to level up the rate of wages to a reasonable living wage than the bringing of the different employers and workpeople together under the trade

boards. I do not think any of the trades that have been working under the trade boards for nine years would wish to go back to the old system. (Page 113.)

The Industrial Outlook. Essay entitled, The War and the Wage Earner. HENRY CLAY, *M. A. London. 1917.*

Nothing has a more selective influence in eliminating unfit organizers than the imposition of conditions by effective Trade Unions or the State. As was pointed out above, the problem of efficient production admits of alternative solutions. The imposition of conditions may make the problem a little more difficult, but it does not make it insoluble. In industry, as in art, "limitations are the artists' opportunity." Or a parallel may be drawn from golf: you do not make it impossible to go round in bogey by bunkering the course; you only make it impossible for the second-rate player, and make it easier for the latter to establish his superiority. War Factory Acts, Wages Boards, the standard rate, taxes or other penalties on irregular employment, are so many bunkers for the employer who has missed his vocation. For the natural organizer they are opportunities, if they make his task more difficult, they tend to extend his influence and increase his profits by removing competitors and enabling him to absorb their trade. (Page 104.)

The Present Position of Industrial Women Workers. B. L. HUTCHINS. *The Economic Journal, December, 1921.*

Whereas the price of commodities tends to uniformity in a given market, the price of labor, to use a convenient if unpleasing phrase, often varies to an extraordinary degree, and the conscientious employers who, whether from motives of humanity, efficiency, or the simple desire to avoid trouble, pay fair wages, are constantly liable to be undercut by less scrupulous employers.

Miss Constance Smith, in a book on wages boards, written just before the Trades Boards Act was passed, prophesied that the first effect of such boards would be one of steadying and regularizing rather than of greatly raising wages; a limit would be set to undercutting. This forecast proved correct. A great part of the value of the work done by the earlier Trade Boards consisted in the check placed on the anarchic fluctuations in the rate of pay. The wages fixed were far from being extravagant—indeed in many cases they were not sufficient for healthy maintenance. So low was the standard of those days that in some trades a minimum of 3½d. an hour constituted a distinct advance, even for adult workers. The great point of Trade Boards regulation was that its action was preventive. Some degree of security was attained in the industries concerned, and a stop was put to the downward tendency that seems inevitable in unorganized trades. Extreme under-payment became illegal and a minimum standard for unskilled workers was created. (Pages 462-463.)

(2) Statistics.

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. Wages of Women and Minors in the Mercantile Industry in the District of Columbia. June, 1919.

It is seen that the percentage of saleswomen having rates of $12 or less ranged from 17.9 per cent in ladies' specialty shops to 86.4 per cent in 5, 10, and 15 cent stores. The corresponding percentage in department stores was 57.3 per cent. In the group receiving $16 and over the same divergence was found. This rate was received by 51.6 per cent in ladies' specialty shops, by 21.2 per cent in department stores, and by less than 1 per cent in 5, 10, and 15 cent stores. It is obvious that these variations were due in part to the differences in the character of salesmanship required in the different types of stores. However, a detailed study of department-store wages showed that even in stores of the same type marked differences still persisted. (Page 199.)

The seven department stores included in the study employed approximately 70 per cent of all the women for whom wage rates were obtained. Similar conditions in these stores justify comparison of their wage rates. Both because of preponderance in workers and comparable conditions a more detailed analysis has been made of their pay rolls. (Pages 200-201.)

Table 16.—Cumulative Per Cent of Women Employees in Seven Department Stores, Receiving Each Classified Weekly Rate or Under, by Occupation and Establishment.

Occupation and Establishments	Cumulative Per cent. of Women Employees Whose Rates of Wages per Week Were—								
	$8 and under	$9 and under	$10 and under	$11 and under	$12 and under	$13 and under	$14 and under	$15 and under	$16 and over
Saleswomen									
No. 1	2.8	8.4	32.7	34.9	58.6	59.2	67.6	81.9	18.1
No. 2	...	....	3.9	3.9	44.2	48.1	81.5	76.9	23.1
No. 3	1.7	3.6	25.6	27.2	67.7	70.4	76.4	84.1	15.9
No. 4	1.8	21.1	38.5	45.0	67.9	77.1	79.8	95.4	4.6
No. 5	.5	1.6	19.8	20.3	57.7	58.3	69.0	78.1	21.9
No. 6	4.2	9.7	31.5	33.6	60.2	61.6	64.4	76.1	23.9
No. 7	.6	2.0	6.1	7.3	39.7	44.1	55.1	67.0	33.0
Total	1.9	6.0	23.5	25.4	57.3	60.0	67.4	78.8	21.2
Office Employees									
No. 1	...	1.3	26.9	30.8	43.6	56.4	62.8	70.5	29.5
No. 2	...	....	6.5	6.5	27.3	32.5	45.5	63.6	36.4
No. 3	2.1	3.2	11.6	13.7	20.0	29.5	42.1	58.9	41.1
No. 4	...	10.0	10.0	10.0	40.0	70.0	70.0	90.0	10.0
No. 5	...	....	5.2	6.9	36.2	36.2	41.4	60.3	39.7
No. 6	8.4	9.9	14.1	14.1	54.9	54.9	59.1	71.8	28.2
No. 7	1.2	1.2	7.8	8.4	27.6	28.8	42.5	61.1	38.9
Total	1.8	2.5	11.5	12.8	33.1	38.1	48.2	64.2	35.8

(Page 204.)

As shown in these tables, establishment No. 2 was paying less than 4 per cent of its saleswomen at a rate of $10 or under, while in establishments Nos. 1, 4, and 6, over 30 per cent were being paid at that rate. One-third of the saleswomen in establishment No. 7 were receiving $16 or over in contrast to less than 5 per cent in establishment No. 4. (Pages 204-205.)

The same striking difference in rates within an occupation is shown among the office employees. A variation of 30 per cent is shown in the rates paid by one establishment over those paid by another.

These figures prove conclusively that within a given competitive area establishments of the same kind may prosper side by side although the wage level may differ from one to another. This bears out the oft-proven fact that there is no connection betwen wage rates and total

labor cost; that where the highest rates prevail the lowest labor cost may be found, and vice versa. It is generally conceded that high wages make for greater efficiency. Furthermore, organization and management are such important factors in the cost of carrying on a business that a few dollars more or less in the pay envelope of the workers may be more than offset by scientific handling of the labor force. (Page 205.)

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. A Study of the Work and Wages of Women in Printing, Publishing and Allied Trades in the District of Columbia. January, 1919.

Job Printing and Publishing Companies.

Cumulative Per Cent of Women With Rate of

Establishments	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	Under $13	Under $13	Under $15	Under $16	$16 and Over
No. 1	0	12.1	42.2	60.6	81.8	90.9	90.9	93.9	6.1
No. 2	0	0	63.6	63.6	93.2	97.7	98	100	0
No. 3	0	0	0	0	8.7	8.7	8.7	91.3	8.7
No. 4	4	4	24	36	44	44	56	88	12
No. 5	47.5	47.5	70	77.5	80	80	80	85	15
No. 6	0	0	21.1	31.6	52.6	52.6	52.6	94.7	5.3
No. 7	0	0	14.3	35.7	42.9	42.9	57.1	78.6	21.4
No. 8	0	8.3	8.3	33.3	41.7	41.7	66.7	75	25
No. 9	0	0	0	0	37.5	37.5	50	100	0
No. 10	20	20	30	30	60	80	80	80	20
No. 11	0	0	0	0	90	90	90	90	10
No. 12	0	0	22	22	88.9	88.9	88.9	100	0
No. 13	0	0	0	0	50	70	70	70	30
No. 14	0	11.1	11.1	33.3	44.4	55.6	55.6	77.8	22.2
Average	8.1	10.3	32.6	40.7	61.9	65.5	68	87.2	12.8

(Page 6.)

Five Publishing Houses.

Per Cent of Women With Rate of (Cumulative)

Establishments	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	Under $13	Under $14	Under $15	Under $16	$16 and Over
No. 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	22.2	77.8
No. 2	0	0	0	3	4.2	20.4	20.4	30.6	69.4
No. 3	0	21.2	34.6	44.2	46.2	55.8	78.8	80.8	19.2
No. 4	2.5	17.5	42.5	47.5	72.5	72.5	82.5	90	10
No. 5	0	0	0	0	51.7	65.5	65.5	79.3	20.7
Average	.3	4.6	8.9	12.7	20	33.2	37.2	46.6	53.4

(Page 7.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 13. Wages of Women in Men's Clothing and Raincoat Factories in Massachusetts. December, 1919.

A marked variation in the wages paid to workers in different establishments is shown by Table 4. The general level of wages was almost identical for the inside shops as a whole, and the contract shops as a whole. Variations between individual establishments in the same groups were conspicuous, but are difficult to explain either by differences in locality, in the kind and grade of goods made, or the size and type of organization of the shops. (Page 23.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 14. Wages of Women in Muslin Underwear, Petticoat, Apron, Kimono, Women's Neckwear and Children's Clothing Factories in Massachusetts. May, 1917.

The marked variation in the wages paid in individual underwear factories, which is shown by Table 12 appears to bear little relation to the kind and quality of goods produced. For example, in Establishment 1, which specializes in the manufacture of cheap and medium grade machine-made garments, 37.7 per cent. of the workers earned an average wage of less than $5 a week, and only 7.9 per cent. earned $9 or more, while in Establishment 5, which produced an almost exactly similar line of goods, only 9 per cent. earned an average weekly wage of less than $5, and 35.8 per cent. earned $9 or over. That the variation in the wage level in different establishments is not necessarily a result of a corresponding variation in the prevailing hours of labor is shown by the fact that in the only concern from which information regarding hours was obtainable (Establishment 1) the hours of labor were relatively long, while the wages paid were relatively low. (Page 32.)

Table 17 shows a great variation in the wages paid by individual firms. Establishments 1, 2, 3 and 4, which

produced silk garments, were found to pay in general higher wages than Establishments 5, 6 and 7, which produced garments of gingham, sateen or other cotton goods. There was also, however, a wide divergence in this respect between individual concerns making the same lines and situated in the same locality. In Establishment 3, for example, 85.2 per cent. of the women workers received an average weekly wage of $9 or more, while in Establishment 4, 83.3 per cent. received an average weekly wage of less than $9. Again, the proportion of workers earning under $7 a week varied from 1.6 per cent. in Estab lishment 3 to over 30 per cent. in Establishments 1, 2 and 4. All of these concerns are located within a half mile of each other in the city of Boston, and, as was stated above, make approximately the same style and quality of garments. (Page 33.)

There is also, however, a marked variation between establishments making the same lines of goods (aprons and kimonos) which cannot be accounted for by differences in locality, quality of product or labor supply. For example, in Establishment 2, 15.8 per cent. of the workers earned $9 or over, whereas in Establishment 4, which produced a similar line of garments, no workers earned as much as that amount. (Page 35.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 15. Wages of Women in Shirt, Workingmen's Garments and Furnishing Goods Factories in Massachusetts. December, 1917.

Especially to be noted are the tables which show the marked variation in the wages paid in different establishments engaged in the same lines of manufacture. (Page 45.)

Table 10.—Average Weekly Earnings: by Establishments Making Men's Shirts.

Establishments	Per cent. of Women Earning (Cumulative)—							
	Under $3	Under $4	Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	$9 and Over
No. 1	6.0	12.0	19.9	31.1	47.5	66.2	80.1	19.9
No. 2	2.6	7.7	20.5	41.0	55.8	73.1	84.6	15.4
No. 3	15.1	27.0	49.3	65.8	84.9	94.1	98.7	1.3
No. 4	1.0	10.2	16.3	28.6	46.9	61.2	75.5	24.5
No. 5	1.1	5.3	23.2	46.3	66.3	86.3	92.6	7.4
No. 6	1.4	8.2	30.1	46.6	74.0	86.3	97.3	2.7
Total	5.6	12.4	24.2	38.5	56.0	72.8	84.5	15.5

(Page 47.)

Table 13.—Average Weekly Earnings: by Establishments Making Overalls.

Establishments	Per cent. of Women Earning (Cumulative)—							
	Under $3	Under $4	Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	$9 and Over
No. 1	1.1	4.6	9.2	16.1	43.7	62.1	82.8	17.2
No. 2	13.3	31.7	71.7	86.7	95.0	98.3	98.3	1.7
No. 3	....	12.5	20.0	35.0	55.0	70.0	85.0	15.0
No. 4	....	....	10.0	30.0	56.7	80.0	86.7	13.3
No. 5	8.0	40.0	52.0	64.0	80.0	92.0	96.0	4.0
No. 6	....	5.0	10.0	20.0	50.0	65.0	80.0	20.0
Total	4.2	14.9	29.4	41.6	62.6	76.7	88.2	11.8

(Page 50.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 19. Wages of Women Employed in Canning and Preserving Establishments in Massachusetts. March, 1919.

Table 2 (b).—Weekly Rates: by Establishments (Cumulative).

[Based on pay-roll records for the period July, 1917-June, 1918.]

Fish Canning and Preserving Firms.

Establishments	Number and Per cent. of Women with Weekly Rates of—											
	Under $6		Under $7		Under $8		Under $9		Under $10		$10 and Over	
	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.	Number	Per cent.
No. 1	1	.7	18	12.2	31	21.1	74	50.3	138	93.9	9	6.1
No. 2	..	...	34	33.3	78	76.5	78	76.5	102	100.0	..	...
No. 3	1	6.3	7	43.8	8	50.0	10	62.5	16	100.0	..	...
No. 4	..	...	..	....	3	20.0	15	100.0	15	100.0	..	...
Total	2	.6	59	18.9	122	39.1	185	59.3	300	96.2	12	3.8

(Page 28.)

Preserve, Pickle, Vegetable, Sauce and Meat Canning Firms.

No. 12	..	...	11	12.0	46	50.0	81	88.0	88	95.7	4	4.3
No. 13	1	1.7	2	3.4	4	6.8	5	8.5	48	81.4	11	18.6
No. 14	..	...	..	...	11	24.5	43	95.6	44	97.8	1	2.2
No. 15	..	...	9	19.6	34	73.9	45	97.8	46	100.0	..	...
Total	1	.4	23	8.6	100	37.6	190	71.4	244	91.7	22	8.3
Total of all establishments	3	.5	82	14.2	222	38.4	375	64.9	544	94.1	34	5.9

NOTE—Of the 660 persons whose records were studied, data concerning rates were not available for 82 workers.

(Page 29.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 20. Report on the Wages of Women in the Millinery Industry in Massachusetts. May, 1919.

Table 2 (a).—Average Weekly Earnings: by Establishments (Cumulative).
Straw Hats.

Establishments	Per cent. of Women Earning—													
	Under $3	Under $4	Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	Under $13	Under $14	Under $15	$15 and Over
No. 1	.4	.8	1.5	4.9	10.9	17.0	24.2	31.7	44.5	53.1	64.9	73.6	82.6	17.5
No. 2	1.1	1.7	9.1	21.7	42.9	54.9	64.0	75.4	79.4	84.0	90.3	97.7	98.9	1.4
No. 3	...	2.3	7.0	15.8	23.4	31.6	39.2	47.4	58.1	64.3	71.9	80.7	86.5	13.1
No. 4	...	1.5	3.0	4.5	8.2	16.4	19.4	26.1	34.3	42.5	49.3	59.0	70.9	29.1
No. 5	.8	6.8	10.6	18.9	23.5	36.4	48.5	60.6	77.3	85.6	93.2	96.2	97.7	2.3
No. 6	...	...	...	3.2	9.7	12.9	19.4	29.0	32.3	48.4	54.8	71.0	77.4	22.6
No. 7	...	...	...	6.7	13.3	13.3	20.0	40.0	53.3	60.0	80.0	86.7	86.7	13.3
No. 8	...	...	...	...	...	...	13.3	26.7	53.3	60.0	73.3	73.3	80.0	20.0
Total	.5	2.1	5.3	11.8	20.4	28.9	36.7	45.9	56.2	64.6	72.7	80.6	86.7	13.3

(Page 35.)

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. Bulletin No. 22. Second Report on the Wages of Women Employed in Paper Box Factories. September, 1920.

Average Weekly Earnings: by Establishments.

The contrast between the wage situation in different factories is particularly striking (Table 2). In establishment No. 14, for example, nearly one-half of the women received $15 a week and over; while in establishment No. 12, none of the women earned as much as $15 a week. As such variations are found in factories having access to the same labor supply and manufacturing the same general type of goods, they necessarily imply a distinct difference in wage rates in the factories themselves. This is a condition found in practically every wage study made by the Commission, the variation between establishments in the same industry frequently being greater than that between different occupations.

Weekly Rates.

The piece rate system of payment prevails in the industry. Of the 1,054 women and girls for whom wage records were available, 68.5 per cent are piece rate workers. The majority of those on time rates are women employed on unskilled processes, and beginners who are generally paid on a weekly basis while learning. These facts should be kept in mind in connection with the figures on rates (Table 3). The same variation in the amounts received by the workers in the different establishments is shown as in the case of earnings. In establishment No. 5, for instance, over one-fifth of the women have rates of $15 and over; while in establishment No. 6, which has practically the same number and proportion of time rate workers, none are scheduled to receive as much as $15 a week. Of the 332 women paid on a time basis in the various establishments, three-fourths were scheduled to receive less than $12 a week for full-time employment, and over one-fourth less than $9 a week. (Pages 14-15.)

Table 2.—Average Weekly Earnings of 1,054 Women Employed in 16 Paper-Box Factories in Massachusetts: by Establishments (Cumulative).

(Based on pay-roll records for the period, October, 1918—January, 1919)

Establishments	Per cent. of Workers Earning—											
	Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	Under $13	Under $14	Under $15	$15 and Over
No. 1	1.7	4.2	9.2	25.8	54.2	69.2	73.3	77.5	85.8	87.5	91.7	8.3
No. 2	2.8	2.8	4.6	12.0	20.4	27.8	38.0	46.3	57.4	64.8	77.8	22.2
No. 3	....	.9	18.9	37.7	50.9	60.4	74.5	84.9	89.6	96.2	98.1	1.9
No. 4	....	....	....	4.9	7.8	12.7	37.3	50.0	68.6	78.4	86.3	13.7
No. 5	2.0	5.0	9.0	18.0	28.0	33.0	39.0	48.0	62.0	73.0	85.0	15.0
No. 6	10.0	20.0	37.5	50.0	61.3	76.3	81.3	87.5	90.0	93.8	97.5	2.5
No. 7	37.7	44.2	46.8	53.2	67.5	77.9	89.6	92.2	96.1	98.7	98.7	1.3
No. 8	....	2.6	5.2	10.4	16.9	23.6	50.6	62.3	70.1	74.0	80.5	19.5
No. 9	2.7	2.7	13.3	25.3	34.7	38.0	40.7	58.7	69.3	78.7	84.0	16.0
No. 10	6.8	18.2	27.3	45.5	63.6	75.0	79.5	86.4	86.4	88.6	95.5	4.5
No. 11	....	....	2.5	12.5	27.5	45.0	55.0	75.0	92.5	95.0	97.5	2.5
No. 12	9.1	18.2	42.4	57.6	69.7	78.8	90.9	97.0	97.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 13	6.1	6.1	15.2	36.4	48.5	60.6	69.7	75.8	81.8	90.9	97.0	3.0
No. 14	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	4.3	8.7	8.7	13.0	26.1	39.1	52.2	47.8
No. 15	4.8	23.8	38.1	47.6	57.1	76.2	76.2	85.7	90.5	95.2	95.2	4.8
No. 16	....	....	....	13.3	20.0	20.0	33.3	53.3	73.3	80.0	86.7	13.3
Total	5.3	8.5	15.7	26.9	39.0	48.5	59.4	68.2	77.2	83.3	89.3	10.7

(Page 22.)

Table 3.—Weekly Rates of 322 Women Employed in 14 Paper-Box Factories in Massachusetts: by Establishments (Cumulative).

(Based on pay-roll records for the period, October, 1918—January, 1919.)

Establishments	Per cent. of Workers with Weekly Rates of—											
	Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	Under $13	Under $14	Under $15	$15 and Over
No. 2	....	....	....	....	8.0	24.0	72.0	72.0	92.0	92.0	92.0	8.0
No. 3	....	....	....	31.1	64.4	71.1	80.0	97.8	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 4	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	20.0	20.0	40.0	60.0
No. 5	....	....	....	14.3	26.2	47.6	47.6	54.8	59.5	71.4	78.6	21.4
No. 6	....	....	....	....	34.1	80.5	90.2	90.2	95.1	100.0	100.0	....
No. 7	....	....	....	5.0	10.0	15.0	85.0	95.0	95.0	95.0	95.0	5.0
No. 8	....	....	....	....	....	....	25.8	38.7	90.3	93.5	96.8	3.2
No. 9	....	....	....	16.7	58.3	58.3	58.3	58.3	66.7	66.7	66.7	33.3
No. 10	....	....	....	....	39.3	71.4	92.9	96.4	96.4	100.0	100.0	....
No. 11	....	....	....	....	4.8	4.8	66.7	66.7	66.7	100.0	100.0	....
No. 12	....	....	....	4.0	36.0	72.0	76.0	84.0	96.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 13	....	....	20.0	20.0	33.3	40.0	80.0	93.3	93.3	93.3	100.0	....
No. 15	....	....	....	50.0	50.0	80.0	80.0	80.0	90.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 16	....	....	....	....	....	16.7	25.0	25.0	33.3	58.3	83.3	16.7
Total	....	....	9.0	9.6	26.9	47.0	67.8	74.4	84.3	90.9	93.7	6.3

(Page 23.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Women in Industry Service. Bulletin No. 4. Wages of Candy Makers in Philadelphia in 1919. 1919.

Wages in the candy industry are not standardized. The workers are unorganized and there is no definite and universally accepted method of determining rates. This lack of standardization is shown in the great divergence in the pay rolls of the factories investigated. (Page 19.)

Table 8.—Median Weekly Earnings of Women Workers (Not Including Forewomen) Employed During One Weekly Pay-Roll Period in 1919, by Establishment.

Establishment	Number of women workers	Median weekly earnings
No. 1	483	$10.32
No. 2	91	9.90
No. 3	124	12.86
No. 4	84	12.03
No. 5	99	9.81
No. 6	74	9.25
No. 7	51	7.41
No. 9	41	9.73
No. 10	37	9.03
No. 11	27	8.90
No. 12	27	8.90
No. 13	23	10.18
No. 14	24	12.70
No. 15	18	10.85
No. 16	9	11.50
No. 17	8	10.50
No. 18	7	9.50
No. 19	7	12.25
No. 20	3	15.50
Total	1,237	$9.76

The median earnings varied from $7.41 to $15.50. It is natural that in a small plant like No. 20, where there is less specialization and, therefore, less opportunity for mere repetitive processes the lower paid groups should not be represented. If, for example, only three workers are employed and two are dippers at $16 each, the median earnings will be much higher than in another establishment so large as to justify a separate group of packers earning approximately $9 a week. Firms Nos. 2, 7 and 10 had no dippers on their pay rolls. In establishment No. 6 at the time of the investigation the workers were on part time. But it is significant to

note that in the larger plants, employing 50 or more, the median earnings vary from $7.41 to $12.86. It is doubtful whether there is enough variation in the scale of processes in these different plants to warrant such diversity in earnings. Greater standardization would undoubtedly be advantageous both for workers and employers. (Page 20.)

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. Bulletin No. 23. Report on the Wages of Women Employed in the Manufacture of Food Preparations and Minor Lines of Confectionery. November, 1920.

Conspicuous variation is shown in the earnings of women in different establishments within each branch. In the food preparation branch, establishment No. 8 has more than one-half (56.2 per cent) of the women receiving $15 or over a week, and only 6.3 per cent receiving less than $9 a week. On the other hand, in establishment No. 10 all of the women received less than $9 a week, and more than one-half less than $6. An analogous situation exists in minor confectionery firms. In establishment No. 5, for example, none of the women were receiving under $10 a week, and one-fifth (22.2 per cent) were receiving $15 or over a week. In establishment No. 3 one-third (31.8 per cent) of the women received less than $6 a week, and nine-tenths (91.0 per cent) less than $10.

As the earnings of adult women, that is, women 18 years of age or over, show almost as marked variations in the different establishments as exists between the earnings of all female employees, the question of age as a factor in producing the variation is largely eliminated (Table 2 (*a*) and (*b*)). (Page 12.)

Table 1.—Average Weekly Earnings of 314 Women Employed in 11 Establishments engaged in the Manufacture of Minor Confectionery Products, and of 287 Women Employed in 24 Establishments Engaged in the Manufacture of Food Preparations, in Massachusetts: by Establishments (Cumulative).

(a) Minor Confectionery.

(Based on pay-roll records for the period June through September, 1919)

Establishments	Per cent. of Workers Earning—											
	Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	Under $13	Under $14	Under $15	$15 and over
No. 1	3.2	13.9	20.9	33.2	51.3	61.5	73.8	79.7	90.9	95.2	95.7	4.3
No. 2	....	1.6	6.5	19.4	43.5	56.5	71.0	85.5	90.3	98.4	98.4	1.6
No. 3	22.7	31.8	50.0	59.1	86.4	91.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 4	....	....	....	....	14.3	50.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 5	....	....	....	....	....	....	22.2	44.4	44.4	66.7	77.8	22.2
No. 6	....	....	....	....	....	14.3	57.1	85.7	85.7	100.0	100.0	....
No. 7	28.6	71.4	71.4	85.7	85.7	85.7	85.7	85.7	85.7	85.7	100.0	....
No. 8	....	....	....	33.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 9	....	....	....	....	....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 10	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 11	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	100.0
Total	4.1	12.4	18.8	29.9	48.7	59.9	74.5	82.5	90.1	95.2	96.2	3.8

(Page 15.)

(b) Food Preparations.

(Based on pay-roll records for the period July through October, 1919)

Establishments	Per cent. of Workers Earning—											
	Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	Under $13	Under $14	Under $15	$15 and over
No. 1	....	....	....	....	....	1.8	7.3	18.2	30.9	63.6	76.4	23.6
No. 2	6.5	8.7	21.7	50.0	69.6	78.3	84.8	87.0	91.3	93.5	93.5	6.5
No. 3	....	4.8	4.8	4.8	9.5	19.0	38.1	61.9	95.2	100.0	100.0	....
No. 4	....	....	5.6	5.6	22.2	38.9	44.4	61.1	72.2	83.3	83.3	16.7
No. 5	....	....	....	....	11.8	23.5	41.2	58.8	70.6	88.2	94.1	5.9
No. 6	6.3	6.3	31.3	43.8	75.0	87.5	87.5	93.8	93.8	100.0	100.0	....
No. 7	....	12.5	25.0	25.0	25.0	37.5	62.5	68.8	75.0	93.8	100.0	....
No. 8	....	....	....	....	6.3	12.5	18.8	25.0	31.3	37.5	43.8	56.2
No. 9	....	....	....	....	....	....	9.1	45.5	90.9	90.9	90.9	9.1
No. 10	36.4	54.5	72.7	90.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 11	....	....	11.1	44.4	88.9	88.9	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 12	....	....	....	....	....	12.5	37.5	87.5	87.5	100.0	100.0	....
No. 13	....	....	25.0	25.0	37.5	50.0	62.5	75.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 14	....	....	....	....	....	....	14.3	85.7	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 15	....	....	....	....	....	16.7	33.3	50.0	66.7	66.7	83.3	16.7
No. 16	20.0	40.0	80.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 17	....	....	....	50.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 18	....	....	....	....	25.0	50.0	75.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 19	....	....	....	....	....	33.3	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 20	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 21	....	....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 22	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	100.0
No. 23	....	....	....	....	....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
No. 24	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	....	100.0	100.0	100.0	....
Total	3.1	5.6	12.9	20.9	31.4	39.4	49.5	62.4	74.2	85.0	88.9	11.1
Total of all establishments	3.7	9.1	16.0	25.6	40.4	50.1	62.6	72.9	82.5	90.3	92.7	7.3

(Page 16-17.)

Canada.

Province of British Columbia. Department of Labour. Annual Report for the Year Ending December 31, 1919.

Minimum wage legislation affects beneficially not only employees but employers, and this along lines not always foreseen. "Every employer who desires to be fair to his employees now knows that he is not being taken advantage of by a less competent or more greedy competitor who attempts to undersell him by forcing down the pay of employees." (M. B. Hammond, member of Industrial Commission of Ohio.) (Page 85.)

4. An Influence Toward Industrial Peace Created.

It is not possible to measure quantitatively the value of such legislation in better relations between employers and employees. But spontaneous expressions of the better feeling engendered by wage board conferences and the payment of a living wage persuasively demonstrate that at least an influence has been created toward industrial peace.

The British testimony is remarkable. In many trades strikes have given place to mutual understanding.

United States. House of Representatives. Sixty-Fifth Congress. Second Session. Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on the District of Columbia on H. R. 10367. Providing for the Establishment of a Minimum Wage Scale in the District of Columbia for Women and Children. April 16, 1918.

Statement of Miss Julia O'Connor, President Massachusetts Telephone Operators' Union, Member of the Women's Trade-Union League and of the Brush Makers' Wage Board and the Retail Store Wage Board of Massachusetts.

[In answer to the question: Did you find as a result of these conferences between the representatives of the employees and the employers that the two sides came into more harmonious relations?]

Miss O'Connor: Absolutely, sir.

(Pages 38-39.)

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. Third Biennial Report. 1917-1918.

Wage boards have been held in the canning, mercantile, and laundry industries, and their recommendations proved valuable aids in the subsequent issuance of the commission's rulings.

It is not required of the commission to hold wage boards before issuing its orders; but it is the policy of the commission to avail itself of the expert counsel of those experienced in an industry whenever feasible.

The wage board may be defined as a joint conference of employers, employees and a representative of the commission. It provides a common meeting ground to employer and employee for the discussion of their interests. Since both are serving the state while serving the board the weight of personal demands is counterbalanced by a sense of responsibility to the public. By thus implanting mutual understanding, the wage boards advance industrial peace. (Page 17.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Sixth Annual Report. November 30, 1918.

There is a growing appreciation among employers of the beneficial results in the industrial situation of this State of the work of the Commission when it receives due co-operation. (Page 40.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Seventh Annual Report. November 30, 1919.

The results of wage board activities during the year just ended are of interest for several reasons. With the single exception of the Corset Wage Board, all the boards have submitted unanimous reports; and in this particular instance only one vote was lacking to secure the same result. In distinction from the precedent set by a majority of the former boards, all of those reporting this year have recommended a minimum rate which would meet the cost of living as they determined it.* The rates recommended are higher than those fixed the previous year, and considerably above any in effect in 1918. The average of the four sets of deter-

* [Minimum wage law ch. 706, Sec. 5, 1912. Each wage board shall take into consideration the needs of the employees, the financial condition of the occupation, and the probable effect thereon of any increase in the minimum wages paid, etc.]

minations reported in 1919 is approximately $13. The determinations of the Men's Clothing and Raincoat Wage Board, fixing a $15 minimum, represent the highest rate provided by any minimum wage decree in this State. (Pages 34-35.)

The conduct of wage boards, it is true, presents extremely difficult problems. The standards of the various boards differ greatly, and the action of individual boards is sometimes disappointing. Notwithstanding these limitations, the work is of distinct educational and social value. In addition to their concrete purpose of improving wage conditions for women and girls and in removing unfair competition within an industry, the wage boards contribute, although on a small scale, towards a solution of some of the serious industrial problems of to-day. In so far as they succeed in bringing together groups with conflicting views, and inducing them to recognize the community of their interest and their mutual obligation to the Commonwealth, in so far as they succeed in replacing prejudice with understanding, suspicion with confidence and respect, they are helping to remove some of the underlying causes of industrial unrest. It is through the recognition and conscious development of this service that the fullest possibilities of the wage boards can be realized. (Page 60.)

Minimum Wage Laws Are Good Business. Extracts from Letters by Employers Operating Under a Legal Minimum Wage. National Consumers' League, New York, October, 1920.

Labor Conditions Stabilized.

David J. Goldberg, Executive Director, Boston Dress and Waist Manufacturers' Association, Boston, Mass. May 15, 1920.

"It is my belief that a minimum wage properly arrived at and duly enforced works to the benefit not only of the employee but of the employer and the State as well. A proper minimum standard insures to a self-

supporting woman at least such a wage as shall enable her to maintain herself in respectability and good health. It places on industry the just obligation of supporting its own workers and affords to the liberal and broad-minded employer protection against unjust competition on the part of those who would underpay their labor regardless of any standards."

"An adequate minimum wage makes for a more contented labor body, for there is nothing more conducive to unrest or agitation than an inability to earn a decent living without sacrifice of principle, character or health. The State by providing such minimum wage fulfills one of the functions of government which is to give to its people every means and opportunity for right living and growth."

Luther C. White, Employment Manager, Clothing Manufacturers' Association of Boston, Mass. February 1, 1920.

"In short, I believe that a reasonable minimum makes for stability in labour conditions—the main thing we need today."

E. L. Thompson, Treas., Portland Woolen Mills, Portland, Ore. December 3, 1919.

"The fact is it has had a settling effect in business."

A. N. McDole, McCusick-Towle & Co., Manufacturing Confectioners, Minneapolis, Minn. February 6, 1920.

"Better wages have had a tendency to cut down labor turn-over, and that statement alone would justify this sort of legislation to a very large extent."

Great Britain.

Great Britain. Report to the Minister of Labour of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Working and Effects of the Trade Boards Acts. London. April, 1922.

46. We are also satisfied that the operation of the system has contributed on the whole to the improvement of industrial relations; and this effect is especially marked in the case of the trades to which the Act of 1909 was applied and which have had the longest experience of the working of the system. It has been stated that in a number of trades, where previously no machinery for joint negotiation of any kind existed, an atmosphere of suspicion and distrust separated employers and work-people and sporadic local disputes were frequent. The working of the Trade Board machinery by bringing the two sides together to discuss wages questions "round a table" has, in most cases, enabled each side to understand something of the other's point of view, and so has contributed to the growth of more satisfactory relations between the two sides and has tended to prevent the occurrence of industrial disputes. (Page 23.)

Great Britain. Committee of Enquiry into the Working and Effects of the Trade Boards Acts. Minutes of Evidence. 1922.

Statement of Mr. Humbert Wolfe, C.B.E., Principal Assistant Secretary Ministry of Labour in charge of the Trade Boards Branch. October 12, 1921.

The actual achievements of the Boards in respect of the improvement in industrial relations in the trades to which the Acts have been applied. (Page 34.)

610. . . . It is true roughly speaking, that there have been hardly any trade disputes of any kind in the Trade Boards trades. It is not completely true: there

have been one or two, but of course it is fair to say that the trades were unorganized, and you are much less likely to have serious trade disputes in unorganized trades, not because Trade Unions cause trouble, but because, when you have got an organized trade you can get a broader basis for determining your view. But apart from that, it is very noticeable that in Trade Boards trades interruption of work has been very small indeed in any of them throughout, and I think that it is a very noticeable thing, and a fact which should be borne in mind in estimating the value of Trade Boards as an instrument in dealing with industry at all.

611. That is so even in those which have become more organized as time has gone on?—Yes, it applies throughout. There must have been occasions—I have not got that noted—where actual disputes have occurred, but they have been very few and far between.

612. *Mr. Poulton*: So that it has had the effect, not only of setting up a standard of wages, but also the effect of steadying the industry from the standpoint of an employer not having his business upset?—We think so, certainly. . . . Certainly the general spirit seems to have improved steadily since the Trade Boards have existed.

618. *Lord Weir*: The real truth is that they have removed wages from the field of trouble?—That is really what it comes to.

619. You have still all the other causes of industrial trouble?—Yes.

620. Or do you suggest that even in connection with them the Trade Boards spirit—the atmosphere—improves them?—I do not want to be cynical, but I think that if you can settle the wages trouble in a trade, you have gone a long way to make it happy.

621. *Mr. Pugh*: [I am in steel. (Page 9).] That is consistent with our experience. (Page 39.)

Statement of Mr. W. H. Stoker, K.C., formerly Attorney General and then Judge of the Supreme Court in the Colonial Service, in 1915 Chairman of the General Munitions Tribunals, from 1916 to 1920 Arbitrator and Chairman of Arbitration Boards and Courts, Chairman of the Corset, the Fur, and the Made-Up Textiles Trade Boards. January 25, 1922.

10. I think that the working of Trade Boards improves the relation between employers and workers. Some employers, even in these advanced days of trade unions, object to and resent the intrusion of trade union officials into their relations with their workers. But their association under a scheme of meeting, to which they have been parties, and upon which they have been consulted in regard to its establishment, and in the presence of neutral persons, is quite a different thing. So far as my experience goes on the Boards of which I am an appointed member, the relations of employers and employed, so far at all events as their representatives are concerned, appear to improve at every meeting. This cannot but influence and reflect on employers and workers generally in the trade, and employers find that the Trade Boards protect them from unfair competition. (Page 771.)

Statement of Mr. Artemus Jones, K.C., Chairman of the Pressed Metal Wares, the Button, the Pin, Hook and Snap Fastener, and the Perambulator and Invalid Carriage Boards. February 1, 1922.

At the date of my appointment, in April, 1921, the abnormal trade depression, which began to set in at the end of 1920, was producing its full effect. All the rates had been fixed during the chairmanship of my predecessor, Mr. Jeeves, K.C., and throughout the whole of my time the chief controversy at the meetings has turned upon proposals brought forward by the employers for reduction in the rates of wages previously fixed. These reductions have invariably been carried by the votes of

the appointed members. Short as my experience of the system has been, it has been wide enough to enable me to see its machinery working under the most adverse conditions. No one in the Parliament of 1918 foresaw either the extent or the intensity of the present trade slump, so that the machinery of the Trade Board system has been subjected to a more severe strain than its framers ever contemplated. The defects of the machinery as disclosed in its working since 1919 are accepted on both sides, and the statutory changes necessary for the removal of these defects are not in dispute.

When the proposed reduction comes before the Board, the discussion pursues a course invariably the same. On the employers' side emphasis is laid on four points:—(1) the slump in trade; (2) the competition created in neutral markets by reason of depreciated exchanges in Mid-Europe; (3) the allegation that the workers themselves, appreciating the abnormal state of trade, would be content to accept reduced wages if left to themselves without the intervention of the Board; (4) the impossibility of paying existing wages without closing down the works. The points urged by the workers are likewise the same:—(1) the high cost of living; (2) the inability of the employers during the slump to guarantee full employment even were the reduction agreed to; (3) the inadequacy of the proposed reduction to meet the terrible drop in the depreciated exchanges; (4) the impossibility of living in reasonable comfort if the wages are further reduced. . . . Sometimes the employers have been content with a smaller reduction than they asked for, and now and again the workers do not vote against it. On other occasions the appointed members have had to discharge the disagreeable task of voting in favour of reducing the workmen's wages. (Page 785.)

(5) The effect of the Trade Board system on the relations between employer and the workman is beneficial on the whole. It varies in degree on different Boards. At one extreme stands the Perambulator and Invalid Carriage Board, which, meeting in London, embraces

employers and workers drawn from various parts of the country. Here the utmost cordiality prevails between the two sides, and most of the employers regard the system as a legitimate form of protection to the worker against the undesirable type of employer, and both sides are at one in the desire that the provisions of the Act should be fearlessly enforced. When, by reason of the slump in trade, the rates of wages had to be reduced I experienced little or no difficulty in negotiating between the parties. Indeed, it is only fair to say that I was deeply impressed with the common sense and the reasonableness which animated the workers in trying to meet the employers. Where a deadlock occurs the only implement left to the negotiator is an appeal to the sense of fair play and to the reasonableness of temper which, according to my experience, are inherent in both employer and workman alike. The task of finding some accommodation between the two extremes is diminished or increased according to the general attitude of the employers towards the Trade Board system.

The three other Boards of which I am Chairman meet in Birmingham, where the attitude of the employers is by no means friendly to the sort of legislation which is embodied in the Trade Boards Act. This is particularly the case with regard to the Pin, Hook and Snap Fasteners Board. This hostility rests upon more than one ground. It is founded mainly upon the opinion held almost universally among employers before the system was introduced, that the State has no right to interfere in any matter of bargaining between one man and another. Approaching the subject from this standpoint, they look upon the State regulation of wages as a mischievous interference with the freedom of exchange, and ignore the economic theory which treats this view as a fallacy. They feel also very strongly that the practical difficulties in the way of applying the machinery of the system to the actual conditions of the trade were not taken into consideration when the Act of 1918 was passed. The Act may or may not have been in advance of public opinion, but it was not preceded by any preliminary dis-

cussion or controversy so as to prepare the minds of employers for what was undoubtedly an innovation. There was, of course, the preliminary enquiry which is held under the statute before the Trade Board is established, but I cannot help feeling that had public opinion among Birmingham employers been rendered more familiar with the policy upon which the Acts are based the misconceptions which exist to the prejudice of the system might have been avoided. There is also widespread misgiving among some of the employers lest the Trade Board system, tending as it does to strengthen the organisation of labour, may lead, at a period of unexampled trade depression, to trade aggression. On the Button Trade Board and the Pressed Metal Wares Trade Board the hostility of the employers towards the system is not so pronounced. Taken collectively, nearly all the employers have worked the Act with loyalty, notwithstanding the political objection of some of them to the system. When the abnormal character of the existing trade conditions has ceased Trade Boards must, in my opinion, prove of increased advantage to both employers and workmen. The discussions enable them to understand and appreciate one another's point of view—the worker comes to realize the risks and anxieties which industrial enterprise involves, and the employers to understand and sympathise with the natural desire of the worker to reach a reasonably good standard of comfort for himself and his family. The great merit of the system as it exists is that it tends to humanize as well as to harmonize the relations between employer and workman. Its potential value lies in the fact that it supplies the foundation upon which the State can, if it chooses, build up some code or system of general principles for the settlement of disputes arising from industrial relationship. Just as modern industrialism increases steadily in its complexity, so do the economic problems to which it gives rise become more and more numerous. These problems can only be solved in one of two ways—either by an appeal to force, which means strikes and lock-outs, or by an appeal to reason and justice, which means some

system of conciliation of which Trade Boards are an example. (Pages 787-788.)

Statement of Sir Alfred Hopkinson, K.C., Chairman of the Aerated Waters, the Cotton Waste, and formerly of the Laundry Trade Boards, January 25, 1922.

10,650. *Lord Cave*: . . . . You say at the end that the influence of Trade Boards on the whole has been good?—I think so. I think the people get together, some of the trade union workers and some of the employers, and they see at once that they are both really out for doing the best they can for the workpeople; and I think both sides see that they are doing their best; and I think that a third party coming in sometimes does help in that way. (Page 768.)

Statement of Professor J. B. Baillie, C.B.E., Chairman of the Jute, of the Flax and Hemp, of the Aerated Waters (Scotland), of the Linen and Cotton Handkerchief and Piece Goods Trade Boards. February 8, 1922.

Whether a Board is established against the strong disinclination of one side, or whether the employers and workers in a trade have long been in open or secret hostility to one another, the effect of the institution of a Board has been, on the whole, in my experience, beneficial to the two sides. I have known the two sides of a Board begin operations in sheer conflict and after a time enter into satisfactory co-operation. Undoubtedly distrust and suspicion generated by long standing antagonism of interests, for which one side is sometimes more responsible than the other, form the main difficulty in the way of industrial co-operation. Open discussion at a Board in the presence of disinterested and independent persons appointed by the Minister, generally enables each side to appreciate the merits and to tolerate the defects of the other, and to cultivate a relatively im-

partial attitude on matters of vital concern to each side. The Appointed Members are also able, directly or indirectly, to tone down exaggerations, restrain incipient bitterness and interpret each side to the other in a manner which facilitates the cultivation of good feeling. All this forms part of the development of the sense of industrial partnership, which is one of the main objects of the existence of Trade Boards. Even where the result is only a very partial success as yet, it is at least a beginning of a better understanding, and more than could be accomplished if the two sides were left to independent action under the influence of long standing prejudices and unforgotten grievances.

With some Boards the success attained in this direction is greater than in others. It would not be too much to say that the entire success of Trade Boards depends on the personnel of the Board. Some people are capable of team work; others, both employers and workers, are incapable. Some see their advantage in removing hostility; others will cultivate hostility at the expense of their advantage. These matters are quite incalculable. Too much stress, therefore, cannot be laid on the importance of carefully choosing, as representatives of each side, persons who will be able and willing to work for the success of a Board and not for its failure.

There is no doubt that the effect of a Trade Board is to give the workers a degree of orderly control and direction in the affairs of their trade which they would not otherwise possess, and which, I think, they, on the whole appreciate. Only time will show whether they can take the full measure of their responsibilities and opportunities. (Pages 844-845.)

Statement of Professor F. Tillyard, Professor of Commercial Law at the Birmingham University, Chairman of the Birmingham Court of Referees. Chairman of Lace Finishing, of Coffin Furniture, of Chain, of Hollow-ware, and of Tin Box Trade Boards and member of the Tailoring Trade Board. February 15, 1922.

12,538. *Lord Cave:* Then on the general question you think that anything which brings employers and employed together round a table is a good thing?—Yes. I think there is a great deal more suspicion on both sides than is justified by the actual facts, and when people meet, suspicions evaporate.

12,539. They find that other people are not so black as they are painted?—I think so. (Page 899.)

Statement of Mr. W. A. J. Pitman, Chairman of the Shirt, Collar and Tie Manufacturers' Federation, and employers' represenative on the Shirtmaking Trade Board since its establishment in August 1913. December 6, 1921.

The witness handed in as his evidence-in-chief a statement in agreement with that handed in by the witness of the Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers' Federation, Mr. D. Little.

4349. *Lord Cave:* You say you have noted the agitation in certain quarters against Trade Boards. What is your view, founded on your experience?—With reference to the Boards?

4350. Yes.—That the general result in our trade of the actual Trade Boards has been one of considerable benefit both to the workers and to the employers. It has brought about a much better feeling amongst the employers generally; they have got to know each other in another way than as just competitors, and it has also brought out the workers' side of many questions that before was not considered by employers as a body, and

that the general result has been one of considerable benefit, I think, to the trade generally.

Statement of Mr. David Little, past chairman of the Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers' Federation and employers' representative since July 1910 on the Tailoring Trade Board and its successor, the Ready-Made and Wholesale Bespoke Tailoring Trade Board. December 6, 1921.

. . . . when the Trade Board was first formed there was naturally a feeling of suspicion of one another on both sides of the Board, and particularly seeing that Trade Boards at that time were purely experimental. For some considerable time the two sides kept much apart from one another, but for the last five or six years there has been a very close relationship between the two sides. It is suggested that perhaps one cause of bringing this position about was the meetings of the Administrative Committees. At these meetings all permits and questions of scope and other matters relating to the trade were discussed together in a very friendly manner, with the result that both sides recognised the views and interests of one another and so created a mutual and helpful spirit. . . . (Pages 311-312.)

Statement by Mr. Foster G. Robinson, (employers' representative on the Paper Bag Trade Board since it was established in May, 1919) on behalf of the United Kingdom Paper Bag Manufacturers' Association.

There is no doubt that the fact of the meetings of the Trade Board from time to time and particularly the Administrative Committee, have been to improve the relationship between employer and employed. At the Administrative Committee meetings all permits and questions of scope and other matters relating to the trade were discussed together in a very friendly manner with the result that both sides recognized the views and interests of one another and so created a mutual and help-

ful spirit. There is no doubt that this friendly co-operation has had the effect of preventing trade disputes, it being the fact that since the Board was formed no disputes of any consequence have occurred. (Page 993.)

Statement of Evidence submitted on behalf of the Wholesale Mantle and Costume Manufacturers' Federation of Great Britain.

Industry in Its Infancy.

Previous to the setting up of the Trade Board wages varied in different areas, particularly as this was a new and growing industry with sure and certain possibilities of still greater development in the future if trade disputes can be avoided. . . . .

Trade Board Avoidance of Disputes.

The Trade Board has thus far in this trade ensured the avoidance of any strike since it was set up, due to the following causes:—

(1) Meeting for the first time leaders of the Trade Unions.

(2) "Getting together," consequently gaining confidence in each other with a mutual anxiety for a "square deal."

(3) When difficulties have arisen during Trade Board meetings a way has been found to avoid stoppage of works by negotiation.

(4) The experience has not been a lengthy one, but in other and kindred industries (as for instance the Ready-Made and Bespoke Tailoring), largely through the Trade Board, strikes and disputes have been avoided even during the late war.

Future.

The future outlook of the wholesale differs from other branches of the trade because:—

. . . .

(3) The avoidance of trade disputes in this young and growing industry is necessary to ensure its development.

(4) Thus far this Trade Board has been the only alternative to a go-as-you-please policy. (Page 999.)

Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society, Ltd., Glasgow.
Evidence of Mr. A. S. Huggan.

I have been a member, on the Employers' side, of the Grocery Trade Board for Scotland, since it was formed in the early part of last year.

There have been differences of opinion between the sides constituting the Board, but there has been an atmosphere of goodwill, and a real desire to reach a satisfactory settlement at all our meetings, which augurs well for the success of the Trade Board system.

I think the object of the Trade Boards in seeking to secure and maintain industrial harmony is likely to be attained. The fact that representative men and women from the employer and employed classes are meeting together periodically, and exchanging views on matters of paramount interest to both, is likely to clear away differences before they become acute, and reach a state when they would be more difficult to settle.

I have no fault to find with the constitution of the Trade Board with which I am connected. While its numbers are large, they could not very well be much less, if the various interests of the trade concerned are to find adequate expression. The appointed members, and particularly the Chairman, have rendered good service in exercising a moderating influence when widely divergent views are expressed. Nearly all our findings were unanimous, and only in one or two instances was a vote necessary.

Co-operative Wholesale Society, Limited, Manchester.
Evidence of Mr. J. E. Johns.

Given a fair amount of goodwill on the part of the members of a Board, there is in fact still less likelihood of dislocations of labour, and, personally, we find from experience that the mere fact of the meeting together of representatives of employers and workers assists both sides materially in understanding and appreciating each others difficulties; consequently matters are not pushed to so extreme a point as when both sides meet under different auspices or strange conditions. The value, therefore, of the goodwill engendered under the Trade Boards cannot be overestimated.

In regard to the statement that the establishment of Trade Boards has resulted, or will result, in more unemployment, we have found no adequate proof of this in respect of industries governed by the Boards, and believe the charge to be one most frequently made by persons without knowledge and experience of the active working of a Trade Board, and, we fear, by those who are out for the destruction of the system.

Again, in respect of the question of unemployment it has been said that the fixing of minimum rates causes slow and inefficient workers to be discharged. We agree that it is possible this may happen in a small number of cases, but, on the other hand, we consider there is a far greater danger in allowing the man who holds the purse strings to say whether a worker is inefficient or slow.

There is, indeed, grave danger here of unscrupulous employers exploiting the deficiencies of these workers and using it as a means to keep wages down. The only reason for employing deficient workers (except in a few cases of charitable intent) is that their labour, however deficient it may be, is profitable to the employer. Few employers would retain it if it were not. However, we do not believe that the fixing of a living wage under Trade Boards has resulted, or need result, in the dismissal of numbers of inefficient workers. Rather do we incline to the view that a living wage will tend towards greater

efficiency if for no other reason than that the employer will concern himself more with obtaining efficiency after the enforcement of a legal minimum than he did before. (Pages 337-338.)

It is not on account of the fact that the fixing of Trade Boards rates has had little effect upon our societies that we are strongly in favour of them; it is upon the broad grounds of their humanity and goodwill; their capacity for improving the relations between employer and employed, and their influence towards the progressive ideals of mankind. We can see no safer ground, no surer hope for a better understanding between capital and labour at the moment than in the provision of a common meeting ground such as these Boards assure. The employer saved from undercutting in wages, wants a better appreciation of his difficulties, the worker a better understanding of his social, educational, and recreative needs; what greater hope have we in any legislation at the present time for the crying need of industrial harmony than in these Acts? (Pages 337-338.)

Summary of Mr. J. J. Mallon in behalf of the Trade Boards Advisory Council of the General Council of Trade Union Congress and member of thirteen Trade Boards. February 8, 1922.

Conclusions.

In considering the Trade Board system as a whole, the Advisory Council submit that its utility has been abundantly proved not merely to the workers concerned, but to the trades concerned as a whole, and to the community. The Council consider that the recent attack on the system arises not from any serious defect in the main provisions of the Acts, but rather as a result of the abnormal trade depression of the present year.

In this connection they would draw the attention of the Committee to the Majority Report of the Trade Boards Administration Committee, in which representa-

tive employers, workers and Appointed Members expressed the following opinion:—

> "That Trade Boards have been a potent means for securing and maintaining industrial harmony in the trades for which they have been established. It will be recalled that the establishment of Trade Boards in trades which were insufficiently organised to establish a Joint Industrial Council was recommended by the 'Whitley Committee' as a means of improving relations between employers and employed, and that the National Industrial Council of 1919 advocated the immediate establishment of Trade Boards in the less well organised trades. We consider that the almost entire absence of industrial unrest in trades covered by Trade Boards, even in the difficult periods during and after the war, of extreme and rapid fluctuations of money values, is a great tribute to the power of a Trade Board to settle rates of wages on a firm basis. It is significant that during the last few days both the Wholesale Mantle and Costume Trade Board (Great Britain) and the Dressmaking and Women's Light Clothing Trade Board (England and Wales) have, as a result of their first year's working, unanimously passed resolutions expressing their sense of the value of a Trade Board."

This opinion has been strengthened by resolutions passed unanimously on many Trade Boards, such as the following passed by the Ready-Made and Wholesale Bespoke Tailoring Trade Board on 27th April, 1921:—

> "That in view of the attempts now being made to bring about the abolition of Trade Boards, the Members of the Board of whom the majority have had many years' experience of the working of Trade Boards place on record their opinion that the establishment of a Trade Board has been of considerable advantage to the Ready-Made and

Wholesale Bespoke Section of the Tailoring Trade, notwithstanding certain administrative difficulties, towards the removal of which steps are now being taken: and that copies of this resolution be forwarded to the Minister of Labour and the Prime Minister."

The Council deplore the refusal of the Minister of Labour to accept the Majority Report of the Administration Committee in full, as they believe that by adopting the proposals set out in that Report the Minister would have secured the full co-operation of employers and workers experienced in Trade Boards in working the Trade Boards Acts. (Page 865.)

Statement of Mrs. Leonora Cohen, representing the National Women's Advisory Committee of the National Federation of General Workers. Member of the Laundry, Waste Reclamation and Sugar and Confectionery Trade Boards, and tailoress by trade. December 14, 1921.

6414. *Lord Cave:* You have worked in the wholesale tailoring industry?—Yes, wholesale. We have very little bespoke tailoring. A factory, of course, is acknowledged as being wholesale. There used to be endless disputes in the trade, and now those are almost conspicuous by their absence. When the slack period was on employers would ask the workers to take a reduced rate, to make either sample ranges or stock, so that if the workers did that they would be able to get orders; and when the trade got busy they were never able to regain their old position without a fight, or a dispute; but this refers more especially to women, and not so much to men. It was always the women's rates that were reduced first. These are absolute facts, and I think it has been a means of putting the trade on a basis, and the employers know that there is a certain minimum under which other manufacturers cannot go. (Page 453.)

6454. . . . . We generally have a difficulty on a new Board. In the first place the 1909 Act was set up for

sweated industries, and there is always a tendency on the employer's side to feel that he is brought into something against his will. There is always a minority, of course, who think that it will be a good thing in the end, because the employer knows there will be a minimum rate under which his competitors cannot work, and the friction that takes place between the workers' representatives and the employers is generally on account of this atmosphere which is created in the beginning; but I venture to suggest that in time that all wears down, because there is perfect harmony on some of the Boards. (Page 455.)

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Volume 96. July 19, 1917.

Mr. Prothero (Rt. Hon. Lord Ernle), President of the Board of Agriculture:

The Wages Boards will, I believe, when a certain amount of prejudice against the innovation has been overcome, prove to be valuable institutions in our rural life. I am not an advocate for their being called into being on any other ground than that I believe they will help to bring employers and employes together, as they have never been hitherto. I believe as time goes on that will be the effect of having these Wages Boards. See what they mean. They mean that two equal bodies of employers and employed meet and talk over wages. One of these two sections no doubt represents the interests of the trades concerned, and the other will represent the interest of what is the cost of living. They will discuss matters and gradually come to the point of agreement. In that process there is no doubt they will get to know one another very much better than before. Wages Boards will be a boon in this country if they are properly worked without political or social bias. They will impart into the hard economic laws of this county something of morality and something of conscience, and that is what we expect them to do. (Page 622.)

Canada.

Province of British Columbia. Department of Labour. From the Annual Report for the Year 1921. Report of the Minimum Wage Board. 1922.

The benefit to be derived from personal contact and considered discussion as between employers and employees at times when there is no strife was again evident. It was gratifying upon these occasions, as before, to note the gradual growth of mutual understanding of each other's difficulties and the developing spirit of give-and-take between the two classes. When the final deci-

sion was reached to recommend a continuance of the $14 weekly minimum, both sides had made concessions and compromises.

The Board has since met and approved the recommendations; the new Order being the same practically as the former one, the rates remaining as before. (Page 14.)

The Manitoba Minimum Wage Board. J. W. MACMILLAN, *Chairman. Manitoba Public Service Bulletin. Winnipeg, December, 1919.*

The very fact that the board had been constituted from two classes generally in conflict made it apparent to its members that harmonious action was highly desirable. And the simple and convincing principle upon which the law rested, that any industry taking the productive efficiency of a woman should at least work and pay her up to the level of wholesome living, made it possible for us, who might have differed radically about more contentious matters, to work in concord on this. In the thirty-five conferences which we held, besides many other meetings, I remember only two occasions in which I settled a difference of opinion by a casting vote between the representatives of the employers and employees.

Employers Were Sympathetic.

Having seen the desirability, not to say necessity, of harmony within the board, we next perceived the desirability of securing the approval of those who were to be controlled by the regulations we made. So we adopted the plan of summoning representatives from either side in each industry and discussing every point with them. We found, to our astonishment and delight, that they were ready to help us to the extent of their power and that they approved of regulations designed to support the well-being of the employees. In the thirty-five conferences only once or twice did an employer refuse to approve of a regulation which the board was disposed to

insist on, and in those cases it was some minor affair. I should like to pay my respects to the employers of Manitoba, and especially of Winnipeg, where most of the industries we dealt with are located, for their willingness to accept the principle of minimum standards and for their honorable carrying out of the regulations prescribed.

It might seem that the explanation of this ready consent lay in the extenuated nature of the regulations. But it was not so. In some of the establishments where large numbers of women were employed, practically every wage was increased. (Page 4.)

The Minimum Wage for Women and Girls in Manitoba. October, 1920.

The Minimum Wage Act of Manitoba, while resembling in a general way similar legislation throughout the world, is different in the one particular, that it makes no provision for Trades-Boards being called for each industry. The Board accordingly adopted the plan of calling representatives of both employers and employees in each industry into conference with itself. The result has been singularly happy.

Since the first meeting of the Board on the 26th of April, 1918, it has held 36 such conferences with the industries of Winnipeg, Brandon, St. Boniface and St. James which employ women. It has carefully studied the distinctive features of each trade, in joint session with some who knew it intimately, and in every case, with exceptions too trifling to signify, has succeeded in framing regulations which have been approved and agreed upon as fair and reasonable by the members of the conferences.

The expectation of the Board in regard to the good effects arising from these conferences has been realized in many respects. The Board believes that these conferences will have the effect not only of protecting and advancing the interests of the women workers of the province, but also of promoting good feeling between them and their employers, and of stimulating the productive

efficiency of the industries as a whole. In the era of industrial readjustment, upon which the world is now entering, when labor conditions may become less favorable to women, these regulations may give them greater security in their work and wages. (Page 3.)

The Board cannot express too cordially its appreciation of the assistance given it by the representatives of both employers and employees, who have met with it in the conferences. They have frankly and sincerely accepted the basic implication of the Minimum Wage Act; that an employment which utilizes a woman's productive power owes her at least a decent livelihood. They have contributed their intimate knowledge of the special industrial and living conditions in each case; and their reasonableness and good-will have been such that the regulations ultimately adopted were always first framed as an agreement within the industry before they became a law imposed by the Board. (Page 6.)

5. General Testimony Bearing on Effectiveness and Fairness of Legislation.

Besides the statistical proof of the success of minimum wage legislation there is increasing public opinion in favor of the measure and of the standard of a living wage. It has been endorsed by public commissions investigating industrial problems, by committees and boards, by eminent statesmen, government officials, employers, employees, economists and the churches.

(1) In the United States.

House of Representatives. 65th Congress, 2nd Session. Hearing before the Subcommittee of the Committee on the District of Columbia on H. R. 10367. Providing for the Establishment of a Minimum Wage Scale in the District of Columbia for Women and Children. April 16, 1918.

Statement of Mr. Arthur N. Holcombe, of Massachusetts:

I have been a member of the commission since it was first established six years ago. (Page 19.)

In conclusion, there are two general inferences which I have drawn from my six years' experience with the minimum wage in Massachusetts. First, and it is a positive conclusion, that, in general, high wages mean low labor costs. In comparing the pay rolls of competing establishments (and we were never able to make this information public in the most convincing way because we never felt free to make public actual conditions in individual firms), we found when comparing the pay rolls of different establishments competing in the same industry, selling in the same market, drawing their labor from the same sources, that as a general rule in those establishments where higher wages were paid for the same class of labor, the labor costs were lower, measured as a percentage of the goods sold. In other words, high wages and low labor costs tend to go together. (Pages 22-23.)

Secondly, we found that low wages were not always caused by low efficiency on the part of the wage earner. You frequently hear it said, "We cannot afford to pay a girl more than she is worth," and there is something in that. Then further you hear it said that what she is worth is indicated by what she is now receiving. There is often very little in that statement. The fact that a girl is receiving a low wage does not demonstrate that her worth is low. On the contrary, one of the factors upon which the efficiency of the girl, and hence the worth of the girl in that particular establishment depends, is the efficiency of the management. In other words, low wages may not indicate low worth on the part of the wage earner, but they may indicate low managerial ability on the part of the employer. (Page 23.)

Statement of Mr. Edward A. Filene, of the William Filene Sons' Co., of Boston, now Director of the United States Chamber of Commerce and Chairman of the Shipping Committee:

I have been rather surprised that so little has been said to you of our case. We employers need this legislation really, not figuratively; we need this legislation just as much as the employees do. Cheap wages make cheap standards, and the danger is that with all the details of the supervision necessary with cheap wages we will be satisfied with those cheap standards. Our business, the retail distribution, is about the most lawless business in the world, I think. (Pages 25-26.)

We are dealing in a business where the average thing doubles in price from the producer to the consumer, and this is disgraceful.

Now, the reason that we have not dealt better with it before I think is largely because we have not had intelligent enough employees. I think it will appeal to you gentlemen as business men that an underpaid employee will not have strength or desire to study very much to put more intelligence into the distribution, into the selling.

You say, of course, that the management ought to furnish the intelligence; they are paid a lot of money to do so. But, as a rule, we do not; we are hard pressed with small details of competition, and we usually go ahead as fast as we are pushed ahead; and the greatest incentive, the greatest power, the underlying power for improvement within the business, lies in correcting the weaknesses of our employees, and in intelligent study by the employees. The $7 a week girl is pretty hard pressed with her own problems, and she does not have very much time to do much more than just do her day's work and then worry for the rest of the time about how she is going to get along with what she has made that day. That is not good for the employer. A decent wage is based on intelligent work, which means intelligent management in the final analysis. Most of us business men see this. A minority of short-sighted men force the others to do really what they do not approve of; and after all, this minimum wage legislation merely provides the machinery. That is one of the real reasons for approving it—the minimum wage legislation merely provides the machinery by which joint action is secured by that part of the industry that really is far-sighted enough to advance it. That makes the slacker employer in the shops, in the industry, who does not want to think hard enough to see what is really the profitable thing in business, stop and think; it really takes the blinders off of him by making him give wages good enough so that he will have some time to think of these problems. (Page 26.)

If you are in doubt about the situation, I think you will find in stores over the country where the minimum wage is placed pretty high, higher than was contemplated in Massachusetts—you will find the owners are content. In Detroit, Hudson & Co., the biggest store in Detroit, pay $12 as a minimum wage, and the owners are very well satisfied and see that it does really pay to do that.

I am not going to deal with the theory that no trade or occupation is justifiable which does not pay a decent

wage. I think you have accepted that. The only thing that would take the place of this sort of minimum wage, and which might properly take the place of it, would be to make the employers pay as much attention to their employees and be as responsible to them as they are to their cows and horses. We treat our cows and horses well because we have got to pay out the money directly if we maltreat them and they become sick or die. If we were directly responsible for our employees, there would not be any need for the minimum wage proposition; but because we can drop an employee who becomes sick from lack of proper wages, because society takes up that burden for us, we blindly go ahead—short-sightedly go ahead—and let this system keep on. It ought not to go on, and especially it ought not to go on now. It has in it the poisoning of the very strength we need in this critical time if we are really going to win this war. (Page 28.)

Statement of Dr. W. C. Woodward. Health Commissioner of the District of Columbia:

I feel very much like apologizing for my presence here to-day. I presume I have been invited to speak merely for the purpose of getting into the record the fact that the health interests of the District and, I believe, the health interests of the Nation are concerned in the matter of the legislation intended to establish minimum wages for women and for children. The facts that I have to present are so patent, so well known, that it would seem like a waste of time if my appearance were for any other purpose.

That there is a very definite relation between wages and health, and between wages and morals, I think will be conceded by every one who at any time has had to earn his own living, and who has even the slightest knowledge of hygiene or health. We know that in any organized community we can not get ordinary shelter without paying for it; that to clothe the body costs money; that food costs money; that provision for ordinary protection

against illness requires money; and that protection of life—if you will provision for recreational facilities—requires the expenditure of money; and we know that the wage earner depends on her wage to get that money. It stands to reason, therefore, that inadequacy of wage means either of two things: on the one hand it may mean inadequacy of shelter, inadequacy of clothing, inadequacy of food, inadequacy of recreational facilities, on the one hand it may mean any one of those conditions, or it may mean all—with resultant impoverishment of health—or, on the other hand, it means that from some source or other the wage must be supplemented with possible resort to wrongdoing to accomplish that end. I am very loath, however, to connect up minimum wages with moral questions. The most I care to say there is that when one is tempted the lack of physical stamina and the necessity for maintaining life increase the weight of the inducement and certainly make yielding easier. (Page 29.)

From the postulate that adequate wages are necessary for the protection of health, we come to the question as to why working women particularly need the assistance of the proposed legislation. I am not going to undertake any analysis of the situation, such as was presented this morning, with respect to the ability of women to protect themselves in the matter of legislation and wage control, but I would like to point out a few essential facts. One is that so many of the girls who are compelled to go out to earn their living must go at a period of adolescence, at a time when it is essential that they be well nourished and not undernourished. It is essential for the full development of young girls that their life be not too narrowed by hardship. There is something more than bread and butter and clothing and a roof over our heads, and adequate development calls for it. A girl who is lacking in any of these particulars is not a girl who is going to develop into the best woman, to serve the State; she is not the girl who is going to have, we will say, the best possible instincts toward matrimony, and she is not the girl who will have the

greatest possible insistence on the wisest choice of a husband. Those things ought to be considered, because after all it is on marriage and the bearing of offspring that the race relies for its continuance in a proper form. So even without reference to a woman's own condition, and the maintenance of her own physical, mental, and emotional health, we must bear in mind the fact that when she marries and when she bears and rears children for the coming generation, if she has been properly trained and has adequate opportunities to care for herself we shall be able to maintain the integrity of the race, we shall be able as a Nation to meet the perils that confront us in the future as we are meeting the perils that confront us at the present time; and otherwise we shall fail. We have heard a great deal to-day with respect to the need of the individual woman; but we must go beyond that need and must face the fact that we are acting for the race, we are acting for the Nation, and the Nation needs all these women to be kept in the best possible condition. (Pages 29-30)

Senate. 65th Congress. 2nd Session. Hearing before the Subcommittee of the Committee on the District of Columbia on S. 3993. A Bill to Protect the Lives and Health and Morals of Women and Minor Workers in the District of Columbia, and to Establish a Minimum Wage Board and Define its Powers and Duties, and to Provide for the Fixing of Minimum Wages for Such Workers, and to Provide Penalties for Violation of this Act. Wednesday, April 17, 1918.

Statement of Senator Park Trammell, of Florida.

I have been very much gratified to note throughout the past decade the wonderful change in the trend of public sentiment toward providing a more suitable and adequate wage for the wage earners of this country. Our people, the people of America, have come to realize that a sufficient wage is not only in the interest of the

person who is to enjoy the same but it is in the interest of society, it is promotive of better citizenship, and the entire trend is to build up and to strengthen the social fabric of our country. (Page 7.)

Statement of Mr. Charles J. Columbus, Secretary of the Merchants and Manufacturers' Asociation of the District of Columbia.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee: I appear to-day representing the Merchants and Manufacturers' Association of Washington, formerly the Retail Merchants' Association.

Our association, as I explained at the House hearing yesterday, is made up of 33 organized lines of trade, and included among those units, which are known as trade sections, such as our department-store section, which employs about 5,000 people, are the section for laundries and our sections for specialty houses, for ladies' tailors, merchant tailors, and so on.

Each section has a chairman, and each chairman is automatically a member of our board of governors. I was sent here by the board of governors, which unanimously voted to support this bill. (Page 8.)

Mr. Louis Levy, who represents the laundry interests in the association, said: "Why surely there is no use in opposing a measure of that kind." Others that I have talked to, including personal friends, say that they see no objection to it. In the meeting which we had on this, of the board of governors of the association, they regarded it as a good bill. We like the commission plan; we like this form of arbitration, so to speak; we like this method whereby, as conditions change, either side can go to this commission and seek a rearrangement of the wage scale—that is, a minimum. (Page 9.)

Those that were not there were seen in person by myself, and the cigar trade was represented there—Mr. Henry Offterdinger and other large employers of female help; and this bill had his full approval. We figured that

inasmuch as the department stores and the laundries were the largest employers of female help, they were the real ones in interest in this matter. Every member of our board of governors had full notice that this matter was to be taken up. Yesterday afternoon and last night I had quite a number of men tell me how pleased they were that we had taken this stand on the minimum wage bill. (Page 10.)

Statement of Mrs. Frances Axtell, Formerly a Member of the Retail Store Wage Board of the State of Washington, Now a Member of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission.

However, the point you want to know, of course, is how this law has worked in our State, and whether both parties to the agreement are satisfied with it. I have had the pleasure of talking with many of the merchants in our State since 1913, to find out how this law operated, and whether they were pleased with it, and I have yet to find a merchant who would go back to the old method. They are all of them not only pleased with it, but they say that it pays them in dollars and cents to pay their employees more wages; and, of course, it is undebatable whether the girls are pleased or not. It has had a very marked effect on the women of our State who work in these stores. (Page 37.)

House of Representatives. 65th Congress. 2nd Session. Minimum Wage Board for the District of Columbia. Report No. 571 submitted by Mr. Hilliard, from the Committee on the District of Columbia. May, 1918.

The Committee on the District of Columbia, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 12098) to protect the lives and health and morals of women and minor workers in the District of Columbia, and to establish a minimum wage board, and define its powers and duties, and to provide for the fixing of minimum wages for such workers,

and for other purposes, herewith favorably reports the same with the recommendation that it pass. (Page 1.)

No one appeared in opposition to the bill. A remarkable circumstance which has probably never occurred in any previous legislative hearings on a measure affecting wage legislation in this country, was the appearance of the official organized body of employers—the Merchants' and Manufacturers' Association of the District, who sent their representative to make a statement indorsing the bill and urging its passage. This association has a membership representing 33 different businesses in Washington—department stores are the largest employers, having in their establishments probably 5,000 persons. The enlightened and progressive position taken by the employers of the District who are directly affected by the measure has properly impressed the committee. Their approval means that such legislation is recognized as being based on sound business principles, because it makes for a more efficient and more contented labor force. It also protects the fair and enlightened employer from underbidding competitors.

Besides the indorsement of employers, approval of minimum-wage legislation comes to us from the workers through their organizations, and also through three representatives who appeared in person. Mr. Keating, introducer of the bill, read into the record a resolution adopted by the thirty-third annual convention of the American Federation of Labor. It discussed the principle of minimum-wage legislation for unprotected workers, especially women and children, and recommended that provision be made for the proper representation of wage earners on minimum-wage boards, and that they be administered "so as to afford the largest measure of protection for women and minor workers."

The president of the Federal Employees' Union appeared to urge the passage of the bill. Two women workers of the national and local Women's Trade Union Leagues told of the need of this legislation from their own experiences as wage earners, and the manifold hard-

ships of attempting to live on wages too low for proper subsistence.

This bill, H. R. 12098, has also the strong indorsement of the authorities of the District—that is, the Board of Commissioners—who will be empowered to administer the provisions of the law, as well as the health officer, who speaks authoritatively on the health aspects of the proposed legislation. (Page 2.)

The Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics has recently published the results of an investigation into the cost of living in the District. Almost one-half (46 per cent) of the 600 women workers interviewed and questioned as to their income and expenditures earned less than $8 per week. Over two-thirds (64 per cent) earned less than $10 per week. (Page 2.)

This low wage was not owing to their youth and inexperience, for 72 per cent were 21 years of age or older, and one-half of those earning less than $9 per week had been at work for five years and more.

In connection with these figures, we must consider the actual cost of board and lodging in the District to-day. Owing to the abnormal conditions of war times, these costs have risen greatly, even during the past few months. In 1917, the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics stated that $6 a week was the "bare minimum" upon which the average woman could obtain board and lodging in Washington. A year later, information presented at the hearing on this bill showed that according to the room registration office of the local Council of National Defense the minimum expense at which a woman can now find board and lodging is $35 per month, that is over $8 per week. That means accommodation for two in a room, and very few rooms can be found at that rate.

The difficulties of obtaining adequate clothing even with the strictest economy upon the present wages received was brought out by the investigation of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In 1915, a State commission in New York estimated the "barest minimum for decent clothing," for a woman, to be $88 per year. Two years later,

nearly half (42 per cent) of the 600 women wage earners interviewed in Washington spent less than that minimum on clothing, in spite of the increased cost of materials. In 1917, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics a working woman in Washington to be "well but not extravagantly dressed," must spend approximately $125 per year. More than two-thirds (68 per cent) of the women interviewed spent less than that amount. In the lowest income groups, "the average expenditure for every item of clothing is below that which would permit of physical comfort and decency."

The committee concurs heartily in the opinion of this health expert [Dr. Woodward] that inadequacy of wages means either of two things, that is, inadequacy of all the essentials—shelter, clothing, food, etc.. "with resultant impoverishment of health"; or, on the other hand, "it means that from some source the wage must be supplemented with possible resort to wrongdoing." And the committee further agrees with Dr. Woodward when he says:

"I am very loath, however, to connect up minimum wages with moral questions. The most I care to say there is that when one is tempted the lack of physical stamina and the necessity for maintaining life increase the weight of the inducement and certainly make yielding easier." (Page 3.)

The investigation in the District showed that as in many other communities about a third (in Washington 31 per cent) of the women at work were living away from home. This answers the frequent assertion that working girls do not need to be paid a living wage because they are supported by their families and are merely supplementing the family income. The wages paid must take into account this substantial proportion of wage earners who are not living with families. Moreover, 21 per cent of the 600 women interviewed had dependents. That is, one-fifth were under the necessity of contributing to the support of others, besides supporting themselves. On the other hand, 45 per cent needed to receive

outside assistance in order to make both ends meet. (Page 4.)

The remedy which is proposed in this bill has already been tried and found successful in various States of the Union and in other parts of the English-speaking world. It is known as the minimum wage system because it provides a method for setting wages which are not too low for subsistence and below which wages may not fall. It lays down the general principle that a competent worker must have enough food, clothing, and shelter and the other essentials to keep life going. Without these essentials, the workers' efficiency as well as their personal welfare must inevitably suffer and decline with resulting injury also to the community of which they form so large a part.

It has proved practicable. (Page 4.)

Senate. 65th Congress. 2nd Session. Minimum Wage Board for the District of Columbia. Report No. 562. Submitted by Senator KENYON. *September 6, 1918.*

The Committee on the District of Columbia, to whom was referred the bill (H. R. 12098) to protect the lives and health and morals of women and minor workers in the District of Columbia, and to establish a Minimum Wage Board, and define its powers and duties, and to provide for the fixing of minimum wages for such workers, and for other purposes, having considered the same, report thereon with a recommendation that it pass.

65th Congress. 2nd Session. Congressional Record. Vol. 56. Pt. 9. Speeches before the House on the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Board Bill. July 8, 1918.

William R. Green of Iowa:

The old doctrine of laissez-faire has, I am glad to say, become almost obsolete. Even in England, where it originated, it has been repudiated. England has seen

the effect of this theory in the deterioration of the physical and moral well being of its workers. They found when they got into war that the physical condition of the average English working man was far below what it ought to be, far below what the public had the right to expect, and far below what it might have been had proper care been taken of them in the way of general law. By her old age pension law and other remedial measures England had shown that she no longer intends that the welfare of her workingmen shall be permitted, like the price of commodities, to be governed solely by the law of supply and demand.

A wage upon which the employee cannot live in decency and in some degree of comfort inevitably tends to lower not only the physical standard, but the moral standard. (Page 8875.)

William J. Carey of Wisconsin:

When the hearings were being held before the committee on this bill it was significant that no one offered in opposition to the bill. A remarkable circumstance which has probably never occurred in any previous legislative hearings on a measure affecting wage legislation in the country, was the appearance of the official organized body of employers—the Merchants' & Manufacturers' Association of the District—who sent their representative to make a statement indorsing the bill and urging its passage. This association has a membership representing 33 different businesses in Washington—department stores are the largest employers, having in their establishments probably 5,000 persons, their approval means that such legislation is recognized as being based on sound business principles, because it makes for a more efficient and more contented labor force. It also protects the fair and enlightened employer from underbidding competitors. (Page 8882.)

Stuart F. Reed of West Virginia:

The provisions of this bill, properly enforced, will not only benefit those who have their labor to sell, but will

protect those who buy labor by placing each employer on an equal footing with all others who employ labor for similar commercial activities. (Pages 8881-2.)

Joseph Walsh of Massachusetts:

But I want to say that I think that the State of Massachusetts was the first state to adopt a minimum wage law. It was, of course, looked at with suspicion at first, and thought to be somewhat of a fad, and that it would not work out in operation. But it has, and we have a board, I think, made up of five or seven members that has authority somewhat similar to that granted by this act. (Page 8885.)

65th Congress. 2nd Session. Congressional Record. Vol. 56. Pt. 12. Speech of Hon. AUGUSTINE LONERGAN *of Connecticut before the House on the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Board Bill. August 26, 1918.*

In itself the bill corrects a condition which might otherwise be the forerunner of serious economic and moral harm, and points the way to a clear solution of one of the most vexing problems of our national life.

Here we have united on a program—the employers, the employed, the large labor union organizations of the country, and those who devote their lives to economic questions as a vocation.

The war has brought home to every nation in it the importance of conserving its man power. Man power means national strength. But national strength will disappear if the health and moral welfare of the women of our land is not safeguarded, and one of the surest ways to safeguard them is to provide for wages for women that will guarantee good living conditions. (Page 604.)

65th Congress. 2nd Session. Congressional Record. Vol. 56. Pt. 10. Senate. Speech of WILLIAM S. KENYON *of Iowa before the Senate on the District of Columbia Minimum Wage Board Bill. September 13, 1918.*

It [the bill] has been twice unanimously reported by the Committee on the District of Columbia; it has passed the House without a dissenting vote. (Page 10278.) [Senate, September 13, 1918. Yeas 36. Nays 12.] (Page 10285.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Woman in Industry Service. Bulletin No. 4. Wages of Candy Makers in Philadelphia in 1919. 1919.

The subject of wages had taken on a new significance during the war. The policy which should underlie wage determination was officially defined by several Federal agencies. The most authoritative statement was contained in the report of the National War Labor Conference Board, which, as affirmed by the President, became the guiding principle for the National War Labor Board in the settlement of industrial disputes during the war. The paragraphs relating to wages are as follows:

1. The right of all workers, including common laborers, to a living wage is hereby declared.

2. In fixing wages, minimum rates of pay shall be established which will insure the subsistence of the worker and his family in health and reasonable comfort. (Page 7.)

Speech of SENATOR HARDING. *Marion, Ohio. October 1, 1920. The New York Times. Saturday, October 2, 1920.*

Justice and American standards demand that women who are employed should be paid a living wage, and it is entirely unfair to the State which fulfills its obligations to humanity in any piece of humanitarian legislation

affecting industry that other States, by failing to perform their obligation, gain a temporary advantage in costs of production.

Minimum Wage Study. Ohio Council on Women and Children in Industry. 1920.

Mary Anderson, Director, U. S. Women's Bureau, Department of Labor:

The conference of governmental officials in Seattle [in 1920] discussed the minimum wage legislation very thoroughly. They were all of the opinion that legislation creating a commission was the best legislation. They all felt that it was necessary at this stage of development of the country's industries and because of women's entering into industries in large numbers without standards as to hours, wages, and working conditions that such legislation was necessary against exploitation.

Arkansas. Bureau of Labor and Statistics. Third Biennial Report. 1917-1918.

The Minimum Wage Law is one of the best protective measures for labor upon the statute books of Arkansas, for those who are protected by its provisions are invariably unorganized and have no way of compelling employers to give them a shorter work day and a living wage, hence the law steps in and protects the weak. (Pages 14-15.)

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. Third Biennial Report. 1917-1918.

Summing up the accomplishments of the mercantile order, the effects were found to be:

1. That no establishment was forced out of existence by the order.

2. That the number of employees was not decreased, but increased 10 per cent.

3. That the minimum wage does not become the standard. In California it did raise the wage representing

the largest number of employes from the $9 to the $10 group.

4. That the minimum wage does not become the maximum for the number in the high-pay groups increased. Other conditions that are entirely separate from the minimum wage very definitely limit the size of the higher-pay groups.

5. That the minimum wage is a real remedial measure. The lowest-pay groups were eliminated entirely. The percentage in the other low groups was restricted to 25 per cent of the number of employees. The changes were not brought about by general industrial conditions. There was no noticeable movement toward an advance in wages of women at any time in the three years from 1914 to 1917. There were no new factors introduced in the few months from April to September, 1917, that would cause such an advance.

The low-wage groups have no surplus. All they earn must be spent for necessaries. They will not risk even one day's unemployment of their own choice. They do not have the funds to provide the nourishment that would give them the courage to demand better working conditions. Competitive conditions in industry do not permit a voluntary increase in wages that would not be common to all firms. A living wage is not granted until the public demands it for its own preservation. Not until the Industrial Welfare Commission passed the mercantile order did a noticeable increase in wages and improvment in working conditions take place. (Page 48.)

A summary of the effects of the order of the Industrial Welfare Commission in the laundry industry leads to the same conclusions as in the mercantile industry:

1. No establishment was forced out of existence by the order.

2. Employees did not lose their positions because of the order.

3. The minimum wage does not become the standard. It is true that in October 56 per cent of the laundry workers received a rate less than $10. This decreased in January to 22 per cent, or by 34 per cent. In October, there were only 15 per cent in the $10 groups. This increased in January to 47 per cent or by 32 per cent. It is equally true that 27 per cent received $9 in October and this was the standard wage then, with 56 per cent receiving $9 and under. The minimum does not become the standard but does better the standard wage.

4. As to the effect of the minimum wage upon the highest paid groups, the same comment already made in regard to the minimum wage becoming the maximum may be repeated. Those receiving the highest wages are those employed on the few highly skilled operations. The need for this group does not increase in direct proportion with the business, but at a slower ratio. Better pay promotes general efficiency of the management as well as the worker, and the need of supervisory employees is decreased rather than increased. This is offset to a certain extent in the total of wages paid by the fact that the minimum pushes up the wages along the whole line. The minimum may not increase the number of the highest paid positions. It is certain that the minimum does not become the maximum.

5. The minimum wage is a beneficial measure. The lowest pay groups have been eliminated. The number in the other low pay groups have been restricted. This has been accomplished without adversely affecting the number of employees, or the wages of the higher paid groups. (Page 87.)

Colorado. Industrial Commission. Second Report. December 1, 1917, to December 1, 1918.

The Commission from a careful study of the (minimum wage and labor law for women and children) is convinced that it is right in principle, and that it is practicable and workable. When the Legislature passed this

Act in 1917, it appropriated only enough money to pay the salary of the Secretary, authorized to be appointed by the Act. (Page 127.)

There have been no formal adjudications by the Commission, nor formal investigations since this Act was enacted. At the time it became effective this country had already become an actor in the Great World War, and as a consequence thereof, there was a rapid change in the situation of women and minors. With the voluntary enlistment and drafting of thousands of able-bodied males of this country, the demand for women and minors in the industries grew apace. The position of women as being limited to but a few certain caliings, changed, and the employers of the country, through necessity, were compelled to employ women in industries, filling the positions formerly occupied by skilled men. The demand thus created enabled women and minors to demand and receive what was for them unheard of wages. In most cases the women demanded and often received the same wages formerly paid to men, and as a result, the demand exceeded the supply; this being the case, and employers being compelled to go out into the open market and compete for this class of labor, there was no cause for complaint from the classes affected by the Act, and consequently this Commission had had very little practical work to do thereunder. No formal demands or requests for investigations authorized by the Act were filed. A few isolated individual complaints were received and adjusted without the necessity of any formal proceedings, and a few anonymous complaints were received which could not be verified. (Pages 127-128.)

The Commission believes that the Act, as it is now upon the books, is not only practical and workable, but contains many beneficent features, but the incoming Legislature should either appropriate a sufficient amount of money to enable the Commission to properly perform the duties imposed upon it by the Act, or repeal it. We believe that repeal is unwise, because in the reconstruction days following the war, industrial changes of vast

importance will undoubtedly ensue, so as to again place women and minors in the position where they may have to seek the protection of the law. (Page 128.)

Kansas. Industrial Welfare Commission. First Biennial Report. 1915-1917.

The inability of women workers to protect themselves, the effect upon them of the strain of industry and the harmful results to future generations when the mothers of the race are caused to work under such conditions as undermine their health, have caused public opinion to demand special protection for these women. Society begins to feel the necessity for helping these women to find their places in industry and for making these places suitable to work in. Much of this protection has been offered in the way of regulating hours and establishing standards of wages such as will offer women a comfortable and normal living.

The number of females of ten years and over engaged in gainful occupations the [1910] census shows to be 80,694, or 13 per cent of the entire female population. (Page 5.)

The very low wages often received by women workers make such a minimum rate of especial importance.

Long after the police power of the state had been invoked to limit women's hours of labor the question of wages was left to be settled by the individual or by collective bargaining. Realization of the poverty in which many working women exist, however, was gradually brought to our legislators through numerous comprehensive reports by federal and state bureaus. (Page 9.)

Hon. Edward W. Olson, *former chairman, Washington Industrial Welfare Commission. Tenth Biennial Report of the Bureau of Labor, Statistics and Factory Inspection. 1915-1916.*

Three short years ago, more than half the women workers of the state of Washington, exclusive of the

women employed in the lonely life of household domestics, were receiving lower wages than the minimum required to support them in lives of virtue and decency. Today, the 42,225 women employed in the state's industries, notwithstanding the past three years have been years of industrial depression, receive enough pay for their services to enable them to live in decency and comfort. They secure approximately $21,957,000.

The startling change in condition is due to the enactment of the minimum wage law, one of the reform legislations in which the far western states lead. The law, passed in spite of strenuous opposition from employers though with the strong approbation of the club women, now gives general satisfaction. Though it means a larger sum in pay checks for the majority of employers of female labor, few of them would willingly see the law repealed. They, as well as the women directly benefited by it, are more and more convinced the law is a wise and profitable legislation for both employer and employe. (Page 265.)

The minimum wage regulations have been in construction for the last three years, during which standard minimum rates of pay for women have been established in five leading industries and in various occupations. The work has been accomplished through the Industrial Welfare Commission, which is empowered with legislative and administrative authority.

The Commission, which undertook its work when serious business depression existed, was confronted with many seemingly unsurmountable obstacles. The overloaded labor market had forced wages to a very low standard. In its preliminary survey the Commission found the average wage but little in excess of wages for like industries in the East, though the cost of living is greater in the West. In mercantile establishments 50 per cent of the females were receiving less than a living wage, while a large group of workers receiving less than $7.00 weekly and some as little as $3.00 consisted of women entirely on their own resources. In factories the

wage standard was still lower, with more than 60 per cent receiving less than a living wage. Less than 40 per cent of the laundry workers earned enough for self-maintenance. The majority of the women employed in hotels received less than a living wage though waitresses were almost invariably receiving adequate pay. In telephone exchanges about 40 per cent were paid less than enough for decent maintenance.

In each case, the wage rate determinations of the Commission are based on the estimated cost of living of a self-supporting woman. No other basis could be just. To arrive at a proper conclusion in this matter it was found necessary to conduct an extensive investigation into this question. (Page 267.)

The conferences decided women employed in stores or general office work have an annual expense of $520; women in factory occupations, $462.80; women in laundries, telephone exchanges and general hotel occupations, $468; waitresses in hotels and restaurants, $572. Allowances were made in the budgets for two weeks' vacation expense, dues, insurance, amusements and church. These averaged $36.74 per year or 70 cents weekly. No allowance was made for time loss during sickness or unemployment, in which cases the unfortunate women must apparently rely on the dispensation of Providence alone. (Pages 267-268.)

The weekly minimum wage rates for women over 18 years, in accordance with the living expense budgets, are: Mercantile occupations, $10; factory work, $8.90; laundry work, $9; telephone exchange occupations, $9; hotel occupations other than waitress, $9, and office occupations, $10.

It is estimated that 75 per cent of the regularly employed women in the state have been brought under the minimum wage law. The estimate is based on census reports, investigations, surveys and reports relating to the employment of women. There are 12,750 salesladies in the mercantile establishments; 4,500 stenographers and typists; 2,725 bookkeepers, cashiers and accountants;

1,800 milliners; 2,200 dressmakers and seamstresses; 6,500 hotel maids, cooks and waitresses; 2,800 laundresses; 3,200 telephone operators; 450 hairdressers and manicurists, and 5,300 in various manufacturing occupations. (Page 268.)

The A. F. of L. Convention in St. Paul, 1918, endorsed the minimum wage law, and also that in Atlantic City, 1919. (Page 7.)

Minimum Wage Laws Are Good Business. Extracts from Letters by Employers Operating under a Legal Minimum Wage. National Consumers' League, New York. October, 1920.

Employers Endorse Minimum Wage Laws.

Morris B. Anderson, Pres., Raincoat Makers & Manufacturers' Assn., Boston, Mass. Feb. 2, 1920.

"Permit me to express my hearty approval of this legislation." [minimum wage for women]

F. E. Day, Shull-Day Co., (manufacturers of trousers and overalls) Tacoma, Wash. Jan. 19, 1920.

"Before the minimum wage law was enforced in this state and while it was yet being discussed, I was of the opinion that it would be very hurtful to us, but after observing its good, I entirely changed my viewpoint."

Luther C. White, Employment Manager, Clothing Manufacturers' Association of Boston, Mass. Feb. 1, 1920.

"We believe in it—and think that now, while the ordinary wage for labour is far above any minimum which would be fixed by any Commission, is a good time to get a fairly high minimum established. As a result, the [wage]Board on which I served in a readjustment of the minimum, fixed $15 per week for the trained worker. This figure was based, primarily, on the present cost of living, and is, of course, subject to revision later if that cost should decrease materially."

E. L. Thompson, Treas., Portland Woolen Mills, Portland, Ore. Dec. 3, 1919.

"For the past several years, Oregon has been operating under the minimum wage law, and greatly to the surprise of some of our employers, it has not brought 'harm to their business,' as they had feared. We feel that this law has been of actual lasting benefit to our industry in this state, and thoroughly believe in its provisions."

W. A. Hawkins, Director, Jordan-Marsh Co., (retail dry goods) Boston, Mass. Jan. 31, 1920.

"I beg to state that I do endorse a minimum wage law for women provided that law be so formed, and so constantly followed up by efficient inspectors and so backed up by sufficient penalty, that all, both large and small employers shall be forced to obey it."

A. J. Schroeder, recent president of the Wisconsin Retail Dry Goods Association, Racine, Wis. Jan. 31, 1920.

"Personally I am in favor of the minimum wage legislation because I think it will better the conditions under which everyone works, both employee and employer."

B. F. Schlesinger, general manager, Emporium (retail dry goods), San Francisco, Calif. Jan. 18, 1919.

"We have operated under minimum wage law for women for over a year and find it is not only beneficial for our employees but also for ourselves. Feel the mercantile community in the East when its operation is better understood will agree with majority of merchants here that it is wise and progressive legislation."

Geo. S. De Neale, Supt. S. Kann Sons Co., (retail dry goods) Washington, D. C. October 6, 1920.

"After operating under the minimum wage law for a period of twelve months, we are thoroughly convinced,

that if it is rigidly enforced, it is a good thing for both employer and employee."

C. B. Heinrich, (retail dry goods) Burrton, Kansas. Feb. 18, 1920.

"The minimum wage law for women employees is all right and I think it has helped the women and us wonderfully."

C. M. Lessenden, Manager and Owner, C. M. Lessenden & Co., (retail dry goods) Downs, Kansas. Feb. 1920.

"A few months ago word came to me that an effort was being made to do away with our minimum wage and maximum hour laws for working women. Personally, I think an employer is lacking in his better judgment when he tries to do away with anything as sound as this law.

"It is a splendid thing for Kansas and only marks Kansas again in a pioneer movement for the betterment of society."

George S. Danforth, Pres., Danforth-Scott, (retail dry goods) Wichita, Kansas. Mar. 16, 1920.

"We wish to add our indorsement to the minimum wage law for women employed in the state."

Earl C. Williams, Manager, The Crosby Bros. Co., (retail dry goods) Topeka, Kansas. Feb. 21, 1920.

"We most heartily approve of this law as it stands at present and would never think of going back to the old way of doing business."

Frank R. Jelleff, (women's and misses' apparel) Washington, D. C. October 6, 1920.

"We are very pleased to say that we find the operation of the minimum wage law to be of no detriment whatever to us, and we believe that for the community

as a whole it is a forward step. We heartily endorse it."

U. S. Department of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. January, 1919.

The Associated Merchants and Manufacturers of New York State, at a meeting held at Syracuse on Nov. 30, 1918, resolved:

(1) We are in favor of the principle of an adequate wage for women and minors.

(2) We favor the creation of a state minimum wage commission which, however, shall be competent and properly representative of industry, labor, and the public.

(3) That we especially favor the enactment of a federal minimum wage commission law which, upon its enactment, shall supersede existing state law. (Page 214.)

Principles of Economics. EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN, *L.L.D., Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University. Ninth Edition, Revised. New York and and London, Longmans, Green and Co. 1921.*

The arguments for a minimum wage are not materially different from those in behalf of the other forms of labor legislation. If it is legitimate to defend a minimum standard in respect to protection against accidents, and to the hours of labor, it is difficult to see why the arguments do not apply to the remuneration for labor; for to work for wages below a necessary minimum is at least equally hazardous to health and to efficiency. The arguments advanced against the minimum wage are the following: (1) the industry cannot afford to pay the increased wage. The answer is: first, that, as experience has shown, an increase of wage, especially in the parasitic trades, often leads to an increase of efficiency; and secondly, that if the industry is not able to pay living wages, it is better to replace it by one in which the natural advantages will

render this possible. (2) The danger is that all wages will be leveled down to the minimum, so that the minimum will tend to become the average wage. This is the same argument formerly advanced against the trade unions; but it is borne out by neither theory nor experience. (3) The implication is that the government must provide work at the given wage as well as wages for a given work. The answer here is that there is no more implied obligation on the government to provide work when it fixes a minimum wage than when it restricts the hours of labor or enacts laws affecting industrial hygiene. The law simply states that if the employer carries on the industry he shall do so under certain conditions. (4) The law is difficult of enforcement. This may readily be granted without, however, impugning the necessity of the law. The correct conclusion to be drawn is the need of adopting the best administrative methods. (5) The danger of interstate competition will render all such state laws nugatory. This objection may also be conceded in part; but to the extent that it holds good it follows that we shall ultimately have to come to federal regulation. (6) A compulsory minimum will mean a virtual gratuity to the unemployable. This, however, is really an advantage; for if the law will lead to a sifting out of those who do not want or are not able to work, the public will be in a better position to deal with the problem of unemployment.

The short experience with the minimum wage tends to show the following advantages of the system: (1) A distinction is made between the unemployed and unemployable; (2) the field of competition between the workers is restricted and the fluctuations not only in earnings but in production are somewhat checked; (3) an impetus is given to the formation of labor unions among the hitherto unorganized and weaker laborers; (4) the increased wages have been met partly by an increase in the quantity or quality of the output, partly by a reduction in profits, and partly by an advance in price. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that

the movement initiated in Australasia and subsequently adopted in Great Britain will spread rapidly in the United States and on the European continent. (Pages 652-654.)

Outlines of Economics. Richard T. Ely, *Ph. D., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Wisconsin. Revised and enlarged by the Author and* Thomas S. Adams, *Ph.D.,* Max O. Lorenz, *Ph.D.,* Allyn A. Young, *Ph.D., New York, Macmillan, 1920.*

Minimum wage legislation slowly introduced and carefully administered meets the test both of economic theory and actual experience. In Victoria the legislation which was at first doubtfully applied to six trades has now been made applicable to 141; and 150,000 workers in a population numbering less than one and one half million "have the minimum wages in their trades prescribed by law." Vigorously opposed by the employers on its introduction, it seems from reports of disinterested investigators to have established itself on a firm foundation. There is yet some opposition to details of the law and vigorous criticism of the way in which it is administered; but from all that can be learned those who desire to do away with this system of regulation constitute a very small minority. In England the results seem equally favorable [to those in Australia]. Nothing revolutionary has been accomplished, but the system has demonstrated that it is practicable, even in highly complicated trades; that it can be trusted to raise wages without seriously disturbing prices; that it mildly stimulates organization among workers who need organized effort to better themselves; that it compels serious study and public investigation of trades which need both; and that it is not productive of serious evils. The minimum wage has not become the maximum nor has the operation of the act resulted "in wholesale dismissals of old and slow workers". (Pages 482-483.)

Some trade unionists oppose minimum wage laws on the grounds that the minima will become maxima and that wages should not be regulated by law. But the first charge has been disproved by experience, and the minimum wage at its best is a program for compulsory collective bargaining, not for the regulation of wages by statute.

So far as economic theory is concerned, there is no reason to believe the minimum wage proposition unsound. The establishment of minimum standards of sanitation and safety in Germany does not seem to have hurt industry there, and there is no reason to believe that the establishment of minimum wage standards would do so. Without regulation much of the competitive fight centers about the mere money wage. A poor workman may be more profitable to the employer than a skilled workman provided the poor workman can be secured for a small enough fraction of the wage it would be necessary to pay to the skilled workman. Establish a dead line—or better, a health line—and the emphasis will be placed upon efficiency instead of cheapness. Wage earners will have to meet higher and better standards. The competitive struggle will thus operate to evoke efficient rather than low-paid workmen. And the higher cost of labor will help to force the introduction of better machinery and better methods of organization. (Page 483.)

That standards should be adopted, including a wage standard, which both employers and employees must meet, is on the whole consistent with the best economic and social theory. (Page 484.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Children's Bureau. Standards of Child Welfare. Bureau Publication No. 60. Minimum Wage. Dr. Jessica B. Peixotto, *Professor of Social Economics, University of California. 1919.*

For a century, facts slowly accumulated and assembled have shown that a large proportion of work-

ing people were being paid wages that demonstrably could not give them a bare subsistence. As consequence, for more than a generation the industries paying such wages, the so-called sweated industries, have been the focus for a rising tide of protest. Few persons in a modern community would not shudderingly protect the woman who stitched and stitched and starved, but equally few realize the hard fight necessary to eliminate the type; few trace the connection between legislation for a minimum wage and that process of elimination.

For minimum wage legislation has made its way in opposition to well-established opinion. Unquestioning acceptance of the speculative psychology that inspired individualistic doctrines led orthodox economists to insist that the operation of economic forces alone could determine the wages of labor. Any other method, they declared, would in the long run work to the disadvantage of the laborer and all other elements in society. Even collective bargaining has fought an uphill battle not yet won. Minimum wage legislation was for a long time altogether prevented. Not until a wave of new conviction swept over the civilized world, not until it came to be fairly well-established thinking that low wages are an injury to the worker and especially to the rising generation, and that the closest interrelation exists between a living wage and the health, the strength, the skill, and the intelligence of the working population,—not until then did the movement for a dead lift in wages through legal enactment get any headway. Dreariest fact of all, not until business interests came to see that well-fed labor spelled intelligent labor and thus labor that paid, did effective opposition to the passage of such laws cease. Then, in spite of the economist, because of the dread of physical deterioration that agitation and investigation had aroused, and because of a recent "business" principle that "cheap labor is dear labor," minimum wage legislation began. Though the emphasis, speed, and clearness vary, the leading nations are now all legislating on the principle that holds destitution socially disadvan-

tageous and therefore intolerable and declares it a social safety device to secure for all workers, from industry, not from philanthropy, the means to buy a minimum of food, shelter, and clothing. (Pages 118-119.)

An Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems. GORDEN S. WATKINS, *Associate Professor of Economics, University of Illinois. New York, Crowell, 1922.*

Minimum wage laws have been criticized for the following reasons: (1) They are an attempted contravention of the free play of economic forces in wage determination, and cannot be relied upon to improve the wage standard of any group; (2) they result in serious injury to employers in progressive states where such laws are enacted, because these employers have to compete with the more cheaply produced goods of industries operated in states having no such laws; (3) they tend to discourage labor organizations, because the workers will not give financial support to the labor movement when they can secure the same ends without expense, through the medium of law; (4) the minimum wage becomes the maximum, and results in economic injury to those whom it is designed to benefit; and (5) they put a premium upon inefficiency, since workers are assured a minimum wage regardless of output.

Experience in every country indicates that none of these ill effects have resulted from the enactment and application of minimum wage legislation, but that opposite tendencies have been much in evidence. In Australasia and Great Britain an increasing number of occupations are being brought within the operation of these laws, and the results have warranted this extension. An exhaustive investigation by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics disclosed the fact that minimum wage laws in this country are functioning satisfactorily. The income of the workers covered by these laws has been largely increased as a whole. A moderate

rate increased the pay-roll about $97,000 annually in one instance, and a rate of about $13 a week raised the pay in one industry more than 100 per cent in many cases, and more than 33⅓ per cent throughout the industry. These isolated cases are said to be typical of results everywhere. "The laws have had a large beneficial effect not only in supplying the actual necessities of the workers, but in transferring entire industries from a makeshift parasitic basis to one of self-support, making them an economic asset to the community instead of a burden."* The rates applied have not been so high as to bar women from employment and to attract men, as was feared by many persons who opposed the laws. The reduction of child labor has resulted, but this is an effect desired by all except the unscrupulous sweatshop operator. (Pages 607-608.)

The Church and Industrial Reconstruction. The Committee on the War and the Religious Outlook. The Association Press. 1920.

The Church's chief concern is not to determine the amount of living wage, but to insist upon the principle that the payment of such a wage, as determined by social experts, must be regarded as a first charge against the industry, a condition of its existence, a necessary business liability. The assumption that a living wage can be secured presupposes, of course, the fallacy of the so-called "iron law of wages," in accordance with which labor as a mere commodity is bought and sold at prices inevitably determined by supply and demand. The point of view of this report assumes what experience has now clearly confirmed, that wages can be socially regulated and controlled. (Pages 139-140.)

* Lindley D. Clark, "Minimum Wage Laws in the United States," Monthly Labor Review, March, 1921, p. 16.

Resolutions Adopted by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America at Cleveland, May 6-8, 1919.

3. That the first charge upon industry should be a wage sufficient to support an American standard of living. To that end we advocate the guarantee of a minimum wage. . . . .

The Legal Minimum Wage. Essay on The Church and Socialism. JOHN A. RYAN, *DD.,LL.D. Professor of Moral Theology at the Catholic University of America. 1919.*

Although the idea of a living wage goes back at least to the early Middle Ages, it received its first systematic and authoritative expression in the Encyclical of Pope Leo XIII, "On the Condition of Labor" * * * In that document the great pontiff flatly rejected the prevailing doctrine that wages fixed by free consent were always fair and just. This theory, he said, leaves out of account certain important considerations. It ignores the fundamental fact that the laborer is morally bound to preserve his life, and that his only means of fulfilling this duty is to be found in his wages. "Therefore," concluded Pope Leo, "a workman's wages ought to be sufficient to maintain him in reasonable and frugal comfort." This proposition, he declared, is a dictate of natural justice. (Page 58.)

Such are the requisites of reasonable comfort as determined by man's nature and needs, and as interpreted by all competent authorities on the subject. * * * The man who would assert that the worker and his family may reasonably be deprived of these things must logically contend that the worker may be killed or deprived of his liberty for the benefit of others. For the right of life, liberty, marriage and all the other fundamental goods rest on precisely the same basis as the claim to reasonable comfort. That basis is the inherent sacredness of personality. This sacredness is outraged, not

only when the person is killed, crippled, or imprisoned, but also when he is prevented from exercising and developing his faculties to a reasonable degree. (Pages 62-63.)

Therefore, it is probable that the majority of wage-earners are still getting less than a decent livelihood.

This situation is at once a grave reproach to our Christian civilization and a grave menace to the national welfare. It is a grave reproach to Christian civilization because every one of those persons who is forced to live below the normal standard is a human being possessed of intrinsic worth and sacredness, having an absolute and imperishable value. (Page 76.)

There seems to be but one measure that gives any promise of anything like general efficacy, namely, the establishment by law of minimum rates of wages that will equal or approximate the normal standards of living for the different groups of workers. (Page 82.)

A Living Wage. JOHN A. RYAN, *DD.,LL.D., Professor of Moral Theology at the Catholic University of America. Revised and Abridged Edition. New York, Macmillan, 1920.*

To-day the doctrine that the laborer has a moral claim to at least a decent living wage is almost universally accepted by all intelligent and disinterested persons, while the legal minimum wage has found its way into the statute books of countries in three continents. (Page IV.) Speaking generally, we may say that in none of these states and countries have the objections urged against this legislation been proved valid by experience, and that in practically all of them the success of the laws has exceeded all expectations. (Page 173.)

When the first edition of this book was in preparation (1905) only two economists could be found who had discussed the feasibility of enforcing a Living Wage by law. The verdict of both was in the negative. To-day the great majority of American economists are

of the contrary opinion. They have come to see that the arguments against the legal minimum wage are unsound in theory and have been refuted by experience. (Page 171.)

All the signs of the times point to a rapid extension of minimum wage legislation in all civilized countries. For the principle that wages ought not to fall below the level of decent living is now all but universally recognized; the principle that it is a proper function of the State to protect the worker against such injustice is likewise quite generally accepted; and all unbiased observers realize that the majority of the underpaid workers cannot be lifted out of that condition within a reasonable time except by the method of legal enactment. (Page 174.)

Work, Wealth and Wages. *Rev.* JOSEPH HUSSLEIN, *S.J., Ph.D., Lecturer Fordham University School of Social Service. Chicago, Matre, 1921.*

The mere operation of the law of supply and demand cannot be counted upon permanently to secure a living wage for all. Neither is it attainable through the conversion of selfish capital or even through the unaided efforts of altruistic employers. The latter will often be forced to yield to the conditions imposed by competition with unscrupulous rivals. (Page 16.)

The stable attainment of a living wage for all unable to protect themselves is possible only through wage legislation. Such legislation is a tradition in the Church. Wages, in guild days, were minutely regulated by guild statutes, which, in turn, were authorized by the State or municipality. In their "Social Reconstruction" the American Bishops demand a legal minimum wage. Minimum-wage laws for women and children have been introduced into many parts of the United States and Great Britain. They had long before been successful elsewhere. . . . Such laws hardly call for any defense at the present time. (Page 17.)

The Program of Social Reconstruction Issued by the Four American Bishops Constituting the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council. February 12, 1919.

Turning now from those agencies and laws that have been put in operation during the war to the general subject of labor legislation and problems, we are glad to note that there is no longer any serious objection urged by impartial persons against the legal minimum wage. The several states should enact laws providing for the establishment of wage rates that will be at least sufficient for the decent maintenance of a family, in the case of all male adults, and adequate to the decent individual support of female workers. In the beginning the minimum wages for male workers should suffice only for the present needs of the family, but they should be gradually raised until they are adequate to future needs as well. That is, they should be ultimately high enough to make possible that amount of saving which is necessary to protect the worker and his family against sickness, accidents, invalidity and old age. (Pages 232-233.)

Above and before all, he (the capitalist) must cultivate and strengthen within his mind the truth which many of his class have begun to grasp for the first time during the present war; namely, that the laborer is a human being, not merely an instrument of production; and that the laborer's right to a decent livelihood is the first moral charge upon industry. The employer has a right to get a reasonable living out of his business, but he has no right to interest on his investment until his employees have obtained at least living wages. This is the human and Christian, in contrast to the purely commercial and pagan, ethics of industry. (Page 239.)

(2) In Great Britain.

Ministry of Labour, Labour Gazette.

August, 1918.

The eight years' experience of the satisfactory results achieved by the trade boards, whose activities have proved of benefit, not merely to the workers, but to all section of the trades which worked under them, pointed to an extension of the Trade Boards Act, 1909, as the best means of meeting the situation. (Page 308.)

September, 1919.

Since the publication of an article in the August issue of last year dealing with the various amending provisions contained in the Trade Boards Act 1918, considerable progress has been made under the enlarged powers conferred by that Act. The results achieved by the Trade Boards Act, 1909, had shown that it was possible to raise substantially the wages in poorly paid industries without injuring their prosperity. (Page 369.)

Ministry of Labour. Trade Boards and the Fixing of Minimum Rates of Wages. London. January, 1920.

Effect of Trade Boards.

(1) On Wages. The experience of the existing Boards during the past eight years shows that they have raised substantially the wages of the lowest paid sections of their trades. It has been argued that the minimum rates tend to become the maximum rates, but experience has not borne out this view. On the contrary, all the evidence available goes to show that the relative number of workers in the various grades has remained about the same, and that the increase in the wages of the lowest paid sections has been accompanied by a corresponding increase in the wages of the better paid workers.

(2) On Trade. It is difficult to say what has been the precise effect on trade of the increased rates of wages

fixed by the Trade Boards; but there is certainly no evidence that they have reduced the prosperity of their industries. On the contrary, there is good reason to think that higher wages have stimulated better organization and better production on the part of the workers. Badly paid work is seldom or never good work; and the experience of the Trade Boards certainly suggests that the higher rates fixed have proved in the long run beneficial to the employer as well as to the worker.

(3) On Organization. As regards employers there is no doubt that the formation of a Trade Board has strengthened organization, both in the direction of increased membership of associations and of their fusion into strong federations. On the workers' side the effect on organization has been less marked, but there is no reason to think that the Trade Boards have retarded voluntary organization. In some trades, *e. g.*, the Tailoring trade, trade unionism has advanced rapidly since the Boards were set up. The policy of the workers' side is usually determined by the trade union representatives, so that by joining a union, the workers get better representation on the Board and more control over its actions.

(4) On Employment. The fear that the fixing of minimum rates would lead to the dismissal of the least efficient workers has not been realized in practice. The Board's power to give permits of exemption is a sufficient safeguard. There is also no evidence that the raising of rates has reduced the volume of employment or has led to the substitution of juveniles for adult labour. Both these points are naturally watched very closely by the Board, and in fixing learners' rates they ensure that there will be no temptation to replace adults by juveniles. (Page 4.)

Evidence Before the Agricultural Policy Subcommittee of the Reconstruction Committee. Great Britain. CD 9080. 1918.

Sir William Beveridge (now Director of the London School of Economics):

98. As regards the results of the Trade Boards Act, Mr. Beveridge made the following general observations:

(1) That in some of the worse-paid trades (in particular, lace finishing and chain-making) a substantial general advance of wages has been brought about. In others, where the original level of wages was higher, the advance has been less general. But in these also the Trade Boards have leveled up the rates paid by the worst employers and in the lower paid districts. There is no reason to doubt that the minimum rates fixed by the Boards are, in fact, generally observed.

(2) This has been accomplished without involving harmful effects upon any trade as a whole or hardship to any appreciable number of individuals. The power of putting inferior workers on piece-rates, together with the provision for permits of exemption for time-workers, have substantially met any difficulty of this kind.

(3) It has proved possible, even in trades which were wholly or largely unorganized, to set up fairly representative Trade Boards, and the setting up of the Trade Board has in itself largely increased the amount of organization both of the employers and of the work people. This has been particularly marked amongst employers.

(4) There is a fair amount of evidence of improvement of factory organization with a view to securing greater efficiency of production, and the higher wages have to a large extent come from this source. (Pages 15, 16.)

Report of Provisional Joint Committee Presented to Meeting of the Industrial Conference. Central Hall, Westminster. April 4, 1919. Cmd. 135. 1919.

The Committee have agreed that minimum time-rates of wages should be established by legal enactment, and that they ought to be of universal applicability. The committee took full cognizance both of the difficulties of determining on particular rates and of dealing with exceptional cases. (Pages 8, 9.)

Report of the European Commission of the National Industrial Conference Board. Chap. X, Sec. 1. Minimum Wage in Great Britain. November, 1919.

In general it may be concluded that the Trade Boards have raised wages considerably, especially among the less skilled workers.

There is no general tendency for the minimum wage to become the maximum; on the contrary, it is the wage of the poorest paid that seems to have been raised, while that of the more efficient workers was less affected. The fixing of minimum rates in these unrepresentative trades is held to have resulted also in "better organization among the employers and in improvements in the equipment and organization of their factories."*

Though prior to their extension, in 1918, they covered 375,000 workers, they cannot, because of the circumstances characterizing the industries included, be considerable factors in the industrial situation. Their chief value must always lie in the protection they afford to women and young persons in the less organized trades. (Page 174.)

* See the official view of the Board of Trade, London, in Third Report, New York State Factory Investigating Commission. Appendix III—19. Pages 243-44.

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Vol. 92. April 25, 1917. London.

Sir Arthur Black, M.P.:

I intend to vote for the Second Reading of this Bill, and I do so because of the Clause which deals with minimum wages.—The wages boards also set out in the Bill for providing means for paying the minimum wage were also subject to some criticism. I happen to be connected with one of the trades already scheduled under a wages board, and I know that under the regulations framed by those boards hundreds of thousands of workers in this county have secured to them a fair and reasonable wage which in many cases they would never have had apart from the operations of the wages board. Therefore if we get nothing else but this Clause under the Bill, I should think that the President of the Board of Agriculture had done a great day's work for the county, and I wish him all success. (Page 2507.)

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. (Lords) Vol. 26. August 10, 1917. London.

Right Honorable Viscount Milner:

As to the principle of fixing minimum wages at all by a Wages Board, I know that theoretically any number of arguments may be adduced against it. They were adduced—the same arguments as we have heard to-day—over and over again when the first experiment of a minimum wage was made in this county by the Trades Boards Act of 1909. We have now had seven or eight years' experience of that Act. I think there are few people in this country who would deny that it has done a very great deal of good, and I am sure that nobody would ask for it to be repealed. (Page 330.)

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Vol. 107. June 17, 1918. London.

Right Honorable W. Runciman, Member from Dewsbury:

I had the privilege of working at the Board of Trade during, it is true, a very busy time, when it was impos-

sible for me to give adequate attention to the operation of the trade boards, but I saw enough during the experience I had there to feel that all the anticipation of those who introduced the original Act in 1909 had been fully justified. There was not a single trade to which the Trade Boards Act was applied where its influence had not been that of unmixed benefit, an unmixed benefit not only to those employed in the trade, but to the employers themselves. I know something by personal knowledge of one or two of these trades. In the part of the county which I represent in this House we have had some experience of the work of the Trade Boards Act, and in these trades the employers as well as the employed would never think of going back to the old laissez-faire condition by which their relations were conducted in the past. (Page 85.)

Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P.:

These trade boards have rescued whole industries from abject squalor, and in quite a number of trades the worst forms of sweating have been abolished by agreement between the representatives of the employers and the workpeople. I could give instance after instance of what has actually been done.

I am safe in saying that quite apart from the workpeople altogether, there is not one employer who has had real experience of these boards who would wish to go back to the old chaos of industry. The boards can create the conditions which render such boards unnecessary; that is to say, the creation of these boards promotes hope, organization and self-respect in place of squalor and abject despair. (Pages 102-3-4.)

The Present Position of Industrial Women Workers. B. L. HUTCHINS. *The Economic Journal, December, 1921.*

Sir Lynden Macassey. Labour Policy False and True. London. August, 1922.

One particular class of wages questions does demand intervention by the Government. In well-ordered indus-

tries, where organisations exist effectively representing the employers and employed engaged in the industry, wages and conditions ought to be left as matters for collective bargaining. There are, however, many industries which are so scattered through the country or so subject to conditions incompatible with good organisation as to make collective bargaining impossible. In them reasonable minimum wages and conditions must be secured, and it is the duty of the Government to see that such provision is made, unless it is prepared to acquiesce in "sweated labour trades." Hitherto, the provision has taken the form of a Trade Board for the industry under the Trade Boards Act, and there is no doubt that type of organisation must continue in appropriate cases. (Page 250.)

The difficulties of the present time, which are being used as an argument against the system of Trade Boards regulation, in reality form a powerful argument for not leaving wages to be settled by caprice of the moment. The more complex the relevant considerations, the more necessary it is to have a representative authority to whom they can be referred and by whom the adjustment of wages can be effected after hearing both sides. In the absence of such an authority the weak position of workers can be taken advantage of to lower the standard irretrievably.

It is not, of course, intended here to imply that Trade Boards or the administration thereof should be exempt from criticism. No doubt mistakes have been and are being made. . . . The institution itself is one of tried and proved value. Numbers of weak and unorganized workers have been rescued from the extreme of poverty; industries regulated by Trade Boards have fewer strikes and labour troubles than have others; and, as Mr. Henry Clay pointed out in *The Times* (September 26, 1921), at the present time, when unemployment is rife, these industries have a percentage of unemployment which is well below the average.

It is an interesting set-off to the attacks that have been made, that those Trade Boards which have the

longest experience have recently passed unanimous resolutions (including, of course, the employers' representatives) recording their conviction that the operations of Trade Boards have been of advantage and benefit to all concerned, whether employer or employed, and adding an expression of appreciation of the appointed members' services. Regret in at least one case was expressed that an attempt should have been organized to cast discredit on the system. (Pages 465-466.)

The Human Needs of Labour. B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Director, Rowntree & Co., Cocoa Manufacturers, York, England. London, Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1918.*

First, we must ask the question whether industry can afford a vast increase in its wage bill. I may remind the reader that, speaking generally, increased wages may come from one or more of the following sources:—

(1) A decrease in the cost of raw materials.
(2) An increase in selling prices.
(3) Reduction of profits, but not below the level required to attract the necessary capital.
(4) An increase in the productivity of industry, whether due to better organization and machinery, greater efficiency on the part of the workers or management, or any other factor.

The last of these is undoubtedly the most important. We cannot limit its possibilities. The war has shown that, when the need arose, huge improvements could be made with incredible rapidity in process after process; and industry could be so organized that, without adding to the strain on the individual worker, the output was enormously increased. If development in this direction continues steadily after the war, and the additional wealth created, or the economies effected, are devoted as far as possible to the payment of a living wage, we shall have taken a long step towards the solution of our problem.

Trade Boards should be set up for all industries, and instructed by statute to fix at the earliest possible date, for men of ordinary ability, minimum wages which would enable them to marry, live in a decent house, and bring up a family of normal size—which I here assume to be a family with three dependent children—in a state of physical efficiency, while allowing a reasonable margin for contingencies and recreation. This, as we have seen, will probably mean not less than 44s. a week, when prices drop to 25 per cent above the pre-war level.

I know that it will be impossible to insist on such wages at a Trade Board's first meeting. Industry must have a breathing space in which to adapt itself to fresh conditions. This, indeed, constitutes the argument for fixing wages by a number of Trade Boards rather than by the enactment by Parliament of a flat rate. But a definite limit must be set to the breathing space. Doubtless sweeping changes must take place in many industries before they can conform to the new policy; but if it is inflexible, those changes will be made. Industry, after all, exists for citizenship, not citizenship for industry. (Pages 136-139.)

Report of a Conference of Employers Chiefly Members of the Society of Friends Held at Woodbrooke, Birmingham. April 11-14, 1918.

[The minimum or basic wage] should be determined primarily by human needs; [wages above the minimum] by the value of the service rendered.

The basic wage for adult women of average industry and capacity should be the sum necessary to maintain her in a decent dwelling and in a state of full physical efficiency, and to allow a reasonable margin for contingencies and recreation. (Page 132.)

We believe that the payment of such wages should be regarded by employers as a necessary business liability. Till that is discharged they should very strictly limit the remuneration for their own services, nor should they pay larger dividends upon borrowed capital than is essential to ensure an adequate supply. (Page 132.)

Conference of Bishops of the Anglican Communion. Report of the Committee Appointed to Consider the Opportunity and Duty of the Church in Regard to Industrial and Social Problems. London. 1920.

We reaffirm the principles commended in an index to the 1908 Report. The Christian Church, which holds that individual life is sacred, must teach that it is intolerable to it that any part of our industry should be organized upon the foundation of the misery and want of the laborer. The fundamental Christian principle of the remuneration of labor is that the first charge upon any industry must be the proper maintenance of the laborer—an idea which it has been sought to express in popular knowledge by the phrase, "the living wage."

This must not be interpreted as a bare subsistence wage. There must be sufficient to live a decent and complete, a cleanly and noble life. (Pages 70-71.)

Christianity and Industrial Problems. Being the Report of the Archbishops' Fifth Committee of Inquiry. London. 1918.

We think that it is the duty of the nation to take without delay such steps as may be necessary in order to secure a full living wage and reasonable hours of labour to all workers in industry, and that it is the duty of Christian men and women to press for the establishment of such conditions by all means in their power.—We hold that the payment of such a wage in return for such hours of work ought to be the first charge upon every industry.

At the same time, it is necessary that steps should be taken to raise the wages of the more poorly paid workers. To indicate upon what lines such steps should proceed, we would refer our readers to the experience derived from the administration of the Trades Boards Act of 1909.—Such Trade Boards have now been established in eight industries in England, and five in Ireland, and their number is likely, we understand, to be considerably increased in the near future. They have played

an important part in stimulating and giving practical effect to the public opinion of the trades in which they are established, and have enabled the higher standards of certain districts to raise the lower standards of others. They have largely increased the earnings of a large number of poorly paid workers, with the approval both of those employed and of the majority of employers. By establishing a minimum below which wages cannot be driven, they have enabled workers who previously were too poor or too helpless to organize to protect themselves by combination, and to obtain by trade unionism rates considerably above the minimum fixed by the Boards. (Pages 75-77.)

Christian Social Reconstruction. A Statement of Principles and Proposals put forward by the Interdenominational Conference of Social Service Unions [of the Baptist, Catholic, Christian, Congregational, Friends, Unitarian, Presbyterian, Primitive Methodist, United Methodist and Wesleyan Methodist Churches]. London. 1918.

[The] more flagrant abuses [of the wage system] may to some extent be remedied by a gradual and prudent extension of the Trades Board system and by the giving of a legal sanction to a minimum standard in the manner of the Coal Mine Act. (Pages 5-6.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. Minimum Rates of Wages of Agricultural Laborers in England and Wales. Vol. XI, No. 2. August, 1920.

It is stated that no really satisfactory comparison with figures for 1914 can be made, but a comparison of the minimum wage for 1920 with the average wage for 1914 shows an increase of 140 per cent, the matter of hours not being taken into consideration. It is believed, however, that the actual increase was substantially greater. (Page 85.)

(3) In Australia.

The Australian System of Dealing with Labor Disputes. GEORGE BEEBY, *Minister of Labor for New South Wales. The Survey. June 7, 1919.*

To understand the Australian system it is necessary to realize that the county generally has accepted three definite industrial claims as now beyond dispute.

3. The recognition of the principle of a living wage in all industries—that is, the drawing of a line below which competition in the labor market is illegal, but above which ordinary economic forces come into play. (Page 399.)

A New Province for Law and Order. III. HENRY BOURNES HIGGINS, *High Court of Australia, Melbourne. (President since 1907 of the Court of Conciliation and Arbitration.) Harvard Law Review. December, 1920.*

Even employers are at last beginning to recognize the advantages derived from the existence of an impartial tribunal, such as the Court, so far as it reduces to system and order the conditions under which human life can be used for the purposes of industry. Recently, the Metropolitan Gas Company of Melbourne published a statement as to the value of minimum rates of wages being fixed by such an authority—a statement which would certainly not have been made when the gas employees first came before the Court and the company was doing all it could to crush the infant union:

"It must be apparent that employers generally, and the controllers of public utilities in particular, must have the guidance of some constituted authority to establish rules governing the fixation of the basic wage, and that once a principle is adopted it should be adhered to until some better method is found. . . . It has been claimed by the worker that the Arbitration Court is not an ideal tribunal; but it must be admitted that up to the present it has been of inestimable benefit to the employees." (Page 114.)

Employers' Federation of New South Wales. Report of Annual Meeting. 13th November, 1919.

Report of Employers' Conference on Industrial Relationships.

After full consideration this Conference is of the opinion that the following principles applied to our industrial activities might prove of value as a means of promoting that harmony in our industrial life which is so essential to the progress and prosperity of the Commonwealth.

1. The continuation of the present system of Arbitration Tribunals for fixing the Living Wage, and for settling the Standard Wage and working conditions in each industry. (Page 22.)

The Church and Socialism. Rev. JOHN A. RYAN. *Washington, 1919. Essay entitled "The Legal Minimum Wage."*

The compulsory arbitration laws of New Zealand and of some of the Australian states embody the principle of a legal minimum wage, inasmuch as the rates fixed by the arbitration courts are the lowest that any employer is permitted to pay throughout the trade involved in the dispute and the award. Despite their limitations, these laws have been successful not only in securing industrial peace, but in maintaining decent wages in all trades affected. This is the verdict of all impartial observers. (Pages 94-95.)

Minimum Wage Study. Ohio Council on Women and Children in Industry. 1920.

Most students of the Victorian system of wages boards, who have investigated conditions at first hand, have agreed in regard to certain important results of the system, while perhaps not in full accord in regard to other consequences. There may be said to be general agreement in regard to the following results:

1. The prevention of "sweating" which was the original purpose of the legislation has been accomplished, although some writers are inclined to argue that general business prosperity, rather than the wages boards, is mainly responsible for the elimination of this evil. Inasmuch, however, as "sweating" did continue in certain occupations until the Victorian Anti-Sweating League called Parliament's attention to the matter and secured the appointment of wages boards in these occupations, it must be presumed, in the absence of specific evidence to the contrary, that the wages boards were responsible for the disappearance of sweating.

2. That wages have increased in those trades in which the wages boards exist is always admitted. The further fact that the wages have increased more rapidly in the trades with wage boards than in those without them creates a strong presumption that the wages boards are partly responsible for the increase. The increase of wages has, of course, been mainly in the class of the low-paid workers.

3. Strikes are much less frequent in the trades governed by wages boards, the Government statistics show. This is not because the law forbids strikes, for it does not do so, although it does provide the Court of Industrial Appeals may suspend the operation of a wages board's determination while a strike is in progress in that trade. The reason why strikes are relatively infrequent is that since wages and hours have been fixed by the boards, the motives to strike have been largely eliminated.

4. The more recent investigators of the industrial situation in Victoria all agree that the industrial progress of the State has not been adversely affected by the work of the wages boards and that employers' objections to the law have largely disappeared. Many of them give their warm approval to the plan, for it puts all employees in a given trade on terms of equal footing in the matter of wages and thus raises competition to a higher plane.

[Written by M. B. Hammond, Ph.D. of the Ohio State University.] (Pages 3-4.)

(4) In Canada.

Canadian National Industrial Conference of Dominion and Provincial Governments with Representative Employers and Labour Men, on the subjects of Industrial Relations and Labour Laws, and for the consideration of the Labour Features of the Treaty of Peace. Ottawa, September 15-20, 1919.

Message of Sir Robert Borden. Prime Minister of Canada:

It is perfectly idle to expect that grave and difficult questions will not arise between employer and employed in this country. Those questions must be solved in such reasonable manner and by such effective methods as will command the confidence of both capital and labour. On the one hand employers must realize that out of the horror and welter of this war new ideals have been evolved and new conditions established. Industrial development and supremacy have sometimes been purchased at a price greater than any people can afford to pay. I am speaking not of conditions in this country, but of those which, to my knowledge, have prevailed elsewhere. The physical degeneracy of a considerable portion of the population is too high a price to pay for domination of the world's markets. If in any lines of industrial development we cannot hold our own without so terrible a sacrifice, then such lines ought to be abandoned and our effort directed elsewhere. Labour is something more than a commodity. The physical well-being and the moral welfare of the people should go hand in hand. Standards of living which are regarded as satisfactory in some industrial communities of the world cannot be tolerated in this country. The employer if he is wise, will concern himself with all the recommendations* and suggestions laid down in the Peace Conference as to hours of labour, sanitary conditions, protection of

* Report of Committee on Minimum Wage Laws—adopted unanimously:—Therefore be it resolved that this Industrial Conference recommend to the Governments of all those provinces, which have not adopted Minimum Wage Laws for Women and Children, the speedy investigation of the necessity for such laws, and, if so found, the enactment of such legislation. (Page viii.)

women and children, and the general welfare of the labouring man. There can be no permanent or satisfactory industrial development which is not founded on the welfare of the labouring population which maintains it. (Pages 6-7.)

The Labour Gazette. The Department of Labour, Canada. Volume XX. Number 5. May, 1920. Uniformity of Labour Laws. Report of the Dominion-Provincial Commission Appointed to Consider the Subject.

IV. Minimum Wages for Women and Girls.

We approve the principle of a minimum wage for women and girls, and recommend that a competent authority be created in each Province in the Dominion to establish a minimum wage adequate to maintain self-support for women and girls, and such authority shall be empowered to fix the hours of employment for such women and girls not already provided for by legislation, and further recommend that such hours of employment should not exceed 48 per week except of employees engaged in domestic or agricultural employment. (Page 546.)

Canadian National Industrial Conference of Dominion and Provincial Governments with Representative Employers and Labour Men, on the subjects of Industrial Relations and Labour Laws, and for the consideration of the Labour Features of the Treaty of Peace. Ottawa, September 15-20, 1919.

E. Parnell (Winnipeg), representing manufacturing interest in general:

In the caucus held at the hotel the gentlemen representing the manufacturers agreed by unanimous consent, without any hesitation at all, to the arrangement that women and children should have a minimum wage. There was practically no discussion about it, and I want to give those gentlemen credit for their decision. (Page 109.)

I propose to discuss the relation of the minimum wage to labour conditions. The view which has long prevailed that labour is but a part of the finished product, and must of necessity be treated on the same basis as the materials which go to make the finished article, without any regard as to whether the labourer is enabled to get from the wage paid the necessaries of life, is one that in my opinion must be discarded; in other words, labour should no longer be treated merely as a commodity.

I am well aware that I will be confronted with the statement that in this age of competition it is impossible to run a business successfully along these lines, and that industry can only pay according to the ability of the employee to produce; that, if you adopt a minimum wage, what will become of those unable to earn it; that it would generally retard employment for the reason that greater cost affects competition, and that employers are unable to stand the abnormal wage. My answer is that the minimum wage is now in force in this country in many factories; it is given voluntarily to the men, by statute to the women, and it has not been found to work to the detriment of either employer or employee. On the contrary, the employee has had a wage which has enabled him to get a better standard of living, he has had more strength to attend to the duties he has to perform, and has had a contentment in his heart that has led to greater efficiency which has fully compensated the employer for any loss he may have seemed to sustain.

The commission's report* makes a recommendation that a minimum wage should apply to women, girls and unskilled labour. With reference to the latter class, while I have stated that it is now worked out voluntarily in some industries as it relates to males, still it is to a large extent in the experimental stage as far as they are concerned; but with regard to females it is now past the experimental and is found to be working quite satisfactorily, as is evidenced in the province of Manitoba, from which province I come. (Page 110.)

* Report of a committee of the Conference. (Page 186.)

6. Prophecies of Evil Disproved by Actual Experience.

(1) Business Not Hurt But Helped.

Elimination of waste and increase in production can more than offset wage increases due to minimum wage legislation. Waste and consequent decrease in production attributable to management, to summarize the Hoover report on "Waste in Industry," lie in faulty management of materials, plant, equipment and men; interrupted production; and restricted production intentionally caused. Lost production is also caused by ill health, physical defects and industrial accidents. In Part III (3) of this brief is shown the close connection between low wages and ill health.

British experience (Pages 314-327) clearly shows that minimum wage laws are a direct incentive to reduce waste.

By Decreasing Waste in General.

Waste in Industry. Committee on Elimination of Waste in Industry of the Federated American Engineering Societies. Washington, D. C. Part I. Summary of Detailed Report. Federated American Engineering Societies, 1921. Chapter II. Sources and Causes of Waste.

Four Aspects of Waste in Industry.—Waste in industry is attributable to

1. Low production caused by faulty management of materials, plant, equipment and men.
2. Interrupted production, caused by idle men, idle materials, idle plants, idle equipment.
3. Restricted production intentionally caused by owners, management or labor.
4. Lost production caused by ill health, physical defects and industrial accidents.

Relative Responsibilities.—Management has the greatest opportunity and hence responsibility for eliminating waste in industry. The opportunity and responsibility of labor is no less real though smaller in degree. The opportunity and responsibility chargeable to outside contacts can not be so clearly differentiated or evaluated. The relative measure of these is shown by the quantities in the following table which come from the composite evaluation sheets in the engineers' field reports.

Industry Studied	Responsibility assayed against Management, Points*	Responsibility assayed against Labor, Points*	Responsibility assayed against outside contacts (the public, trade relationships, and other factors) Points*	Totals, Points
Men's Clothing Mfg.	48.33	10.50	4.95	63.78
Building industry	34.30	11.30	7.40	53.00
Printing	36.36	16.25	5.00	57.61
Boot and Shoe Mfg.	30.25	4.85	5.83	40.93
Metal Trades	23.23	2.55	2.88	28.66
Textile Mfg.	24.70	4.70	19.80	49.20

From the preceding table are derived percentage values for each of the agencies against which responsibility is assessed, as follows:

Industry Studied	Responsibility assayed against management	Responsibility assayed against labor	Responsibility assayed against outside contacts (the public, trade relationships, and other factors)
Men's Clothing Mfg.	75%	16%	9%
Building Industry ..	65%	21%	14%
Printing	63%	28%	9%
Boot and Shoe Mfg..	73%	11%	16%
Metal Trades	81%	9%	10%
Textile Mfg.	50%	10%	40%

The quantities presented above justify the following statement: over 50% of the responsibility for these

*The relative responsibilities have been evaluated in "points." A theoretical total of 100 points represents all possible waste. As no plant is or could be entirely wasteful the number of points assigned in any case must be less than 100.

wastes can be placed at the door of management and less than 25% at the door of labor, while the amount chargeable to outside contacts is least of all. It must be recognized that if management is to meet this responsibility fully it must have the co-operation of labor.

In every industry studied there are outstanding examples of good management but the bulk of the industry does not approximate this standard. In the clothing industry, for instance, one plant was rated by the engineers 57 points higher than the worst one studied and 42 points better than the average.

The following table gives a comparison for each industry studied of the total number of points assessed as waste in the best plant investigated, compared with the average of all the plants.

Industry	Points assayed against the best plant studied Points	Points assayed against the average of all plants studied Points	Ratio best to average
Men's Clothing Mfg.	26.73	63.78	1:2
Building Industry ...	30.15	53.00	1:1½
Printing	30.50	57.61	1:2
Boot and Shoe Mfg..	12.50	40.83	1:3
Metal Trades	6.00	28.66	1:4½
Textile Mfg.	28.00	49.20	1:1½

These tables present the consensus of opinion of the engineers engaged in field studies to the effect that the average of management is much below the standards set by certain individual executives who have achieved notable success.

It must not be assumed that these points or ratios are valid in comparing the waste in one industry with that in another. They are useful only in making a comparison of waste in plants within the industry where they were assessed.

Low Production

Faulty Material Control.—In certain industries the waste of materials is a serious drain on production—a

fact which is revealed by a comparative study of plants in the same field.

The methods of control which are common in the shoe industry account for the greatest loss in shoe production, with the possible exception of seasonal demand and production. Firms leave it to the cutters to economize in leather. Where standards are in use, waste frequently occurs through carelessness and lack of training of cutters. The loss from idleness in shoemaking occasioned by waiting for work and material amounts to some 35% of the time. (Pages 8-10.)

Faulty Design Control.—The defective control of design results in a major waste, since it prevents standardization of product. In the building trades, for example, while the standardization of dwellings and other types of buildings is not generally practicable, yet certain details are entirely capable of standardization. Standardization of the thickness of certain walls might mean a saving of some $600 in the cost of the average house. . .

Among current magazines there are 18 variations in width and 76 in length of page or column. Among trade paper publications there are 33 variations in width and 64 in length. Among newspapers there are 16 in width and 55 in length. These variations cost the public not less than a hundred million dollars each year.

The standardization of newspaper columns to one size would make possible an annual saving of $3,000,000 to $5,000,00 on composition and plates alone. (Page 11.)

Faulty Production Control.—The lack of adequate methods of production control is evident in every industry studied. It is one of the outstanding weaknesses. . . The lack of effective planning and administration in one large typical plant wastes one-fifth of the worker's time. . . .

A shoe factory having a capacity of 2,400 pairs of shoes a day could turn out for a considerable period only 1,900 pairs because of shortage of needed racks. Another factory had 50,000 pairs of shoes tied up in the fitting room instead of the normal 15,000 because of congestion of

operations. In another case a factory producing 700 pairs of shoes a day had 36,000 pairs in its fitting room, or ten times the normal supply. An entire factory was held up for several days waiting for leather heels.

From shop records it is found that the average loss in clothing factories during running time, not including shut downs, is between 30 and 35%. If we call 80% running time the maximum readily attainable, this means a possible increase of nearly 20% in productive capacity, and a similar increase in plant capacity.

It is found that at least ten hours per week per man is thrown away on energy-wasting and time-wasting work resulting from lack of shop methods, while an additional two or three hours per man per week are wasted in unnecessary work.

Fixing the value of annual output in the men's ready-made clothing industry at $600,000,000 it should be relatively easy to save three-quarters of a million dollars a day, an increase of 40% in effectiveness. . . .

Lack of Cost Control.—The majority of the industrial plants studied lack a knowledge of costs and have no cost control. Therefore there is no adequate method of judging fairly and accurately when improvements are needed and when waste is occurring. . . .

Lack of Research.—While certain industries are ahead of the rest in plant research, the need for more intensive research activity is apparent in every industry. One industry which is backward in this respect is clothing. . . .

Faulty Labor Control.—With perhaps two or three exceptions, shoe shops have no departments maintaining modern personnel relations with the employees.

A high labor turnover is a rough index of one of the common wastes resulting from inadequate labor management. No facts are available to show the extent of labor turnover as an unavoidable element in industrial waste. . . . In the shoe industry the cost of training an inexperienced man for cutting upper leather in a well managed shop is $576; for a semi-experienced man, $450; and to

install an experienced man in a different shop costs $50. For the average shop these figures are unquestionably low.

The average labor turnover for the year 1920 in the metal trades plants covered (wherever records were kept, which was the case in less than half of the plants), was 160%—figured in most cases as the ratio between the number of "separations" and the average number of employees on the payroll. The highest turnover was 366%. . . .

Another fault in labor control is improper or inadequate rate setting. In negotiations and controversies between employer and operator in the shoe industry, what stands out is the lack of knowledge of facts which can be used as a basis for setting rates. (Pages 12-14.)

Ineffective Workmanship.—Still another loss resulting in low production arises from inefficient workmanship; for much of this management is responsible through failure to provide opportunities for education of special training. (Page 15.)

Interrupted Production.

Idle Men.—(1) *Minimum Unemployment.*—The amount of idleness or unemployment in industry can only be evaluated through rough estimates. There is no national machinery for collecting the facts.

But in the best years, even the phenomenal years of 1917 and 1918 at the climax of war-time industrial activities, when plants were working to capacity and when unemployment reached its lowest point in twenty years, there was a margin of unemployment amounting to more than a million men. This margin is fairly permanent; seemingly one or more wage earners out of every forty are always out of work.

This unemployment means for the worker a loss in wages, for industry increased overhead due to idle equipment and idle materials, and for the public a lessened purchasing power, with all its attendant evils.

(2) *Unemployment Caused by Industrial Depressions.*—During periods of industrial and business depressions, unemployment reaches its greatest amount . . . and each brings its increase in unemployment and wastage of the productive capacity of industry. (Page 15.)

(3) *Intermittent Unemployment.*—In addition to minimum and climacteric unemployment, many essential industries show a high unemployment or idleness once a year or oftener. Practically all industries are in a sense seasonal.

To present a few examples: The clothing worker is idle about 31% of the year; the average shoemaker spends only 65% of his time at work; the building trade workman is employed only about 190 days in the year or approximately 63% of his time; the textile industry seemingly has regular intervals of slack time; during the past 30 years bituminous coal miners were idle an average of 93 possible working days per year.

During the exceptional year of 1919, in the paper box industry 4,311 employees in 77 establishments averaged 90% of full time; in the women's clothing industry 6,772 women workers employed in 157 establishments averaged 91%; in the confectionery industry 12,152 workers in 101 establishments averaged 87%; and in the overall industry 6,546 workers in 129 establishments averaged 87% of full time. In the brick, chemical and glass industries the percentage of full time worked was 85, 84 and 87, respectively. In most years the percentage of lost days is much larger.

Not only does intermittent unemployment reduce the productive capacity of the industry in which it exists, but it brings other wastes. One consequence is a concrete but fallacious industrial philosophy, the "make work" or "lump of work" theory. This is the belief that there is only so much work to be done and that the sensible course of action is to retard production to make employment last throughout the year, or to uphold prices.

(4) *Unemployment Due to Labor Disturbances.*—Another form of unemployment comes from open conflict be-

tween management and labor. Here it should be said that in the past, at least, the amount of waste from the general run of strikes and lockouts through loss of wages and curtailment of production has been less than is popularly supposed. (Page 16.)

In New York State in 1916 two days were lost per capita per year by those classed as gainfully employed, because of strikes. This was a loss only one-fifth as serious as average time lost through illness. In the same state in 1918 about 32% of the time lost from strikes and lockouts was in the building and clothing industries.

In addition to the direct loss of time, however, there is a loss incurred through retarded production previous to and immediately following strikes. . . .

Idle Material.—The waste of idle material through deterioration, obsolescence and carrying charges is large, particularly where there are great inventories of both raw material and finished goods. Unbalanced production is another notable cause of idle materials and consequent waste.

Idle Plants and Equipment.—Unsound production policies result in wasteful over-equipment.

Clothing factories are built 45% larger than is necessary; printing establishments are from 50% to 150% over-equipped; the shoe industry has a capacity of 1,750,000 pairs of shoes a day, and produces little more than half that number; throughout the metal trades, standardization of products would permit of large reductions in plant and equipment. . . .

Restricted Production

Production Restricted by Owners and Management.—Some of the evils of restricted production are chargeable to owners and management. In the building trades, contractors, builders and supply dealers have restricted production by maintaining high prices, collusion in bidding and unfair practices. At times there has been collusion between employers and labor, tending to raise prices un-

duly. The waste from these causes cannot be measured in this study.

By Labor.—Restrictions of individual output for which workers are responsible are susceptible of measurement. They are of two kinds. On the one hand, when workers are scarce the less conscientious workers become independent and slacken speed, whereas when workers are plentiful, they work with greater diligence and care for fear of unemployment. On the other hand, the dread of unemployment is so pronounced that employees engaged in seasonal enterprises frequently restrict production in order to make employment last longer; some workers, moreover, through consideration for their fellow employees limit production to provide work for them, a practice which ultimately results in an economic loss. (Pages 17-18.)

Lost Production.

From Ill Health.—. . . Assuming that the average life has, aside from all spiritual and human values, an economic value to industry of not less than $5,000, and assuming that the special diet, care, and medical attention required by a man chronically ill costs $3 per day, it has been estimated that the economic loss from preventable disease and death is $1,800,000,000 among those classed as gainfully employed—or over $700,000,000 among industrial workers in the more limited meaning of the term. (Page 21.)

From Industrial Accidents.—In 1919 there occurred in industry about 23,000 fatal accidents, about 575,000 non-fatal accidents causing four weeks or more of disability and 3,000,000 accidents causing at least one day's disability. The figures for 1918 were about 13% higher.

The time lost is estimated to be 296,000,000 days. Allowing for an average wage of $4 per day during the time actually lost, adding an estimate for impaired earning power because of disability or death, but subtracting the subsistence of those killed, this gives an economic

loss to the country of about $853,000,000 for the year 1919. (Page 22.)

By Increasing Efficiency.

Outlines of Economics. RICHARD T. ELY, PH.D., LL.D., *Professor of Political Economy in the University of Wisconsin. Revised and enlarged by the Author and* THOMAS S. ADAMS, *Ph.D.*, MAX O. LORENZ, *Ph.D.*, ALLYN A. YOUNG, *Ph.D. New York, Macmillan, 1920.*

The supply of labor is not, however, merely a matter of the number of available laborers; it is also conditioned by their efficiency. The physical strength and vigor, industry, intelligence, ingenuity, and moral qualities of the laboring population determine the amount and kinds of work they can do. These things vary greatly as between different races and as between different individuals of the same race. They are not entirely a matter of heredity, for they can be influenced greatly by the physical and social environment. So far as high wages mean more and better food, and improve the other conditions of living, they tend to increase physical and mental efficiency, and thus to increase the quantity and better the quality of labor that can be got from a given population. There may often be, even when we take only production into account, a real economy in high wages. (Page 433.)

Moreover, a high standard of life is, as we have seen, one of the things that make for productive efficiency on the part of the laborer, and hence tend to increase his earning capacity. (Page 439.)

Great Britain. Ministry of Health. On the State of the Public Health. Report of the Chief Medical Officer for the Year 1921. London, 1922.

IX. Relation of Food to Health and Disease. Conclusion.

(i) In buying food the worker is buying health and energy—the power to be well and to do work;

(ii) A slight reduction in quantity or quality of food below that which is necessary and wholesome causes a relatively large diminution in the working efficiency of the individual; . . . (Page 86.)

Great Britain. Ministry of Munitions. Health of Munition Workers Committee. Interim Report. Industrial Efficiency and Fatigue. London, 1917. Part I. Industrial and Statistical Studies.

4. Incentives to Work, with Special Reference to Wages.

1. The rate of output, which is frequently, even for individuals, a measurable quantity, may be an indication of the presence or absence of fatigue; and the occurrence of sickness, as indicated by irregular timekeeping, and of injuries, may be some measure of the health and efficiency of operatives; but of all the varied influences affecting the health and efficiency of munition workers, the Committee have found that of *incentives to work* the most intricate and difficult to investigate. Nevertheless, the subject is of such immediate importance as to demand consideration.

2. The inclination to work rather than to be idle, even though this inclination is a variable quantity in different individuals, is an important natural phenomenon, as important as the desire for rest which follows work at periodical intervals. Various incentives, such as the necessity to earn a daily livelihood, may reinforce this inclination, and some incentives are operative to-day which are peculiar to the present crisis. . . .

3. Whatever the original motive to undertake munition work may have been, the vast majority of operatives so employed to-day earn their living thereby; and the stimulus systematically used as a reward for work done and to procure even greater activity is payment of wages. Any discussion of wages from the standpoint of political economy would be foreign to the scope of the Committee's deliberations, though they recognize that considerations of the greatest moment must, on this

ground, be excluded from the present study; but they have constantly found that the health, i. e., the absence of sickness, physical and mental, and efficiency of workers is influenced by their earnings, and that output, which has been closely investigated as an indication of fatigue, may be influenced by the wage system in force. They have therefore, considered it desirable to state how far they have found the efficiency of workers affected by the method of remuneration adopted. (Pages 69-70).

The Present Position of Industrial Women Workers. B. L. HUTCHINS. *The Economic Journal. London. December, 1921.*

No doubt rising costs of production at home, and the difficulties which the results of war and the nature of the Peace settlement have placed in the way of foreign trade, are giving some manufacturers a great deal of trouble, and the reduction of wages of the weaker classes of workers may be regarded as the simplest expedient for easing the transition. But it is also a disastrous and extravagant one, as it tends to lower the efficiency not only of the women workers themselves, but of the next generation. (Page 465.)

The personal efficiency of workers can also be improved through bettering the environment. Given time for the change to take effect, the productivity of industry can undoubtedly be increased in this way. A great deal has been written on this subject, but its importance is still imperfectly appreciated. Thus, in a Report on the Causes and Conditions of Lost Time, Professor Loveday emphasized the opinion that sickness as a factor of lost time is under-estimated, and slackness over-estimated. If ill-health of workers spells economic loss to employers, healthy conditions and sufficient rest must be financially important. . . . It will be remembered also how markedly the industrial efficiency of women improved under the influence of the better pay and conditions given during the War, especially in munition work and engineering. (Page 468.)

Labour and Capital After the War. Edited by S. J. CHAPMAN, *Professor of Political Economy, University of Manchester. London. Murray, 1918. Ch. X. B. Seebohm Rowntree.*

Now, in pursuing the quest for industrial efficiency, the first problem that meets us is that of the level of wages. Men work, as a rule, to earn wages, and the whole relationship between Capital and Labour is very largely determined by the wages that are paid. Here, the primary condition to be fulfilled is that, with the least possible delay, all adult workers of normal ability shall receive as an absolute minimum a reasonable living wage. By this I mean a wage which will enable a man to maintain a family of normal size in a state of physical efficiency, and allow a small margin for recreation and incidental expenses. With prices as they were in July, 1914, I should place the cost of providing the bare necessities of physical efficiency at about 26s. a week, allowing 5s. for rent, but this is on a very stringent basis and provides not a farthing for contingencies nor for recreation or any kind of luxury. A considerable addition must be made to this sum to turn this bare physical efficiency wage into a reasonable wage. Moreover, it must be remembered that the cost of living is very much higher now than it was and is not again likely to drop to the level of July, 1914.

A woman should receive at least sufficient to maintain herself in respectable surroundings, and to allow some margin for recreation. Assuming that a woman, if not living at home, lodges with a family, I should place her minimum wage, just prior to the war, at about 16s. (Page 234.)

By Utilizing Defectives.

Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. Commission on the Church and Social Service. Research Department. Information Service. January 13, 1923.

Employment of Cripples in the Ford Plant.

The undertaking of the Ford Motor Company profitably to employ cripples and persons suffering from various physical handicaps in the automobile industry is described at some length in the New York *World* for January 7, in an article by William M. Stidger, a well known Detroit minister. Mr. Stidger records that Mr. Ford consistently refuses to give to charity because he does not believe in it; that is to say, he is interested rather in making the handicapped person productive. This undertaking is in no sense disguised charity. There are cripples at work on jobs for which they are well adapted who can produce just as much as a physically normal worker. Blind men are working at the regular wage scale at jobs which Mr. Ford proved they can do quite as well as men who see. It is a Ford employment policy that no man should be turned down on account of a physical defect and that no man should be discharged because of such disability. "We do not prefer cripples," says Mr. Ford, "but we have demonstrated that they can earn full wages." Even tubercular patients, Mr. Stidger records, are employed in the plant, provision being made for the isolation of those who could not safely be allowed to mingle with the other workers. More than a thousand tubercular patients are now employed by the company. Convalescents in the Ford hospital are also allowed to work, fitting nuts and bolts, with a black oilcloth over the hospital beds and on their laps. It is reported that this makes recovery quicker and kills monotony of the convalescent period. Deaf mutes are also employed with a very high relative efficiency.

All this means that Mr. Ford has had careful job analyses made throughout his plant. The jobs are classified with reference to their requirements in physical exertion. In this way it has been found that 670 jobs can be performed by legless men, 2,637 by men with one leg, 2 jobs by armless men, 715 by men with one arm, and 10 by blind men. Actually at work on these jobs are 9,563 "sub-standard" men. (Page 3.)

By Preventing Deterioration of Labor Supply.

U. S. Department of Labor, Children's Bureau. Standards of Child Welfare. Bureau Publication No. 60. 1919. Wage Principles. Professor F. S. DEIBLER, *Northwestern University.*

Ordinarily, in the case of material goods, if the price does not cover the cost of production, the goods will no longer be produced. But unfortunately we already have a supply of labor, and we will continue to have a supply, even though the cost of maintaining it in a state of physical efficiency is inadequate; even though that cost in the form of wages is not sufficient to maintain laborers in a state of physical efficiency. Excessively low wages will result in a gradual deterioration of the character of the labor supply and will result eventually in a depreciation of the productivity of industry. (Page 116.)

By Lessening Labor Turnover.

Wages for Women Workers. MARY ANDERSON. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. January, 1919.*

Another beneficial result of paying adequate wages that should be mentioned is the immediate decrease in the "labor turnover" which means the constant hiring of large numbers of workers to take the places of those who leave. The greatest number of employees leaving their place of employment can be found without a doubt in the establishments where wages are so low that men

and women cannot maintain themselves and their families in health, thereby becoming a charge upon society as a whole through the medium of charitable organizations, in order to supply the difference between their actual wage and a living wage. This can at its best be done only in a very meager way for a limited time. It is conceded by all enlightened employers of labor that there is not only a large cost in constantly training people in an industry, but that there is also a decided reduction of product due to the continuous introduction of new and untrained workers. This very expensive process could be eliminated if the money and time spent in "hiring and firing" and training could be added to the wages of the employees. (Pages 127-128.)

By Decreasing Labor Troubles.

The Human Factor in Business. B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Director, Rowntree & Co., Cocoa Manufacturers, York, England. London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1921.*

If we desire industrial peace; if we wish men to get on with their work whole-heartedly, instead of "devoting 60 per cent of their time to doing their work and 40 per cent to doing the boss," their grievances must be removed. When that is done, we shall not be seriously troubled with imaginary grievances: for it is curious how these are apt to disappear with the real ones. In the preceding pages I have indicated the principal conditions which must be observed if we are to secure industrial peace. First, there must be a basic wage which will enable men to live in reasonable comfort, and then careful adjustment of wages above this minimum, according to the value of the service rendered. (Pages 151-152.)

Already wages in thirty-eight industries are regulated by Trade Boards. I would urge employers on these Boards, as well as other employers whose wage rates are still unregulated by statutory action, to aid in hastening the day when low wages are a thing of the past. Not until then can we hope for, *or should we desire,* industrial

peace. If only the workers in low-paid industries who are trying to secure higher wages felt that employers were endeavouring, no less earnestly, to achieve that end, there would be much less electricity in the air!

I refer to wages first because, until these are fixed on a basis which the normal workman regards as fair, it is futile to look for harmony. Wages, however, are only the foundation-stone of the industrial "palace of peace." (Page 153.)

It may be urged that it is futile to discuss any means of securing industrial peace which involves an addition to wages. As to this, I will make two observations. First: if there were *real* industrial peace,—not merely a suspicious abstention from open hostility, but the kind of peace that leads to cordial cooperation,—wages might be increased without a corresponding increase in the cost of production. Secondly: I do not suggest that wages should, in all cases, be immediately advanced. The advance, if necessary, can be made gradually, as circumstances permit. The point of importance is that the workers shall know, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that the employer, on his own initiative, recognizes his responsibility in the matter, and is straining every nerve so to increase the efficiency of his business as to enable him to pay an adequate minimum wage. If they are convinced of this, they will be willing to wait. What leads to unrest is indifference on the part of the employer to the human needs of the workers, and his refusal to raise inadequate wages save under the pressure of a strike or the threat of a strike. Such employers often protest that to raise wages will ruin their business. But the strike succeeds, wages are forced up, and the business continues to provide adequate profits. Is the anger of the workers surprising? (Page 469.)

Poverty and Social Progress. MAURICE PARMELEE, *Ph. D., New York, Macmillan, 1916.*

Such legislation [minimum wage] has doubtless driven some sweated industry out of existence. But

better still it has kept some of this industry in existence by forcing the employers to raise their standards of efficiency. So long as they could employ labor at an excessively low rate of wages, there was no pressure upon them to introduce recent labor-saving devices. But when they were forced to pay higher wages, it became necessary for them to introduce machinery and other labor-saving devices in order to make a profit. Furthermore, the increase in the wages of the employees has almost always increased their efficiency, so that it has been possible for the industry to survive without raising the price of the product for the public, with profits for the employer, and with a higher wage for the employee.

As to whether or not this has been accompanied by an increase in unemployment it is very difficult to say, since the causes and conditions of unemployment are very complex. So far as we have any data on the subject, they seem to indicate that minimum wage legislation has not increased unemployment and the demand for charitable relief. (Page 370.)

By Increasing Production.

The Elements of Social Justice. L. T. HOBHOUSE, *D. Lit., LL.D.* MARTIN WHITE *Professor of Sociology in the University of London. London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1922.*

Every increase of wages threatens to exclude a certain number of workers. But experience shows that ordinarily the number excluded is in the end very small if not nil. For over several generations substantial increases of real wages have taken place, and there is no evidence of permanent increase of unemployment. The reason is that the better remuneration of the worker not only improves his personal efficiency and that of his children, but also modifies the industrial organization. In a system which is still in the main competitive, it eliminates the methods which only pay with low wages and substitutes higher organization. It causes, as we

might expect, a certain shifting of values all through the productive system, and a general increase of production. (Page 135.)

Not only may a temporary increase of wages react on the efficiency of the worker, and through the family life on his children, but they affect the employer and the industry. They eliminate the employer who is enabled to muddle along with bad appliances because he can get labour cheap, as well as the type of employer whose efficiency consists in his power of "driving" his men. In consequence, they tend to select for the class of employers (and here the term may include managers, assistants and foremen) men who understand how to make the best of their workers and to make good wages pay. In the same way they tend to eliminate industries in places and in forms in which they are doing badly and transfer their custom to those better equipped. In all these ways the marginal net product of labour is affected, and if this is in fact the equilibrium point to which wages tend, then it must be said that the regulation of wages, if impartial and judicious, may set up a new equilibrium point, while also by reducing exploitation effecting a closer adjustment of actual wages to this point. (Page 136, note.)

The Present Position of Industrial Women Workers. B. L. Hutchins. *The Economic Journal, December, 1921.*

It is at least possible that reduction in women's wages can be avoided or minimised by economies in other directions. . . .

The first point relates to the need for improved efficiency in management. The Commission that reported on the coal industry two years ago was, as we all remember, so impressed by the inefficient conduct of the industry that it recommended the most drastic changes in and renovation of the whole system. Dr. Vernon also, reporting to the Industrial Research Board on Fatigue and Efficiency in the Iron and Steel Industry, several

times refers to the defects in management which keep production lower than need be. . . . In each branch there are "tremendous variations" in the efficiency of the plant employed in different works and in the efficiency with which human labour is utilised. . . . Dr. Vernon estimated that if all the iron and steel works in the country adopted the most efficient methods, they could on an average improve their output by something between 50 and 100 per cent. In other words, they could enable their employees to earn more in eight-hour shifts than they had previously done in twelve-hour shifts. (Pages 466-467.)

It is desirable to avoid a reversion to the underpayment and "sweated" wages of former years, and so far the Trade Board is the best means known to history for securing reasonable rates of pay to the worker in unorganised or ill-organised trades, and for protecting the good employer from the unfair competition of the worse. It appears from evidence given that the productivity of the industry is often retarded through waste and inefficiency in management, and it seems certain that it could be increased by better methods, therewith increasing the amount available for wages. (Page 470.)

Labour Unrest. B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Director, Rowntree & Co., Cocoa Manufacturers, York, England. The Contemporary Review, October, 1917.*

Can industry bear so large an increase in its wage bill? If it were to be suddenly and universally enforced, undoubtedly not; but experience in the industries affected by the Trade Boards shows that if some margin be allowed in the matter of time, industries can afford to pay wages far higher than the employers affected quite honestly believe it possible to pay. The best way to secure the necessary advances in wages would be to set up Trade Boards for all industries, and instruct them to bring minimum wages as soon as possible to a level which would fulfill the conditions indicated above. Doubtless, this level would be reached more rapidly in some indus-

tries than others; but in every case it should be reached with the least possible delay.

But it is certain that if workers are to be paid a much higher rate of wages, their productive power must be materially increased. I do not, indeed, consider that the earnings of capital are sacrosanct, and should not be encroached upon by any consideration of better wages for the workers. But even large reductions in profits, where competition has not reduced them to the level below which they must not fall if fresh capital is to be forthcoming, would only partially meet the case. It is clear that so substantial an addition to wages as I suggest can only be made on the strength of a larger output. Now, I think that labour can be rendered more productive in four ways.

How Can the Productivity of Labour Be Increased?

(*a*) Improved methods. At present many British factories are run on very inefficient lines. Much of the machinery is antiquated, the works are ill-arranged, and the staff and workers are ill-trained. In such cases, even when wages are low, the profits earned are inconsiderable, and any request for higher wages is met by the argument that the industry cannot afford them. What is here needed is a critical examination of each process, to see whether the productivity of every unit of labour cannot be increased. A skilled engineer, preferably one who is acquainted with the particular industry, should be set aside for the work, or called in to undertake it. He should have no routine executive duties, but simply concern himself with checking leakage and improving efficiency. If he is the right man there are few factories in which he will not very soon be able to effect important economies. He will (perhaps with the aid of an accountant) closely analyse the working costs, and, if possible, compare them with costs elsewhere. The splitting up of costs and their comparison with those in other factories is a wonderful means of enabling an employer to place his finger on the weak spots. It is not enough to

compare the *total* working costs with those of other manufacturers—they must be split up as minutely as possible. An accountant of great experience told me that he recently came across a case where the total working costs of a group of employers engaged in making a certain article only varied by about 5 per cent, but the costs of some of the particular processes varied by as much as 60 per cent. It is these variations that we must trace if we are to find out where waste is occurring.

Only when every process in the factory has been submitted to a minute examination is an employer really in a position to say whether his industry can or cannot afford to pay higher wages. (Pages 371-372.)

Profits, Wages, and Prices. DAVID FRIDAY, *Professor of Political Economy, University of Michigan. New York, Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920.*

Is it possible to raise the real wages of labor, the things which labor can buy and enjoy with money wages? If so, what are the conditions upon which these higher real wages depend? Must profits be reduced? Or can it be accomplished only through an increase in productive output? And if the latter should prove to be the only practicable method, can such an increase in productive output be maintained with our present social and industrial arrangements? Our amazing feats of war finance were made possible because of our large productive output, increased as it was, first under the stimulus of European war demand and high profits, and afterwards through the exuberance of spirit engendered by patriotism. It was a truly astounding feat, constituting nothing less than a great discovery,—this devoting fifteen billion dollars of our national product to the aid of our allies and to the maintenance of our military and naval establishment—while we were feeding and clothing our common people probably better than they had ever been fed and clothed before. On the industrial side our experience during the war proved that it is possible to maintain all our people in a state of well-being. The

lesson which the war taught us should be conserved. (Pages 7-8.)

Problems of A New World. JOHN A. HOBSON. *London, George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1921.*

There are many signs that we are entering a new era of industrial revolution which in a single generation may raise the productivity of human labour to so high a level as to enable any decently ordered society to secure the material necessaries and comforts for all its members without imposing painful toil on anyone. The clear perception that social peace is only possible upon such terms immensely stimulates the transformation of the industrial system under the new scientific impulse. The age of steam has passed. We are entering on the age of electricity: the sciences of physics and chemistry are yielding every year new fruits of knowledge which feed thousands of trained and watchful inventors and adapters with ideas for improvement of machinery and processes, for utilization of waste products, or for other economies in handling the resources of nature. Not only is this growth of the applied sciences intensive, it is extensive: and the spread of education brings innumerable minds into closer contact and cooperation, thus providing an accelerated pace in scientific progress. Not less important, the neglect and contempt of science by the practical man, nowhere more manifest than in this country, are yielding to a more intelligent utilitarianism. The new place of prominence assumed by engineering and chemical industries is forcing the claims of scientific research and analysis on every industry and bringing home the uses of exact measurement, the foundation of all economy. The same spirit of order and exactitude is engaged in the art of business administration, bringing live intelligence to bear upon every act in every process by which material is converted into product, and preventing human arrangement from sinking into hard mechanical routine. All these advances are reflected and registered in improved bookkeeping and accountancy, and in the wider art of

business finance with which the critical processes of buying and of selling are closely associated.... This new technique and modern art of business administration have never yet been free to express their full potency in actual production. Almost everywhere they have been held up and restrained by the failure of markets to afford an adequate response to their increased productivity. This persistent check upon full sustained production in the most developed industries was responsible for two conspicuous forms of waste, the unemployment of recurring periods of trade depression and the absorption of large quantities of potentially productive energy in the wasteful processes of competition for markets. . . . The new technique of the electric age, with its vast powers of output, cannot be realized so long as this limitation of market continues. It appears impossible to reap these great economies of production under a system of private enterprise for profit. For it is the apparent impossibility of marketing at a profit the full product of the industry that has been crabbing the pace of industrial progress.

How can this liberation be achieved? War experience helps us to find an answer. For several years the normal position was reversed. Instead of sellers importuning buyers, buyers were importuning sellers. The effective demand of would-be consumers everywhere kept stimulating producers to their utmost efforts. The productive energies of our civil population were strained to the utmost intensity, all the waste competitive labour was squeezed out of the distributive trades, and every sort of improvised economy of tools, labour and materials was employed to meet the demand of the market. I need not dwell upon the quite evident causes of this reversal of the ordinary relations between supply and demand, the shortage of supplies of labour and materials due to military operations, on the one hand, and, on the other, the increased demand due to the immense public expenditure upon supplies for the forces and the increased private expenditure of the great mass of working-class families whose incomes were improved by war conditions.

The economic lesson is unmistakable. Artificially stimulated consumption of goods called into play reserve powers of production which, contrary to all expectation, were able to maintain the people of this country during the first three years of the war upon a considerably higher general level of material comfort than at any previous time. Even if we make some allowance for American subsidies of food, paid for by selling securities, the exhibition of reserve productivity within our national economic system is remarkable. It was, of course, accompanied by certain heavy human strains of overtime and speeding up, of encroachment on the leisure of the young and old, and other injuries of the emergency. But can any careful observer doubt that it warrants the belief that any reasonably effective organization of our existing technique and economic resources before the war would have enabled us as a nation to turn out double the amount of wealth we are actually turning out, without any excessive tax upon the human energies of our people? If to such testimony we add the reasonable expectations of the new technique, the new art of administration and the new finance, may it not seem possible, or even likely, that within the next few years our productive powers will be adequate, if fully utilized, to supply all the ordinary wants of our population, with a constantly diminishing call upon their working time and energy? But an indispensable condition of this productivity will be the high consumption of goods and leisure by our people. Increased productivity and improved distribution are thus indissolubly bound together in the reformation of industry. (Pages 190—195.)

Incentives in the New Industrial Order. J. A. Hobson. *London, Leonard Parsons, 1922.*

If the rate of production were constantly maintained at or near the maximum which full employment of capital and labour affords, the normal output and income would be much larger than is actually the case.

The quantity of "slack" or "waste" in the running of the present capitalist system is far greater than is commonly supposed. The most striking economic lesson of recent years has been the disclosure of the possibilities of output and real income under the hasty improvisation of the war-emergency. It was proved that when some four millions of the younger able-bodied men had been taken out of the productive system for military service, and several millions more men and women had been removed from ordinary occupations, to be put upon the making of munitions and other war supplies, the capital and labour left outside these war demands sufficed to yield wealth enough to support the civilian population on a level, which for the wage-earning class as a whole was substantially higher than before the war. Though the well-to-do classes, no doubt, reduced their standard consumption, the working classes, or at least four-fifths of the population, lived in a definitely higher standard of material comfort than ever before. How was this possible? The fact that we were borrowing from America in the shape of large additional supplies of foods and other goods affords no explanation. For at the same time we were lending even larger sums to our Allies and Dominions, which loans they took in British goods or in foreign goods for which we paid by our products. There was some considerable letting down of plant and stocks in some departments of transport and industry. To that extent we were living on our capital. But no large contribution to our stimulated consumption came from this source.

The truth is that we were turning out wealth from our productive system at a greatly accelerated pace, because for the first time in our history all the available plant and labour was being operated at top speed. This full employment and high pace production were directly attributable to the pressure put on to the industrial machine at the consumptive end. The Government was creating a new enormous demand for commodities, and also, as a consequence of the shortage of labour due to enlistment, was enabling the workers to increase con-

siderably their demand for consumption goods. From these sources there came an unprecedented strain upon the productive system, causing its plant and labour (swelled in volume by absorption of "the unemployed," the addition of large numbers of women, old men, and children, speeding-up and over-time) to turn out a product at least 50 per cent larger than the same industrial system yielded on the average in pre-war times. And this result was attained in spite of shortages of some raw materials, much waste from official maladministration and other errors inevitable in this hasty improvisation of war controls.

I am not arguing that this high war-production was desirable or capable of indefinite duration. What it testifies is this: (1) that a very large increase of output (real income) was attainable by a fuller use of the existing human and material factors of production; (2) that the direct efficient cause of this increased output was the enlarged demand for commodities due to a redistribution of income and purchasing power.

The Government took a large share of the income of the well-to-do and spent it, the workers took a larger share of the general income that was left and spent it. Even this high spending was not inconsistent with a considerable amount of saving applied to improved war-plant and other capital purposes, though no doubt not only the proportion of saving to spending fell but the absolute amount also.

But the lesson I deduce is this. If it were possible, by a somewhat similar peace-policy of high wages and large public expenditure on productive instead of destructive services, to maintain the volume of effective demand for commodities, not, indeed, at the war-level, but at a somewhat lower level, so as to relieve the excessive strain of war-production, why should not the capital and labour of the country be kept in full regular employment all the time, escaping the huge wastes of prolonged depressions and the minor wastes of ordinary times? If the productive system were kept working at

say 80 per cent of the war-pressure, the output of wealth (real income) would still be so much larger than in ordinary times that an increased quantity of saving would be consistent with an increased proportion of spending. In a word, out of a much larger national dividend, due directly to the incentive of increased demand for commodities, a larger quantity of new capital could be provided. The constant tendency of the machinery of industry to slow down, by reason of failure to find profitable markets for its full output, would no longer operate. (Pages 53-56.)

Principles of Economics. Edwin R. A. Seligman, *LL.D., Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University. Ninth Edition, Revised. New York and London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1921.*

Economic, political and ethical forces are conspiring to bring about progress by raising the social level. In ordinary business life this means the gradual but clearly discernible elevation of the standard of commercial morality. So far as poverty is concerned it means the lifting of the standard of life of the laborer and the setting, in ideal at least, of an irreducible minimum, below which national production is not worth having. . . . The process is a slow one, because it is an arduous task to make the successful and self-satisfied business man realize that the true ultimate interests of his class are associated with the increased consumption that can come only from the higher standard of life of the mass of the producers. (Page 687.)

Eclipse or Empire? Herbert Branston Gray *and* Samuel Turner. *London, Nisbet & Co., Ltd., 1916.*

2. The idea that it is good policy to produce as little as possible lest the supply should outrun the demand is an injurious economic fallacy. It is indeed an economic law which cannot be gainsaid that *the greatest possible production is always in the interests of the community at large.*

3. Whence come the cheapest goods to-day? They are produced by employers earning the largest profits and paying to their workmen the highest wages—profits and wages out-distancing the dreams of both a few short years ago. How has this great change been brought about? Through the discovery and application to business of the laws of efficiency, thus eliminating waste which arises from the blind use of antiquated methods. Mathematically put, the equation stands thus:

Low profits + low wages = high profits + high wages —waste. (Pages 80-81.)

Low industrial production per head is mainly responsible for low wages in Great Britain, and high production per head has made possible high wages in the United States. . . .

It must be clear to all who give the matter a little thought that wages can be greatly increased only if production is greatly increased. Unfortunately many short-sighted men have preached that workers can benefit themselves most by producing as little as possible for the largest possible wage. Now, rightly considered, wage earners are paid not in money but in kind. What matters to the worker is not how many shillings per week he receives, but what his weekly wage will buy. If a worker earns £5 per week and cannot buy sufficient food and clothing with the money, he is much worse off than a worker in another country who receives only 15s. per week but can supply all his needs because goods are cheap and plentiful.

The nation is a great co-operative society. Some men make boots, some make clothes, some produce fuel and some raise food. The workers engaged in making boots, clothes, etc., get certain wages which they spend in buying boots and clothes, fuel and food. Now, if all the workers limit their output to the utmost, they may conceivably receive high wages, but there will be little food and fuel and few boots and clothes. There will be too few to go round, and the result will be that the workers are ill-clad and ill-nourished whatever their money wages

may be, for one cannot eat money. If, on the other hand, all the workers produce, with the help of the most perfect machinery, vast quantities of clothes, food, fuel, etc., the goods produced will have to be consumed, and they can be consumed only by the many. High production all round leads to great consumption all round. It makes clothing, food, fuel, etc., plentiful for the workers.

Great Britain suffers not from over-production but from under-consumption, and under-consumption in Great Britain is due to under-production. If the workers all round produced from two to three times as much as they are producing at present, they would not only double and treble their wages, but would spend twice and three times as much on clothing, food, fuel, amusements, etc., as do the American workers. From the official investigations which have been made it appears, for instance, that in 1909 the people of the United States bought £120,000,000 of cotton goods, whereas the British people bought only £20,000,000 worth. As they were, roughly speaking, twice as many people in the United States in that year as there were in the United Kingdom, it follows that the average family in America bought three times as many shirts, collars, handkerchiefs, etc., as did the average English family. Those who know America and the British Dominions well are aware that not only are wages from two or three times as high as they are in this country, but that the workers live far better than they live over here. that they are better dressed, better fed, and are able to put by substantial sums of money.

High production alone can raise wages very considerably, and high wages need not cause dearness. If the doubling and trebling of wages is accompanied by the doubling and trebling of production, the commodities made by high wages need not become any dearer. The result would be unbounded prosperity among the workers. (Pages 145-146.)

If we look round in the world, we invariably find that, where production per man is greatest and most perfect, there the masses and the classes are the most prosperous.

In the United States, where production per man is greatest, we find not only the richest millionaires, the richest manufacturers and the richest merchants, but also the richest workers. In India, on the other hand, where individual production is small, because little machinery is used, we find that the classes are poor. Manufacturers and traders obviously cannot become wealthy in a country where the masses are poor. The masses and the classes are therefore equally strongly interested in replacing the present inefficiency of the British industries by the highest possible efficiency, by increasing production to the utmost. (Page 147.)

The Division of the Product of Industry. An Analysis of National Income Before the War. ARTHUR L. BOWLEY, *Sc.D., Professor of Statistics in the University of London. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1919.*

There remains the one hopeful way by increasing production, care being taken that the increased product is well distributed. This will not come suddenly nor by act of Parliament, but there are great possibilities in certain directions. Capital can be better applied to production, as has been shown during the war, and it is probable that an effective demand for higher wages would force its better and more economical use; but it must be remembered that skill of management is limited, and the best results cannot be universally obtained. At the same time, on the side of labour there must be no waste of productive power, but plant and machinery must be put to their maximum use. Greater encouragement of skill, more facilities for promotion from unskilled work to skilled, better education, and an improved physique which may result from higher wages, more leisure and better environment, together with full opportunity for the use of all intelligence, strength and skill, irrespective of sex, and without undue insistence on pedantic rules as to previous training would result in a much fuller use of the latent abilities of the race than has hitherto been possible. (Page 57.)

The wealth of the country, however divided, was insufficient before the war for a general high standard; there is nothing as yet to show that it will be greater in the future. Hence the most important task—more important immediately than the improvement of the division of the product—incumbent on employers and workmen alike, is to increase the national product, and that without sacrificing leisure and the amenities of life. (Page 58.)

Labour and Capital After the War. Edited by S. J. CHAPMAN, *Professor of Political Economy, University of Manchester. London, Murray, 1918. Ch. III. Lord Leverhulme.*

We cannot continue to live in a world of false ideas as to production. Labour must come to know that if wages and betterment are to be increased, production must also be increased. Capital must come to know that low wages and poor living produce inefficient workers with high costs.

It is possible and essential that we should have the highest scale of wages combined with largest output, and lowest cost of production combined with the fullest share of profits to the workers, as a sound basis for our industrial system. (Page 44.)

Cost of Production Not Increased.

Minimum Wage Laws are Good Business. Extracts from Letters by Employers Operating under a Legal Minimum Wage. National Consumers' League, New York. October, 1920.

Cost of Operation not Increased.

Edward A. Filene, President, Wm. Filene's Sons Co., (retail specialty store) Boston, Mass. Oct. 5, 1920.

"We have had the minimum wage in our concern since March 1, 1912, and the important thing about it is that, relatively the cost of wages as compared with other

costs of running the business has not increased, but on the contrary has decreased."

C. C. Carpenter, Pres., The MacDougall & Southwick Co., (retail dry goods) Seattle, Wash. Dec. 31, 1919.

"Quite contrary to the belief of many merchants, a fair minimum wage will not increase the per cent cost of operation."

Wages for Women Workers. MARY ANDERSON. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. January, 1919.*

Another claim frequently urged by the employers is that the amount of increase in wages adds directly to the expenses of the business and, therefore, automatically results in reduction in profits. This claim is based upon the assumption that the employer will have to pay a higher price for the same quality and the same amount of work that he obtained under the lower wage scale. That this assumption is erroneous has been conclusively proven by generations of industrial experience. Workers whose wages are low, hours of work long, working conditions poor, who must submit to ill treatment and constant nagging by the men and women directly in charge of the work, can render only poor and inefficient service. Those who are adequately paid and thereby better nourished, who have shorter hours which means lessened fatigue, who have self-government through shop committees and the right to take up the grievances that constantly arise between the foreman or forelady and the workers, do work of better quality and produce a greater output. Experience has proven that increases in the amount of the output and its improved quality entirely offset the increase in wages. This is illustrated in the case of Hart, Schaffner and Marx, a large clothing firm employing about 8,000 people, of whom about 63 per cent are women. During the first two years of the agreement between the firm and the union, wages had increased from 25 to 80 per cent, and at the same time profits were

doubled. This was due to the increased efficiency of the workers, which decreased to a large extent the need for sub-foremen and examiners and increased the volume of business because of better workmanship.

Some of the largest of our industries have voluntarily made large increases in wages against the protest of business competitors and associates who predicted that the effect would be the financial ruin of the industry. The practical results, however, completely refuted these predictions, for the expense per unit of production was very much decreased as a result of better service rendered, and profit to the employer showed the corresponding increase. (Pages 126-127.)

Wages, Hours and Individual Output. N. I. STONE, *Labor Manager, Hickey-Freeman Company, Rochester, N. Y. Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science. September, 1919.*

Even in buying ordinary commodities we have learned that the lowest priced article is not necessarily the cheapest. An experienced buyer will consider not only the price he is asked to pay, but also the quality of the article he is getting in the bargain. Unless the article is a staple commodity absolutely standardized under market requirements, such as wheat or pig iron, the lowest price will not necessarily mark the most economical purchase. A suit of clothes made of shoddy, though looking exactly the same as one made of virgin wool, will not last as long and, though selling at a much lower price, will prove the more expensive of the two, when the price paid for each suit is divided by the number of months of wear each gave.

This elementary truth is recognized by every experienced employer and foreman in comparing the usefulness of different employees; the worker who possesses superior skill or, who with the same skill works with greater speed, is always preferred and is readily offered a higher wage than the prevailing rate for workers of average speed or skill. But that the same labor force can be made

cheaper by raising its wages or shortening its hours of labor, or both, is still an unknown fact among the great body of employers, superintendents and foremen, and, when stated, is regarded with distrust and with doubt in the practical wisdom of the man who advances this view. Yet, it has now been accepted as an elementary principle of the science of management among industrial engineers.

Stated baldly, the proposition that high-priced labor is cheaper than low-priced labor, and that shorter hours are more productive than long ones sounds like a paradox. If that be true, then the age-long struggle between capital and labor for higher wages and shorter hours has been the most tragic misunderstanding in history in which the employers have wasted millions of dollars and countless lives fighting against their own interests; while labor, trying to improve its own lot, has unwittingly fought for capital's best interests, trying to save it from its own folly.

As an industrial expert has well put it in a leading magazine devoted to industrial management, "It is the inefficient manufacturer who bewails most the size of his payroll. The efficient employer should pray for wages so high that his less efficient competitor will go out of business."

The misunderstanding is easily explained. All things remaining equal, the higher the rate of wages, the greater the labor cost of the manufactured product. This is perfectly logical, but rests on the false premise that all things remain the same when a change in wages occurs. As a matter of fact, they seldom, if ever, remain unchanged. The mere increase in wages will not of itself produce the miracle, unless labor is so underpaid as to cause the workers to be poorly nourished, inadequately clothed, and housed under unsanitary conditions. In that case a substantial increase in wages which would enable them to eat nourishing food, wear clothing that will protect them against inclement weather and live in warm, light rooms in healthy surroundings will of itself improve the condition of the individual worker as a producing machine

so as to increase greatly his productivity. It is but a common sense application of the rule which prompts a sensible man to feed his horse oats, instead of keeping it on an exclusive diet of hay, and to provide well sheltered, clean and sanitary barns for his cattle, instead of neglecting it as a stingy, short-sighted farmer is apt to do. It was because of facts like these, that the Ford plan of providing a minimum rate of $5.00 a day, practically doubling the earnings of the bulk of his employees, proved such a huge success, and instead of increasing his cost of production, produced the opposite effect.

With the war over and international trade about to resume its interrupted course, the cry for protection of American labor against the pauper labor of the old world again resounds through the country and the majority party in Congress bases its program for an immediate revision of the tariff almost solely on that ground. It is therefore felt that the universality of the law that high wages and short hours spell lower costs rather than the opposite, requires further demonstration. (Pages 121 to 123.)

Books could be filled with facts from industrial experience to demonstrate the absolute fallacy which clings so stubbornly to the mind of the average employer that low wages are synonymous with low costs. It is hoped, however, that the few illustrations taken from so wide a range of industries are sufficient to establish the fact that a wage rate is meaningless in determining costs, unless taken in conjunction with output. But if a general rule is to be formulated as to the relation of wages to costs, it would be much safer to say that high wages spell low costs, than the contrary. (Pages 128-129.)

The Church and Socialism. JOHN A. RYAN, *D.D., LL.D., Professor of Moral Theology at the Catholic University of America. Washington, The University Press, 1919.*

Experience has shown that the injurious results predicted by the opponents of labor legislation and labor

organizations have not taken place. There has been no general increase in prices, nor any increase in any case that equaled the increase in wages or the expected increase in other items of the cost of production. In the majority of instances the greater part of the cost has been met by an increased efficiency in the productive process, that is, in labor, in machinery, and in the combination of these two factors. Another part has come out of the profits of those concerns that were obtaining more than the usual amount of interest on their investment. Precisely the same forces would operate in those industries in which wages would be raised by law to a decent level. It is not, indeed, true that every increase in wages will be followed by an equivalent increase in productive efficiency, so that all the added cost of production will be provided by the workers themselves, or by the workers in conjunction with better technical processes. This will happen in some cases, but no general rule can be formulated to indicate when it will happen (Cf. Hobson, "The Evolution of Modern Capitalism," chap. xiv, new ed.). It seems quite probable, however, that where the increase in wages is merely sufficient to raise the worker from a condition of subnormal to one of normal physical efficiency, the greater part of the additional wages will be available in the form of a larger product. In other words, the underfed, underclothed and underhoused laborer, when brought up to the level of a normal standard of living, is able to create most of the difference between starvation wages and the remuneration necessary to maintain the normal standard. The greater part of the remaining cost of the higher wages would probably come through the substitution of machinery for hand labor, and of better machinery for antiquated processes; through the elimination of the less efficient directors of industry, and the better organization of the productive forces; and through a reduction of the returns on monopolistic capital, and on capital that would suffer such a reduction rather than take flight into other industries. (Pages 90-91.)

The Human Side of Business Administration. B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Director, Rowntree & Co., Cocoa Manufacturers, York, England. The Atlantic Monthly, April, 1922.*

These then are the items in the account which we must meet if we would purchase industrial peace: reasonable wages; reasonable hours; reasonable economic security; an improved status for the worker; a share to the worker in the profits of industry.

Some of us have tried one of these methods, others have tried others; and we may have been disappointed. I do not think that we shall achieve full success until we try all five together. (Page 472.)

I recently visited a factory in America, where all the five points I have mentioned were being adequately dealt with; and the results were all that could be desired. So far from the experiments proving costly, the output per man-hour had increased by 25 per cent; and although the workers were getting 50 per cent of all profits after capital had been paid 6 per cent, the president of the company told me that he thought the stockholders were better rather than worse off than they would have been under the old regime. (Page 473.)

Great Britain. Committee of Enquiry into the Working and Effects of the Trade Boards Acts. Minutes of Evidence. 1922.

Summary of Mr. J. J. Mallon in behalf of the Trade Boards Advisory Council of the General Council of Trade Union Congress and member of thirteen Trade Boards. February 8, 1922.

12,125. . . . I should like to elaborate that just a little, because it is suggested that the effect of the Board has in some cases been to fix such rates that the cost of living is thereby increased. One need not argue the whole matter of the economy of high wages, but I hope that the Committee, when some of the older and more experienced inspectors appear before them, will ask the

inspectors as to the effect which these rates in fact have had on industrial organisation and industrial efficiency. It is perfectly true that during the war the effect of that kind of Trade Board rates was negligible. Employers were enjoying altogether wider margins of profit than are normal; but if you ask the inspectors who know what took place before 1914, I have no doubt at all that you will be reassured, and that you will be satisfied that the effect of the rates of wages which were fixed prior to the war was not to increase the cost of production or selling prices, but to *bring the cost of production down.* There is direct evidence of that sort in the files of the Trade Boards Office, and I would submit that as a very important part of this discussion. Then, arising out of Mr. Pugh's question, what do the Boards in fact do? They do not impose any arbitrary rate upon the trade; they do not say "What would it be nice to allow people in this trade to obtain?" They find out what rates are in fact being paid by reputable employers in the trade; they find out what rates in fact are recognised by the Unions in the areas where the Unions are strong; and after discussion in which that rate is or those rates are generally trimmed a little bit, the rate or rates which emerge are imposed on the trade. The only effect of that is to ask, and to compel, backward or unprogressive employers to do what other employers in the trade are already doing. It seems to me perfectly obvious that the effect of fixing wages on that basis cannot be to raise the cost of production in the trade. Certainly it cannot be to influence adversely the selling prices in the trade, because that is already controlled by the fact that large employers in the trade who are putting goods on to the market in large volume have their conditions not in the least disturbed. That happens, I venture to say, in every trade to which the Trade Boards Act has been applied.

12,126. *Mr. Layton*: That would not apply as between the low and high wage districts where a rate has been imposed which is either the London rate or something between the two; but that would be a disturbing

element, surely?—Disturbing in some respects, but it would not disturb selling prices, because they would be controlled by the areas in which wages are not upset.

12,127. But it might put up prices in those areas. For instance, we have had a good deal of evidence as to exactly what has been done in Cornwall?—I should be prepared, as I think Mr. Wethered did, to make some distinction between distribution and handicraft on the one hand, and large scale manufacturing on the other. I am speaking for the moment of large scale manufacturing, and there it seems to be that it is quite impossible that there can be any general disturbance of prices owing to fixations by Trade Boards which proceed on the basis which I have described, and that is the normal and habitual basis upon which Trade Boards work.

12,128. The effect of the evidence which we have had would naturally lead to the inference that prices have not been much disturbed in London, but it does not by any means follow that that applies to prices in other parts of the country.—I should like to go into that with you. I think I could show you that in practically all the trades with which we have been dealing, London is not the highest paying centre. It is in some; in others its place is not even high; in a number of women trades I have found, during an experience of 15 years, that London is often a very unsatisfactory centre of employment; that Manchester in some trades, Leicester in others, Leeds again, and Glasgow, for sets of trades, pay better than London. (Pages 869-870.)

Employers Not Driven Out of Business.

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Fifth Annual Report. December 31, 1917.

In November and December, 1917, the Commission made its third reinspection since the operation of the decree of Aug. 15, 1914, of the pay-roll records of women employed in brush factories. It was found that women were employed in 23 such establishments as compared

with 17 reported at the time of the last inspection in June and July, 1915. The total number of women employed in the industry in the State was 871, an increase of 79.6 per cent. over the number reported in 1915, and an increase of 67.2 per cent. over the number employed in 1913, previous to the establishment of a minimum wage in the industry.

Five establishments, employing together 14 women, were found to be failing to comply with the recommendations of the Commission, and 10 women in these establishments, forming about 1 per cent. of the total number in the industry, were receiving less than the recommended minimum wage rates. (Page 32.)

District of Columbia Minimum Wage Cases

Supreme Court of the United States

OCTOBER TERM, 1922

No. 795 AND No. 796.

JESSE C. ADKINS, *et al.*, CONSTITUTING THE MINIMUM WAGE BOARD OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, APPELLANTS,

vs.

THE CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, A CORPORATION.

JESSE C. ADKINS, *et al.*, CONSTITUTING THE MINIMUM WAGE BOARD OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, APPELLANTS,

vs.

WILLIE A. LYONS.

BRIEF FOR APPELLANTS
Vol. II

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ERRATA

Page 44, line 9, $9.64 should read 9.94.

Page 46, line 8, $1.05 should read $1.00.

Pages 186-7.

Omitted to state Orders 2, 3, 4 and 5 were effective August 1, 1919.

Page 428.

Excise Sir Lynden Macassey. Labour Policy False and True. London, August, 1922.

Page 429. Set at end of first paragraph after "(Page 250)" as title

Labour Policy False and True. SIR LYNDEN MACASSEY. *London, August, 1922.*

Pages 763, 766.

Excise charts.

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(2) Minimum Wage Does Not Become Maximum.

One of the earliest arguments against minimum wage legislation was that the minimum would become the maximum wage and thus operate unfairly against the workers.

This false prophecy is disproved by several commissions. Conclusive disproof is found in the wage tables printed after reinvestigations as to compliance with the decrees.*

District of Columbia.

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Second Annual Report. December 31, 1919.

The figures showing the wage situation before and after the minimum wage orders became effective are of interest not only in relation to the problem of learners but also as disproving the contention that the minimum tends to become the maximum. Minimum wage legislation is often opposed on the ground that it will keep all workers at a dead level, that efficiency and skill will be discouraged because they will bring no additional reward. It is maintained that if an employer has to pay all his employees at least a certain wage he will refuse to pay any of them more. The large percentage of workers in both the printing and the mercantile industries now receiving rates above the minimum effectually dispose of this argument.

In the printing trades when the original investigation was made 37.7 per cent of the women workers were rated at $16 and over. Immediately after the $15.50 minimum wage went into effect this increased to 58.2 per cent. (Page 26.)

In the mercantile industry the situation is much the same. Here an exact comparison is impossible since the

*See tables in Part I, Section I, under Reinvestigations for Compliance with Minimum Ordered.

original figures show the percentage receiving $16 and over and the later figures the percentage receiving above the minimum, i. e., above $16.50. In February and March, 1919, the proportion of women and minors rated at $16 and over was 25.7 per cent; in November, 1919, the proportion receiving over $16.50 was 38.7 per cent. The figures for the department stores alone are 20.4 per cent at $16 and over in February and March and 31.3 per cent at over $16.50 in November. (Pages 26-27.)

In our study of "Wages of Women and Minors in the Mercantile Industry in the District of Columbia," attention was called to the variation in wage rates among the seven department stores. At that time, February and March, 1919, the percentage of women and minors in these stores rated at $16 and over ranged from 6.7 per cent to 26.2 per cent. A similar but less marked range was found in these same stores after the wage order became effective, the percentage receiving more than $16.50 and less than $16.50 ranging from 25.4 per cent to 42 per cent and 21.3 per cent to 33.6 per cent, respectively. It is evident that the character of these stores has not been changed by the minimum wage. Those which depended on cheap labor are still depending on cheap labor—learners—to keep down their expenses. The stores which had earlier realized that organization, management, and scientific handling of the labor force are prime factors in the cost of carrying on a business do not find it necessary to keep the bulk of wages down to the minimum rates fixed by law.

As time goes on the force of competition will in all probability tend to increase the percentage of employees in both the printing and mercantile industries receiving above the minimum. Without awaiting further developments, however, it may safely be deduced from these figures that under a minimum wage skill and experience do count and that workers of more than average ability do secure recognition of their superior value. (Page 27.)

(b.) Minimum Has Not Become the Maximum.

In our report for the year 1919 we called attention to the fact that pay-roll records before and after the minimum wage had become effective proved that the minimum had not become the maximum wage; that the workers of skill and experience did secure recognition of their superior value by a higher wage than that paid the worker of average ordinary ability. The pay-roll data for the past year printed in Tables IV to VII, inclusive, substantiate and strengthen the conclusions reached at that time.

A comparison at three different periods of the percentages of women receiving more than the minimum wage in the 14 largest printing plants is of interest. In August, 1919, soon after the wage order was applied to the industry, 26 per cent of the women employed were receiving more than the minimum wage. In March, 1920, in the same establishments, 39 per cent were rated above the minimum. By November, 1920, the percentage rated above the minimum had increased to 76 per cent. As we stated before, the large percentage of increase shown for the last period is directly due to a trade union agreement whereby the woman bindery workers, after two years' experience, are to be paid not less than $20 per week. At least it can not be said that the minimum wage has prevented trade union activity.

In the mercantile industry there has been a gradual increase in the percentage of women receiving more than the minimum wage. In the seven largest department stores the percentage increased from 31 per cent in November, 1919, to 37 per cent in March, 1920, and to 42 per cent in November, 1920. In the 5 and 10 cent stores from November, 1919, to November, 1920, the percentage of women employed at more than the minimum rate increased from 13 per cent to 23 per cent. This increase has not been confined to one or two stores, but has taken

place to a greater or less degree in each and every store included in our study.

The figures for hotels and restaurants tell the same story. In the restaurants in general in June, 1920, 35 per cent of the women employed were receiving more than the minimum. By December, 1920, this percentage had increased to 44 per cent. Comparable figures for women employed in hotels were 29 per cent in June, 1920, and 33 per cent in December, 1920.

The large proportion of women in each industry receiving more than the minimum wage not only indicates that there is no tendency to keep experienced and efficient women employed at the minimum, with a corresponding decrease in the proportion receiving less than the minimum.

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Fourth Annual Report. December 31, 1921.

Minimum Has Not Become the Maximum

Aside from the general increase in wages the outstanding conclusion to be drawn from all the preceding tables is that the minimum wage has not become the maximum wage. The figures clearly refute the stock argument against minimum wage legislation that it will reduce all workers to a dead level, that initiative and intelligence will be penalized because the employer who has to pay all his workers at least a certain sum will find it impossible to pay anyone more. The figures show not merely a very substantial proportion of all workers rated above the minimum, but a tendency for this proportion to increase, and this in spite of adverse economic conditions—business depression and unemployment.

This tendency holds true in every type of establishment. Turning back to the tables given on the preceding pages we find that in the 36 printing and publishing plants the proportion of women and minor girls rated at $16 and over (i. e., above the $15.50 minimum wage) has increased from 30 per cent, just after the order took

effect, to 72 per cent two years later. For the 14 principal plants out of this 36 this proportion stood 26 per cent in August, 1919 (immediately after the order took effect); 39 per cent in March, 1920; 76 per cent in November, 1920; and 76 per cent in October, 1921. It is, of course, only fair to note again that this is due not solely to the minimum wage but also to a union agreement. At least the minimum wage was no bar to the negotiation of such an agreement.

In the mercantile industry the same tendency is apparent. Table XIII shows this for the industry as a whole. The week after the order took effect 39 per cent of the persons under it were rated above the minimum wage; one and one-half to two years later this proportion for the same stores had increased to 51 per cent. The thing is shown for the department stores in Table XIV. The proportion above $16.50 was 31 per cent in November, 1919, 37 per cent in March, 1920, 42 per cent in November, 1920, and 42 per cent in October, 1921. It appears that, temporarily at least, the point of equilibrium was reached in 1921. However, this is not surprising in view of the business depression of that year. It might readily have been expected that the number of women receiving above the minimum fixed by law would decrease in that period. In the 5 and 10 cent stores the percentage above the minimum increased from 13 per cent in November, 1919, to 22 per cent in November, 1920, and 22 per cent in October, 1921. (See Table XV.)

In the hotel and restaurant industry the same tendency is seen in a less marked degree, both as to actual wages and rates of wages. In Table XVII we see that in the hotels the proportion rated above the minimum in June, 1920 (just after the introduction of the order), was 35 per cent; in December, 1920, it was 37 per cent; in October, 1921, it was 47 per cent. The percentage actually receiving above the minimum increased from 29 to 33 per cent from June to December, 1920, and was still 33 per cent in October, 1921. In the restaurants, as

shown in Table XVIII, the percentage rated above $16.50 increased from 47 to 59 per cent in 1920 to 66 per cent in October, 1921. The percentage actually receiving above the minimum rose from 35 to 44 per cent, and was still 44 per cent in October, 1921.

If we total the 1921 figures for the three industries, we can find what proportion of all the women and minors covered by the wage orders were rated above the minimum wage. That figure is 57 per cent. If we use actual wages rather than rates of wages for the hotels and restaurants, we still find 51 per cent of the women and minors in all three industries receiving more than the minimum wage. A proportion so substantial as this warrants the statement that the minimum, far from becoming the maximum, is scarcely even the standard wage.

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Fifth Annual Report. December 31, 1922.

2. Minimum Has Not Become the Maximum.

Aside from the increase in wages apparent from a comparison of identical establishments as given in the preceding section the outstanding fact disclosed by a study of pay-roll records is the extent to which women and minors subject to the minimum wage rates actually receive more than the minimum fixed by law. This is apparent in every tabulation of wages, but it is shown most strikingly in the following table for all women and minors for whom pay-roll data were secured during 1922. In the hotel and restaurant industry for the reasons given in the preceding section the figures used are the actual wages paid rather than rates of pay. If rates were used rather than actual wages the proportion above the minimum would be far greater. It should be remembered that in the printing and publishing industry the minimum is $15.50, the mercantile and hotel and restaurant industries, $16.50.

Table XV.—Number and Per Cent of Persons Subject to Minimum Wage Orders Receiving Above, At, and Below the Minimum Wage in 1922, by Industries.

Number.

Industries	No. of establishments	Persons who were receiving—			Total
		Above the minimum	The minimum	Below the minimum	
Mercantile	473	3,221	2,321	703	6,245
Hotel, restaurant and allied industries	296	1,058	668	1,204	2,830
Printing and publishing industry	55	793	115	34	942
Total		5,072	3,004	1,941	10,017

Per Cent.

Mercantile	473	51.6	37.2	11.2	100
Hotel, restaurant and allied industries	296	37.4	20.1	42.5	100
Printing and publishing industry	55	84.2	12.2	3.6	100
Total		50.6	30.0	19.4	100

(Abbreviated.)

This table shows the proportion receiving above the minimum to range from 37 per cent in the hotel, restaurant and allied industries to 84 per cent in the printing and publishing industry. The minimum wage rates have been in operation over two years. Whatever readjustments were necessary have probably been made. It would seem that these figures clearly refute the stock argument against minimum wage legislation that it will reduce all workers to a dead level, that initiative and intelligence will be paralyzed because the employer who has to pay all his workers at least a certain sum will find it impossible to pay any of them more.

Out of the 10,017 women and minors for whom wage records were secured during 1922, 5,072, or 51 per cent, were receiving above the minimum wage fixed by law. A proportion so substantial as this warrants the statement that the minimum far from becoming the maximum is scarcely even the standard wage.

California.

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. Third Biennial Report. 1917-1918.

Every one per cent decrease in the low paid group means a one per cent increase in the higher paid groups, with increased standard of living for the worker. This promotion into the better paid groups both in the case of the laundry and of the mercantile was without detriment to the higher paid group. The minimum has not become the maximum. A limitation of apprentices to 25 per cent of women employed, protects the experienced workers in the enjoyment of the minimum wage. (Page 12.)

This decrease in the percentage in the low wage groups meant a promotion to better wages and not unemployment for the persons involved. The same establishments are covered in September as in April, and no others. The total number of employees increased from 14,335 in April to 15,794 in September, or ten per cent. The most noticeable relative increase in numbers was in the $10 group which rose from 13 per cent to 32 per cent, or an increase of 19 per cent. In April 39.7 per cent received under $10, in September, 20.1 per cent; a decrease of 19.6 per cent.

From this, the generalization must not be made that the minimum becomes the standard wage. There is always one wage group that is representative of a larger per cent of workers than any other. In April, it was the $9 group. The minimum wage order pushed this up to $10 and greatly augmented the number who received the standard wage. The minimum wage does not become the standard wage in the sense of creating a standard. A standard wage already exists, the minimum wage merely raises this, and also increases the number coming under it. (Page 39.)

For similar reasons, it is not correct to say that the minimum becomes the maximum wage. The highest wages are paid to a few possessing special qualifications of skill or executive ability. In the stores, the $25 and

over group is composed almost entirely of buyers or assistants, department heads, and forewomen. As in the case of the overhead charges, the percentage for this group does not grow proportionately with the business. This is more certain to be the case if wages are raised, for better pay improves the general tone of employees, besides attracting a more intelligent and dependable type. This improved type of employee does not require as much supervision as the underpaid clerk.

The minimum wage and better working conditions might be expected to decrease the number of supervisory positions, certainly it would not add to them. But better pay in the lower groups operates all along the line to push wages up. In the $10 and over group there was an increase for the state of 19.6 per cent in September over April. In the higher groups of $12 and over, the per cent in 1914 was 32; in April, 1917, 40; and in September, 40. The actual number in the $12 and over group rose from 5,729 to 6,195, or 8 per cent. This is proof that the minimum wage did not become the maximum. (Page 44.)

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. Report on the Regulation of Wages, Hours and Working Conditions of Women and Minors in the Fruit and Vegetable Canning Industry of California. May, 1917.

The effect which the rulings had in raising the piece rates is shown in detail in the following report. It is commonly charged by the opponents of minimum wage legislation that the "minimum will become the maximum." It would be much more likely that the minimum piece rate would become the standard rate than that a minimum time rate should become the standard, since under the operation of minimum piece rates the average earnings in efficient plants will be higher than the piece rates were estimated to yield. That the minimum did not become the maximum is shown by the fact that in 1916, 43 per cent of the apricot pack was put up at piece rates higher than the minimum; 17 per cent of the cling

peach pack; 27 per cent of the free peach pack; and 11 per cent of the pear pack. (Page 67.)

It is also commonly stated that if a minimum rate were established concerns which had previously paid higher rates would reduce to meet this minimum rate. In 50 instances on the five products rates higher than the minimum rate were paid in 1915. When the minimum rates went into effect these higher rates were continued in every case excepting one. In that instance the establishment reduced its piece rate on free peaches when it was required to raise its rate on pears and apricots. The net increase in earnings in that one plant, however, was $700. (Pages 67-68.)

The total increase in the earnings of women on the preparation of peaches, pears, apricots and tomatoes was nearly $30,000. The increases on time work and on piece rate canning were very considerable, but could not be computed owing to lack of comparative data from 1915. (Page 68.)

Minimum Wage Commissions Current Facts. National Consumers' League. January, 1920. New York.

California decreed $10.00 minimum wage for experienced adults in laundries, effective January, 1918.

Comparison of payrolls in October, 1917, January, 1918, and November, 1918, shows

After decree:

(In January, 1918)

33.9% decrease of those earning less than $10.
3% increase of those earning $11 or more.

(In November, 1918)

45.4% decrease of those earning less than $10.
35.3% increase of those earning $11 or more.
24.8% increase of those earning $12 or more.

At first the number getting a wage above the decreed minimum was only slightly increased, but after eleven months it was increased one-third. (Page 15.)

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. What California Has Done to Protect Its Women Workers. April, 1921.

The effect of the three minimums may be more clearly shown by the following tables, which give the cumulative per cents of women receiving specified weekly time rates:

Mercantile Industry.

Cumulative per cent of women and female minors receiving weekly rates of—

Period	Date of pay roll	Less than $10.00	Less than $13.50	Less than $16.00	Less than $17.00	$17.00 or over	Total
Under $10.00 minimum wage order.....	Mar., 1919	10.0	56.4	77.3	81.3	18.7	100
Under $13.50 minimum wage order.....	July, 1919	6.3	25.1	73.2	78.2	21.8	100
Under $16.00 minimum wage order.....	Aug., 1920	.4	5.9	13.1	53.1	46.9	100

Laundry Industry.

Cumulative per cent of female time workers receiving weekly rates of—

Period	Date of pay roll	Less than $10.00	Less than $13.50	Less than $16.00	Less than $17.00	$17.00 or over	Total
Under $10.00 minimum wage order.....	May, 1919	5.0	63.8	85.7	89.3	10.7	100
Under $13.50 minimum wage order.....	Aug., 1919	.3	12.2	66.8	75.7	24.3	100
Under $16.00 minimum wage order.....	Aug., 1920	0.0	2.7	9.4	40.9	59.1	100

Manufacturing Industry.

Cumulative per cent of female time workers receiving weekly rates of—

Period	Date of pay roll	Less than $10.00	Less than $13.50	Less than $16.00	Less than $17.00	$17.00 or over	Total
Under $10.00 minimum wage order.....	Jan., 1919	14.8	66.9	85.4	89.1	10.9	100
Under $13.50 minimum wage order.....	Sept., 1919	2.2	27.0	72.8	79.2	20.8	100
Under $16.00 minimum wage order.....	Oct., 1920	0.0	5.7	18.7	53.8	46.2	100

(Page 12.)

On the basis of the pay roll reports submitted to this office, it has been estimated that the increases in the minimum wage have resulted in increasing the rates of pay of women workers as follows:

Yearly Increases in Rates of Women Workers.

Industry	Increase in minimum	Increase in wages	
Laundry	$10 to $13.50 a week	$1,027,749.06	
	$13.50 to $16 a week	1,223,421.06	
Mercantile	$10 to $13.50 a week	1,200,229.16	
	$13.50 to $16 a week	4,012,014.24	
Manufacturing	$10 to $13.50 a week	1,105,821.96	
	$13.50 to $16 a week	3,101,984.60	
Canning (Increase to cutters)	$10 to $13.50 a week	398,683.80	Season of 1919
	$13.50 to $16 a week	407,454.40	Season of 1920

(Page 13.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. Report of California Industrial Welfare Commission, 1919-1920. July, 1921.

Thus, while it is true "that upon the adoption of a higher minimum wage the per cent of women in the minimum wage group itself is greatly increased, showing that many of the women in the lower-paid groups are raised to the minimum," it is perfectly obvious that there is no restriction in the higher-wage groups on this account, the number earning over $17 being doubled or more, under each advance in the manufacturing and laundry industries, while it was considerably increased also in the mercantile industry; and as already pointed out, the group receiving over $17 was in each case larger than the group receiving $16 and less than $17, thus refuting completely any claim that the minimum either becomes the maximum or requires the reduction of higher-paid workers to a lower grade in order to enable employers to advance the lower paid workers to the minimum.

California Industrial Welfare Commission. Statement by MR. A. B. C. DOHRMANN, *Chairman. December, 1922.*

The implication that this minimum has a tendency to be the maximum is answered by the fact, that the records of over 31,000 women employed in the mercantile industries in the State of California in the March 1922 investigation, shows that 61% earned $17.00 a week and over and only 39% earned in the neighborhood of the minimum.

The Industrial Welfare Commission was not intended to replace the customary methods of wage fixing for standard wages, such as collective bargaining through labor unions, or otherwise.

North Dakota.

North Dakota. Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Minimum Wage Department. Second Biennial Report. July 1, 1920 to June 30, 1922.

Minimum Has not Become the Maximum.

In comparing the tables it is clearly to be seen that the minimum wage has not become the maximum, though this is a theory that those opposed to minimum wage legislation try to advance. The facts, however, show plainly that this is not the case, but rather that efficient labor is paid according to its merit, and that women are not kept down to the dead level of the minimum when their services warrant a higher wage. (Page 52.)

Washington.

Washington Industrial Welfare Commission. Report by CHARLES A. FORSYTHE, C.A., *on investigation of cost of living for employed women in Seattle, Tacoma and Bellingham. July 20, 1921.*

The assertion is frequently made that an established minimum wage tends to be taken as the maximum wage

payable. The reverse is the case, and there is ample evidence that only a small percentage of employed women remain at a minimum wage for over three months. (Page 3.)

In General in United States.

Minimum Wage Laws Are Good Business. Extracts from Letters by Employers Operating under a Legal Minimum Wage. National Consumers' League, New York, October, 1920.

Minimum Wage Does Not Become the Maximum.

Luther C. White, Employment Manager, Clothing Manufacturers' Association of Boston, Mass. Feb. 1, 1920.

"Our attitude is not altruistic in the matter, for we think we know that skilled labor at a fair wage is the cheapest for the manufacturer who wishes to turn out a properly made product. All the clothing manufacturers do not see this, and in the press of competition are inclined, perhaps, to disregard the quality of product and use 'cheap' (i. e. low-priced) labor to the detriment of trade conditions as a whole. With a minimum fairly set, no manufacturer will do this—he will prefer to pay a wage higher than the minimum and secure competent workwomen, rather than pay a high (?) minimum to inefficient workers."

A. J. Schroeder, recent president Wisconsin Retail Dry Goods Association,—Schroeder Dry Goods Co., Racine, Wis. Jan. 31, 1920.

"The raising of their salaries" [i. e. employees who had received less than the minimum wage] "entailed a sympathetic raising of the salaries of a great many other employees so that the proposition of pay would be fair."

Thomas Roberts, Roberts. Bros., (dry goods, shoes, men's furnishings) Portland, Oregon. January 6, 1920.

"Not only has it" [the minimum wage] "improved the ones on the lower scale, but it has been the means of raising wages all along the line."

James McCormack, President, McCormack Bros., (retail dry goods) Tacoma, Wash. Dec. 30, 1919.

"The average wage is fully 25% more" [than the minimum wage] "brought about, of course, by competition for the efficient help on the part of department stores, energy and ability on the part of the employees."

The Abolition of Poverty. JACOB H. HOLLANDER, PH.D., *Professor of Political Economy, Johns Hopkins University. New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914.*

No less familiar, although far more superficial, is the opinion that the establishment of a minimum wage would operate to make in practice the minimum also the maximum. There is no warrant for this fear either in fact or in theory. The experience of minimum wage legislation in Australia and in England shows conclusively that, in industry after industry where the minimum wage has been set by law, the wages actually paid tend to exceed this least requirement. The obvious explanation consists in the fact that the remuneration for labor is composite, consisting in part of the minimum defined by competition or by law and of a differential excess added thereto, equivalent to the superior skill of the particular workmen. The effect of minimum wage legislation is to raise the first constituent without in any wise interfering with the second. Individual workmen will continue to receive wages higher than the least well-paid workmen to the amount of their superior efficiency. The essential change consists in the elevation of the wages of the least well paid. (Pages 72-73.)

Great Britain.

Great Britain. Committee of Enquiry into the Working and Effects of the Trade Board Acts. Minutes of Evidence. 1922.

Statement of Mr. John Carr, Director of Peek, Frean and Co., Ltd. (biscuit makers) in behalf of manufacturers' section of London Chamber of Commerce. November 2, 1921.

1034. .... During the period from 1913 onwards whenever a Trade Board has increased the rates, it has automatically increased the rates of everyone above.

1035. .... The Confectionery Trade Board, for instance, has never dealt with anything more than the minimum for an unskilled worker. Each alteration of that minimum for the unskilled worker has carried with it automatically a proportionate advance to the skilled worker, although the Board has never said a word about anybody but the unskilled worker.

1039. *Mr. Bell:* Supposing the minimum is increased, you are of opinion that it has a tendency to increase the wages of those not affected by the fixing of the minimum?—Invariably. (Page 118.)

Statement of Mr. Gordon T. H. Stamper on behalf of the National Union of Manufacturers, member of the Grocery and Provisions Trade Board. November 24, 1921.

2933. *Dame Adelaide Anderson:* You will not get the best labour, the best work, and the best output, unless you pay something more than the minimum?—When I say the minimum, if you fix the minimum so that it is an irreducible minimum and nothing else, the better worker always will get more than that minimum. No employer wishes to run his factory by paying a minimum; he likes to be able to pay more than the minimum. A good many people may think that that is an exaggeration, but I know that it is not. (Page 244.)

Summary of Mr. J. J. Mallon in behalf of the Trade Boards Advisory Council of the General Council of Trade Union Congress and member of thirteen Trade Boards. Feb. 15, 1922.

12,264. *Sir Arthur Pease:* Have you experienced as a Trade Board any evidence that in a particular district where a trade is concentrated the workers are actually worth more and do more work in a given time than they do in an outlying district?—Yes, I think there is some evidence of that, certainly. I think if you take the town of Leeds you get a concentration on the clothing trade which does result, over a period, in the acquirement of a special degree of skill by the workers. That illustrates one sense in which the minimum never can become the standard. We fix a minimum rate for women in the tailoring trade. It does not matter what rate we fix, the rate paid in Leeds is always above that rate. That is perhaps one part of the answer to those who say we ought not to fix flat rates. You have a flat rate, but on top of that flat rate all sorts of economic influences begin to get to work, and the reasons, whatever they are, which have decided that the rate in Leeds should be something more than the rate in Norwich will again manifest themselves, and the Leeds rate will climb up on top of your flat rate. So you have a flat rate co-existing with wide variations on top of the flat rate.

12,265. Your flat rate would be the standard rate in one place, but only a minimum rate in another?—Yes. It is a flat minimum; but above the minimum you have very wide variations which are explained by such facts as those to which you direct attention. (Page 880.)

Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. Vol. 107. 1918.
Sir R. Barran, M.P.:

It has been said that these minimum rates of wages are likely to be the maximum rates of wages. That is not the experience of trades that have been working under the Act. In practically every trade, not the better rate

of wages, but the average rate of wages has been considerably above the trade board rate. (Page 115.)

New Zealand.

Wage Arbitration in New Zealand under Falling Prices. J. B. CONDLIFFE, *Canterbury College, New Zealand. The Economic Journal. December, 1921.*

Though it it has not succeeded in raising real wages, the Court has undoubtedly standardised them, both as between industries and as between employers within the same industry. There is no reason to believe that the minimum award rates have become the maximum. There is still a differentiation of wages in favour of the better workman, and it does not take the secret and underhand form described by Mr. Aves, who must have had his information from an employer who was hostile to the Court.* An investigation in Christchurch recently showed approximately 60 per cent. of the workpeople in receipt of wages above the award rate. . . . (Page 550.)

Canada.

Province of British Columbia—Annual Report of The Department of Labour for the year ending December 31, 1919.

The veiled threat, voiced as an economic principle by some employers to their higher-salaried employees, and the belief of the latter, that if a minimum wage was established in their occupation it would necessarily tend to a levelling-down of the higher salaries is not borne out in reality, since a distinct increase is exhibited in the number of employees receiving the higher salaries.

From the Orders which have been in effect long enough to make comparison the returns show that the fear expressed lest the minimum wage become the maximum has proved groundless, since more than an average of $2 a week per employee is being paid over and above the legal minimum. (Page 85.)

* Cf. Aves' Report on Wages Boards, p. 109, quoted by Pigou: Economics of Welfare, p. 433.

The investigations made by the Board preliminary to the first Conference held in 1918, which dealt with the Mercantile Industry, showed that the minimum wage paid in this occupation was $4 a week; the average weekly wage was $12.77 and the average number of hours worked per week 49.6. The legal minimum wage of $12.75 became effective on February 24th, 1919. Despite the fears expressed at the time it was set, that not only would the working hours be longer, but the minimum would become the maximum, the tabulation of the payrolls made December, 1919, shows that the present average weekly wage is $14.67 and the average hours 46.1 per week, or about $1.92 more than the legal wage for 3.5 hours less. The returns in this occupation were taken during the Christmas season, and show for these weeks a very slight increase in the number of girl employees under eighteen years of age. This is explained by the entry into this occupation of many high school and university girls, who act as sales clerks in the various shops during the holiday season for the purpose of making a little money for the Christmas spending. That this apparent increase is probably a negligible factor is borne out by the fact that other occupations plainly show a decrease. There is also an increase in the number of girls and women employed in this occupation. A glance at the tabulated figures leads irresistibly to the conclusion that very many women workers in the Mercantile section have moved up to a higher rate of pay as compared with the previous year. This is most accentuated, of course, in the case of women workers eighteen years of age or over. Of these, almost exactly one-half were receiving in 1918 less than $12 per week. The 1919 returns show only one in fifteen receiving less than $12, these consisting entirely of learners. There is a substantial increase—from 72 to 119—in the number receiving $20 weekly and over, and a still larger increase in those receiving from $15 to $20 per week, so that the tendency feared by some critics that there would be a levelling-down in the higher salaries is so far non-existent.

In the Laundry Industry the preliminary investigation showed the weekly minimum wage for experienced women over eighteen years of age to be $6 in 1918. The average weekly wage was $11.80 and the average hours 47.2 per week. The legal minimum wage of $13.50 became effective on March 31st, 1919. The average wage rose to $14.48 and the hours fell to 45.1, showing an average of $2.68 more than that of the previous year for 2.1 hours less. An increased number of female employees is recorded, but there is a decrease in the number of girls under eighteen years of age. In this industry also the average wage is well above the minimum.

(3) The Displacement of Workers Inconsiderable.

Every increase of wages threatens to exclude a certain number of workers. But experience shows that ordinarily the number excluded is in the end very small if not nil. (Prof. Hobhouse.)

In all minimum wage legislation a special provision is made to license sub-standard workers to work at reduced rates. Surprisingly few licenses have been applied for. Yet only a slight displacement of workers has been reported, usually in the nature of a readjustment favorable to the worker.

The proportion of women wage-earners to men has not decreased.

District of Columbia.

ORDINARY WORKERS.

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Third Annual Report. December 31, 1920.

(*f*) Effect on the Number of Women Employed.

Opponents of minimum wage legislation argue that with the establishment of minimum wage rates will come a marked reduction in the number of women employed due to the displacement of women by men. Advocates of the measure hold that with the payment of a more adequate wage will come greater efficiency and therefore very properly a reduction in the number of women required to do a given amount of work. But they contend there will be no wholesale displacement of women by men. What does experience in the District indicate as to the relative merits of these statements?

On the basis of the facts given below we feel justified in stating that the minimum wage has not led to any considerable reduction in the number of women employed nor to any appreciable displacement by men. The slight

decrease in numbers which has taken place in all industries can be readily accounted for by increased efficiency on the part of both management and workers and by general industrial depression. The only displacement worthy of note has taken place in certain small groups of workers who together constitute less than 4 per cent of the total number of women covered by wage orders. Therefore the actual displacement is negligible when considered in relation to the total number of women affected.

In analyzing the figures of the number of women employed in various selected groups of establishments at different periods the changes which took place in industrial conditions between periods should be borne in mind. At the time the wage orders were first applied and our original records of the numbers of women employed were obtained Washington was still on the wave of war prosperity. Business was good and there was a shortage of labor in all lines of work. Women were being employed for many jobs formerly held by men. On the other hand, our latest records were obtained after a large part of the process of readjustment had taken place. Business depression had set in; the labor of men was again available. We are, therefore, comparing the number of women employed in given establishments in a period of prosperity and labor shortage with the number employed in a period of depression and labor surplus. A slight reduction in number may properly be attributed to these changes rather than to the establishment of minimum wage rates.

In the mercantile industry which comprises more than half the women covered by minimum wage orders we find a very slight reduction in the number of women employed. In the seven principal department stores the number employed in February and March, 1919, was 3,190; in November, 1919, after the establishment of the minimum wage was 3,260; in November, 1920, a year later, was 3,014. We find similar conditions in the seven principal 5 and 10 cent stores, where the number of women in February and March, 1919, was 247; in November, 1919, was 258; in November, 1920, 245.

In the hotel and restaurant industry the reduction in the number of women employed since the establishment of a minimum wage is somewhat more marked than in the mercantile industry. In the 15 principal hotels the number decreased from 900 in the summer of 1919 to 801 in December, 1920. In this industry the replacement of men by women during the period of labor shortage was far more extensive than in the mercantile industry. Consequently it is not surprising that there should be a greater reduction in the number of women employed when male labor again became available. Moreover, the hotel and restaurant industry was more directly affected than was the mercantile by the exodus of war workers from the city.

One small group of women comprising not more than 5 per cent of those covered by the hotel and restaurant order were somewhat peculiarly affected by the establishment of the minimum wage. These were the women employed in apartment houses. Although we can not give exact figures, we know that there has been a considerable decrease in their number. These women had during the war replaced men and boys as elevator operators. Because the work was light and agreeable, girls who did not have to support themselves were willing to take these jobs at very low wages, the prevailing rate being $30 per month. When the minimum wage of $71.50 per month took effect, apartment house managers, while admitting that girls were more satisfactory and reliable, replaced them in many cases with young boys at rates of $50 and $60 per month. This laying off of girls is possibly only a temporary phase. Some apartment house managers are hostile to the minimum wage and therefore anxious to demonstrate that it injures the woman employees whom it was designed to protect. Nevertheless they have already in some cases found it advantageous to reemploy girls at the minimum rate. Were it not for the general slump in the labor market this tendency would probably be more pronounced.

In the printing trades, where a rather small group of women are employed, our figures show a considerable de-

crease in the past eight months in the number of women employed. This decrease, however, should not be attributed to the minimum wage, which has been in operation since August, 1919, but rather to the general changes in industrial conditions noted above and to the recent establishment of a trade union rate for bindery women higher than the minimum rate. The number of women employed in the 14 principal printing plants showed no immediate reduction as the result of the wage order. The number in January, 1919, was 273; that in August, 1919, after the order became effective, was also 273. The number in March, 1920, was 245. Between March, 1920, and November, 1920, however, the number fell to 182.

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Fourth Annual Report. December 31, 1921.

Effect on the Number of Women Employed.

The District of Columbia minimum-wage law has not resulted in the displacement of women workers by men. We feel in a position to make this positive statement on the basis of the figures given in the foregoing sections. Opponents of minimum-wage legislation frequently argue that such a law even though it increases wages for certain groups of women is harmful to the working women as a whole, because it throws women out of work in great numbers and replaces them with men. Our figures are sufficient to disprove the validity of this argument. The decrease in the past two years in the number of women employed has been slight in some groups and nonexistent in the others. It is more than explained by the local change in economic conditions and by the general business depression.

In the two years since the first wage rates were established there has been a change from war-time prosperity to severe business depression. In the same period there has been a decrease in the population of Washington, with a reduction of 27,000 in the number of Government employees. Local business was abnormally expanded in the

war period. It must necessarily have fallen off to some extent with this drop in the population of the city. None the less a comparison of representative identical establishments in the industries covered by minimum-wage orders shows in most groups an almost negligible decrease in the numbers of women employed and in some an absolute increase.

Taking the mercantile industry first as that in which the largest number of women are employed we find in Table VIII that for the 102 establishments included in the original survey the decrease in numbers employed from February-March, 1919, to March-August, 1921, was from 4,557 to 4,347, or 4.6 per cent. Table XIII is a comparison of 197 establishments in November, 1919, and March-August, 1921. Here the decrease is from 5,518 to 5,042, or 8.3 per cent. However, it is interesting to note from Table XX that half this decrease was in minors. Taking the adult women by themselves the decrease in the number employed from 1919 to 1921 was from 4,832 to 4,599, or only 4.8 per cent. It appears that when the merchants cut their working force they preferred to eliminate the minors.

In Tables XIV and XV we see in more detail the slight decrease in the department stores and 5 and 10 cent stores.

In the hotel and restaurant industry a comparison of the 14 principal hotels shows an increase in the number of women employed. Figures obtained in the original survey made in the summer of 1919 show 792 women employed. In the identical establishments in October, 1921, there were 821 women employed. In the restaurants, on the other hand, there has been a decrease more marked than in any other type of establishment. In the 18 principal restaurants the number of women employed was 483 in the summer of 1919 and 392 in October, 1921, or a decrease of 18.8 per cent. This decrease should not properly be attributed to the establishment of a minimum-wage rate. In the first place, restaurants more than any other type of business were adversely affected by the exodus of war workers—most of whom were single girls

living in furnished rooms and hence great patrons of restaurants. There has been an undoubted decrease in the restaurant business in the last two years. In the second place, the war-time shortage of male labor, especially of immigrants, had caused a very extensive substitution of women in restaurants where they had never been employed previously. These girls were replaced when men again became available.

Although we have no figures on the subject it is only fair to state that a similar decrease has taken place among another very small group of women, namely, those employed in apartment houses. During the war-time shortage of male labor colored girls replaced men or boys as elevator operators because they were willing to work for lower wages. These girls have now in their turn been replaced to a considerable extent by men and boys willing because of the present scarcity of jobs to work for less than the women's minimum wage. This is to our knowledge the only case where men have actually undercut the minimum wage, but it is not a genuine case of displacement, since elevator operating was not a woman's occupation prior to the war, and many of the women would probably have been dismissed in any event when male labor became readily available. This group of women never constituted more than 2 per cent of those covered by wage orders and thus are almost negligible in considering the situation as a whole.

In the printing and publishing industry there has been some decrease in the number of women employed in the commercial plants, but a very considerable increase in the number employed in non-commercial publishing houses. The increase in five identical non-commercial plants has been from 442 to 564, or 33.6 per cent.

The decrease in the commercial plants may be properly attributed to the change from an abnormally expanded industry in January, 1919, when the first survey was made, to the state of acute depression prevailing in that industry in the summer of 1921, when the latest figures were secured. If any of the decrease is due to increased wages the establishment of the trade-union rate rather

than the minimum wage must be held responsible. However, in view of the changed industrial conditions the decrease is surprisingly small. For the 36 identical plants shown in Table V the decrease was 12.8 per cent between January, 1919, and two and a half years later. Most of the decrease took place early in the period. From August, 1919, to March to August, 1921, the drop was only 4.6 per cent. Table VI for the 14 principal plants shows an increase in 1921 over 1920.

Table XXI gives in summary form the change in numbers of women employed in each industry between 1919, prior to the establishment of any wage orders, and 1921. In each case it is a comparison of identical establishments representative of the industry and includes all the principal establishments therein. Therefore, the totals of this table afford a valid comparison of the number of women employed before minimum wage rates were established and one and a half to two years thereafter.

Table XXI.—Number of Women Employed in Identical Establishments in Two Specified Years, Before and After the Establishment of Minimum Wage Rates, by Industrial Groups.

Industrial groups	No. of establishments.	Number of women employed in— 1919	1921	Percentage, increase or decrease
Mercantile	102	4,557	4,347	—4.6
Hotels	14	792	821	+3.7
Restaurants	18	483	392	—18.8
Commercial printing and publishing	36	326	284	—12.9
Noncommercial	5	422	564	+33.6
Total		6,580	6,408	—2.6

This comparison shows an average decrease for all three industries of 2.6 per cent. On the basis of these figures it can safely be asserted that there has been no considerable reduction in the number of women employed

in the District of Columbia following the establishment of minimum wage rates.

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Fifth Annual Report. December 31, 1922.

Effect on the Number of Women Employed.

The District of Columbia minimum wage law has not resulted in the displacement of women workers by men. We feel in a position to make this positive statement on the basis of the tables given in the foregoing sections. Opponents of minimum wage legislation frequently argue that such a law though it increases wages for certain groups of women is harmful to the working women as a whole because it throws women out of work and replaces them with men. Our figures are amply sufficient to disprove the validity of this statement.

Despite the change in business conditions in the District of Columbia from the abnormal war-time prosperity of 1919 to the rather depressed condition of 1922 a comparison of a large number of representative identical establishments shows a slight increase in the number of women employed. The following table is a summary of the comparisons of identical establishments given in the preceding pages. It affords a valid comparison of the number of women employed in these industries in 1919 prior to the establishment of minimum wage rates and the number employed in 1922.

TABLE XVII.—Number of women employed in identical establishments in two specified years, before and after the establishment of minimum wage rates, by industrial groups.*

Industrial groups	No. of establishments	Number of women employed in— 1919	1922	Percentage increase or decrease
Mercantile	96	4,543	4,511	—0.7
Hotels	11	663	660	—0.5
Restaurants	17	469	359	—23.5
Commercial printing and publishing	29	289	263	—9.0
Noncommercial	5	422	603	+42.9
Total		6,386	6,396	+0.2

(Condensed.)

This table shows that although in one industrial group there has been a considerable decrease in the numbers employed, this is offset by a substantial increase in another group, so that taking all the groups together the number of women employed is unchanged, or rather very slightly increased.

The only considerable decrease in the employment of women took place in the restaurants. Figures for the 17 principal restaurants show a decrease of 23 per cent in the number of women employed. However, this decrease cannot properly be attributed to the establishment of a minimum wage rate. The restaurant business, probably more than any other, was abnormally expanded during the war period. A large part of the population temporarily added to the District of Columbia during that period were single girls living in furnished rooms, and hence great patrons of restaurants. The exodus of war workers from the city inevitably caused a slump in the restaurant business reflected in a diminution of the number of employees. Furthermore, the wartime shortage of male labor, especially of immigrants, had caused an extensive substitution of women in restaurants where

* Also includes minor girls in all industries and minor boys in the mercantile industry.

they had not previously been employed. It was natural that these girls should be replaced when men again became available.

In no other industrial group do we find any substantial decrease in the number of women employed in 1922 as compared with 1919 before the wage rates took effect. In the hotels the number was unchanged. (The decrease of 0.5 per cent is certainly negligible.) In the mercantile industry the same is true. (Here the decrease was 0.7 per cent.) In the printing industry, if we take the commercial plants separately, we find a decrease of 9 per cent, but if we consider the commercial plants and the non-commercial together we find an increase of 22 per cent.

It appears from these figures that there has been no reduction in the number of women employed in the District of Columbia following the establishment of minimum wage rates.

Sub-normal Workers.

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Second Annual Report. December 31, 1919.

Under the law [special licenses] may be issued to a person "whose earning capacity has been impaired by age or otherwise." Of the 51 licenses issued, 45 were to women whose earning capacity was impaired by age; 3 of the remainder were to subnormal girls, and 3 were to women whose physical condition did not permit them to do heavy or continuous work. The latter 3 were issued for short periods only, at the end of which it is expected that the licensee will have regained her health. The rates at which licenses were granted ranged from $10 to $15, the great majority being at $12 or $14. (Page 24.)

No piece of constructive legislation can be put into effect without causing some destruction; so it is with the minimum wage law. The putting into effect of the minimum wage orders revealed the existence of a considerable number of able-bodied persons who because of

lack of initiative, education, and opportunity were unable to compete on an equal footing with the other workers in a particular class of work. For example, some women who had been employed as saleswomen were dismissed when the order became operative on the ground that they were incapable of earning the minimum rate. Many of these women were not qualified to serve customers, although in another occupation having different requirements they might easily earn a living wage. This shifting into new lines of work for which the woman is better suited makes for the ultimate good of the individual as well as of the community. One drawback, however, to a perfect adjustment of the worker to the job is found in the limited number of industries in the District. There are comparatively few factories to which the woman unfitted for salesmanship can turn. Hotels, restaurants, laundries, telephone and telegraph offices are the only establishments which offer employment on a comparatively large scale. These industries may not offer the kind of work for which the applicant is best suited.

There are other groups of women for whom no occupation can possibly be found in which they can compete successfully with workers of ordinary ability. Those whose earning capacity has been impaired by age or physical or mental disability are permitted under the law to secure special licenses authorizing their employment at a rate less than the minimum. This provision has made it possible for certain women to retain their jobs when otherwise they would have been dismissed. It is in effect, however, a mere begging of the question. If these women are unable to earn a living wage some other provision should be made for them. They ought not to be allowed to drag out their existence on the pittance which they are able to earn. Furthermore, there are other substandard workers whose disabilities are of too indefinite a nature to permit their coming under this provision of the law.

The attention of the community cannot be called too soon to the existence of these groups in industry who

appear to suffer from rather than benefit by the minimum wage law. The children, the widows, the aged and infirm, the mentally defective, the substandard workers cannot be adquately protected by wage legislation. They must be cared for in some other way. When other provision is made for these groups the work of the Minimum Wage Board can be rendered more constructive and effective. (Pages 28-29.)

LEARNERS.

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Third Annual Report. December 31, 1920.

Experienced Workers Have Not Been Replaced by Learners.

There has been no tendency on the part of employers to substitute inexperienced workers at rates less than the minimum for experienced workers. On the contrary, we find a gradual and marked decrease in the percentage of learners employed in both the printing industry and in the stores. From August, 1919, to November, 1920, the percentage of learners in the printing trades decreased from 29 to 7 per cent. In the department stores during the year November, 1919, to 1920, the percentage of learners decreased from 26 to 17 per cent. In the 5 and 10-cent stores for this same period a corresponding decrease of from 45 to 27 per cent took place.

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Fourth Annual Report. December 31, 1921.

Experienced Workers Have Not Been Displaced by Learners.

The tables in the preceding sections are also conclusive proof that the establishment of a minimum-wage order under which inexperienced persons can be employed at rates below the minimum has not served to displace experienced workers by such learners. Em-

ployers apparently appreciate the greater value of experienced employees so that the possibility of securing inexperienced persons at lower wages does not lead to an increase in their employment. All the figures for both the printing and publishing and the mercantile industries show a steady decrease in the proportion of persons employed at learners' rates. In the hotel and restaurant industry no learners' rates exist.

Table VI shows that in August, 1919, immediately after the printing and publishing order took effect 29 per cent of the persons coming under it in the 14 principal plants were rated as learners; by March, 1920, the per cent had dropped to 13 per cent; by November, 1920, to 7 per cent; by October, 1921, to 5 per cent.

Table XIII shows the same tendency for the mercantile industry as a whole. In November, 1919, the week after the order took effect, 24 per cent of the women and minors were rated as learners; by 1921 this per cent had dropped to 11 per cent. Table XIV shows the same thing in more detail for the department stores, where the per cent rated below the minimum dropped from 26 per cent in November, 1919, to 16 per cent in November, 1920, to 12 per cent in October, 1921. The corresponding per cents in the 5 and 10-cent stores were 45, 27 and 28 per cent. (See Table XV.)

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Fifth Annual Report. December 31, 1922.

3. Experienced Workers Have Not Been Displaced by Learners.

The tables . . . for the printing and publishing and mercantile industries offer conclusive proof that the establishment of sub-minimum rates for learners have not caused any displacement of experienced workers by these learners.* On the contrary, since the orders took effect there has been a continuous decrease in the proportion of learners employed. Employers apparently ap-

* No learners' rates exist in the hotel and restaurant industry.

preciate the greater value of experienced employees. Despite the possibility of securing inexperienced persons at lower rates there is no tendency to increase their numbers.

Table VIII for the commercial printing and publishing plants shows that immediately after the introduction of the $15.50 minimum wage 24 per cent of the women and girls employed were paid less than $15 per week, i.e., were employed as learners. By 1922 this proportion had decreased to 7 per cent. In the mercantile industry Table XI shows a similar decrease. Immediately after the minimum wage took effect the proportion rated below it (i.e., as learners) was 24 per cent. Three years later it was only 11 per cent.

4. Experienced Workers Have Not Been Displaced by Minors.

The decreased employment of minors since the introduction of the minimum wage affords another proof that there is no tendency to displace experienced workers by persons who may be employed at lower rates. The mercantile industry is the only one in which, under our orders, minors may be employed at lower rates than adults. In that industry, while the adult learning period is seven months, with rates of $12.50 for the first three and $14.50 for the next four, the minor learning period extends up to the age of 18, with rates of $10 for the first four months, $11.50 for the next four, $13 for the next four, $14.50 for the next six, and $16 thereafter until the eighteenth birthday is reached.

Despite this differential in rates, it appears that employers have tended more and more to dispense with the services of children. Our figures show a continuous decrease in the number and proportion employed.

Table XVI is a comparison of identical mercantile establishments for the week following the introduction of the minimum wage rate and for periods two and three years thereafter.

TABLE XVI.—Comparison of the ratio of minors to total woman and minor employees in 182 identical mercantile establishments immediately after the establishment of a minimum wage rate, and two years and three years thereafter.

Date	Total woman and minor employees	Number of minor employees	Per cent minor employees	Per cent decrease from 1919 in total woman and minor employees	Per cent decrease from 1919 in minor employees
1919	5,453	678	12.4	—8.4	—34.7
1921	4,995	443	8.9	—8.4	—34.7
1922	5,086	402	7.9	—6.7	—40.7

This table shows that while the total number of women and minors employed in these establishments decreased only 7 per cent between 1919 and 1922 the number of minors decreased by more than a third or 41 per cent. Although the minors constitute only about a tenth of the total number, the decrease among them accounts for three-quarters of the decrease in the total number.

MEN.

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Second Annual Report. December 31, 1919.

One effect of the high minimum wage rates predicted by some business men was the wholesale displacement of women by men. In the printing, publishing, and allied industries no case of displacement has been called to our attention. Neither has there been a falling off in the total number of women employed in these industries.

In the mercantile industry men have replaced women in certain occupations where their superior strength enables them to do heavier work in addition to their regular task, but such replacement has been comparatively slight. There has been a decrease in the number of women employed as maids and cleaners in the ladies' specialty shops, a smaller number of better paid employees taking the place of a larger number of poorly paid workers. A

distinct advantage to the community results from such raising of the efficiency standards. Whether such a reduction in the labor force will take place in the larger stores is problematical. Since the order became effective these establishments have taken on a large number of workers to take care of the holiday trade. If there is a cut in the normal working force it will come during February. But this is a period when the labor force ordinarily reaches its lowest level, so it will be difficult to determine how much the reduction is due to trade conditions and how much to the minimum wage. All the indications are that the employee of ordinary ability will not be affected adversely by this legislation. (Pages 27-28.)

California.

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. Third Biennial Report. 1917-1918.

Summing up the accomplishments of the mercantile order, the effects were found to be:

2. That the number of employees was not decreased, but increased 10 per cent. (Page 48.)

A summary of the effects of the order of the Industrial Welfare Commission in the laundry industry leads to the same conclusions as in the mercantile industry:

2. Employees did not lose their positions because of the order. (Page 87.)

Section 8 (as amended, Stats. 1915, Chap. 571): (a) "For any occupation in which a minimum wage has been established, the commission may issue to a woman physically defective by age or otherwise, a special license authorizing the employment of such license, for a period of six months, for a wage less than such legal minimum wage; and the commission shall fix a special minimum wage for such person. Any such license may be renewed for like periods of six months." The commission exer-

cised its power to issue infirm workers' licenses, authorizing employment for a wage less than the legal minimum. It was recognized that there are persons incapable of attaining even the minimum standards, who would become hopeless charges on the community, if denied all opportunity to work. If industry were compelled to give the same terms to the incapacitated as to the competent workers, the former could not hope for employment. This special license, however, must be secured from the commission for each worker. This is issued only upon joint application of employer and employee. The employee must state the length of employment in the industry, the reason for the application, and her age. The employer agrees to give the applicant employment at specified work and at a specified rate. An investigation is made that takes into account the previous earnings of the worker and the earnings of other workers as one measure of comparative skill, the physical conditions, age, training, the other facts that might cause a smaller output. If the worker proves incapable of regular promotion, or of earning the minimum, the special license is granted, renewable every six months. This may specify a weekly time rate less than the legal minimum, or may permit the employer to pay whatever the employee is able to earn at the current piece rates. (Page 66.)

No license has been granted to any woman except upon the signed statement of a licensed physician that the applicant was not able to work to normal capacity at ordinary tasks, either because of age or physical disability. A wage of $8 to women who are incapacitated is a very real aid. The commission safeguards wage standards of the normal worker by careful restrictions on the permits. The commission has been very conservative in granting the privilege, less than 3 per cent of the total employees in November, 1918, holding such permits. (Page 70.)

Massachusetts.

Minimum Wage Commissions. Current Facts. January 1920. National Consumers' League. New York.

Before the Massachusetts retail store decree went into effect, in January, 1916, the 26 neighborhood houses of Boston offered to help readjust girls and women discharged as "too unskilled, ignorant or incompetent to be worth the minimum wage."

No considerable number of them was found, except from one store, which had 49. Seventy were listed from 12 stores. One-third of these found work right away, the rest more slowly, except 5 "unemployables," who could find no work in nine months.

Nine months after the decree those who were reemployed earned an average of $7.71 a week, in contrast with their former earnings of $5.44.

The public, which pays the costs of industry, is entitled not to be served in stores and restaurants, over the telephone and on trolley cars and elevators by the mentally defective.

In laundries, factories and in public kitchens, where they may be a menace to the safety of their fellow employees, their presence should be discouraged. (Page 14.)

Massachusetts Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. Report for the year ending November 30, 1921.

Among the problems encountered in the inspection work of the year, one of the most difficult to deal with has been the evasion of the decrees through violating their intent while technically meeting the requirements. This has occurred principally under the office and other building cleaners decree. Although the majority of the building managers accepted the spirit as well as the letter of the decree, some discharged part of the women and required the remainder to do all of the work in propor-

tionally less time. In this adjustment 50 women were discharged. The number is large in comparison with that under other decrees. It represents, however, only a small part of the entire number of women under this decree. Moreover, the unemployment which characterized the period made it easier to take such action than would otherwise have been the case. (Page 16.)

Minnesota.

Ohio. Council on Women and Children in Industry. Minimum Wage Study. 1920.

Eliza P. Evans, Secretary, State of Minnesota Minimum Wage Commission:

In so far as I know, not one woman or minor in the State of Minnesota has been thrown out of work permanently by the Minimum Wage Law. Young girls especially have lost their jobs, but in most instances the loss of the job was a good thing, because prior to the promulgation of the Minimum Wage Law, employers had been in the habit of keeping girls who were little or no good, because they could get them for a low wage and, of course, this was a great injustice to the girl. The result has been that the girls have been forced to find the kind of work for which they were fitted. (Page 26.)

North Dakota.

North Dakota. Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Minimum Wage Department. Second Biennial Report. July 1, 1920, to June 30, 1922.

That there is no basis for the argument that women will be forced out of industry by minimum wage and hour legislation has already been proved conclusively in this state, as it has long since been proven in other states where such laws are of long standing; for, as we have pointed out in our former report, there are two vital

factors which cannot be overlooked. Namely, that, first, there are certain classes of work for which women are peculiarly fitted by temperament and ability, and that such work will always be more efficiently and satisfactorily done by women. Second, that no matter how short the working day, nor how adequate a minimum wage scale is established, male labor is still more expensive to the employer. (Pages 2-3.)

Washington.

Washington. Bureau of Labor, Statistics and Factory Inspection. Tenth Biennial Report. 1915-1916.

After the minimum wage for mercantile establishments had been in effect about sixteen months, the Bureau of Labor was asked to collect statistics on its effect and in October, 1915, we began a survey for that purpose. (Page 270.)

We personally interviewed each girl and asked the questions on the blank. Almost three thousand girls responded and the result of the information gained was more than gratifying. Regarding the question, "Do you know of any girl who has lost her position on account of the minimum wage?" we were able to get the names and addresses of many, and on interviewing them personally we found there were other reasons, but most of them had secured positions elsewhere and were getting the wage while some of the younger girls had returned to school, hence the cry that so many had lost their positions was groundless. (Pages 270-271.)

Washington. Industrial Welfare Commission. Third Biennial Report. 1917-1918.

Legal minimum wages for women and minors were established, in 1914 and 1915, in the mercantile, manufacturing, laundering, telephone and telegraph, hotel and restaurant industries of the State, and in office occupa-

tions. The minimum wage of adult women in the different industries, then established, was as follows:

Office and mercantile	$10.00 per week
Manufacturing	8.90 per week
Laundry, telephone, telegraph, hotel and restaurant	9.00 per week

These wages were placed in effect at a time of serious business depression, but notwithstanding that fact, they have been successfully maintained without the lessened employment of women. These wages, though the highest minimum wages on record at the time they were adopted, have become entirely inadequate under the present high cost of living, and, by the time this report goes to press, will have been superseded by the new wage of $13.20 per week . . . which will become effective on November 10th, 1918. (Page 21.)

Washington. Industrial Welfare Commission. Fourth Biennial Report. 1919-1920.

Section 13 of the act provides for special disability licenses for women who are "physically defective or crippled with age or otherwise." These have never been issued by the Commission except after personal investigation of the case by a member of the Labor Department.

Under this provision only 58 licenses have been issued since June 27, 1914. Some of these applicants have been permanently physically defective or crippled, but most of them have recovered and their licenses have expired.

The fololwing report shows the ages of the applicants and the reason for issuing the license. It will be noted that 18, or almost one-third, have passed their fiftieth birthday, and 32, or almost two-thirds, have passed their fortieth birthday. It would seem that there should be some provision made by the state to care for these aged and physically defective women who are dependent upon their daily toil for support.

Cause for License.

Advanced age.....	17	Very heavy, unable to stand long	1
Deaf and Dumb.....	3	Frail	6
Crippled from birth...	1	Extreme nervousness..	4
Crippled by injury....	5	Neuralgia	1
Paralyzed leg	1	Ill health	8
Rheumatism	6	Recovering from operations, etc.....	4
Painful hips for 18 years	1		

(Condensed.) (Pages 34-35.)

Wisconsin.

Wisconsin Industrial Commission. Progress of Work Report. January, 1922.

The leading tobacco warehouse firms have been written to to ascertain their views upon a possible solution of the difficulties met with in applying the minimum wage to tobacco stemming warehouses: tobacco stemmeries are to pay such piece rates as will enable 75 per cent of the women employees under 50 years of age to earn 28c per hour at warehouses where the tobacco is steam cased and 25c per hour where the tobacco is moistened by water. The largest firm has advised the commission that this plan is satisfactory and will solve the problem of elderly employees who are handicapped in earning the minimum wage by reason of their age.

A study has been started by the women's department in the city of Milwaukee to get at the adequacy of the rates paid for home work. Because so many different articles are manufactured in homes, this study involves a very great amount of detail and will not be completed for some months. (Page 13.)

Wisconsin Industrial Commission. Progress of Work Report. February, 1922.

Scattered instances of the displacement of women by men are reported; but there is no question that on the

whole the number of women employees has been reduced much less than the number of men employees. Even in factories where men might easily replace women, they have not done so to any great extent. In fact, the Milwaukee employment office reports that during the last months the first calls ever received for women timekeepers have come in. (Page 12.)

In General.

Sub-normal Workers.

American Minimum Wage Laws at Work. Dorothy W. Douglas. *American Economic Review. Vol. IX, No. 4. December, 1919.*

So far the total number of licenses issued [to defectives] by the active minimum wage states has been surprisingly small. Washington reports only fifty in five years of commission activity. The California commission states in respect to the laundry industry, where infirm workers are more easily accommodated than elsewhere: "No license has been granted to any woman except upon the signed statement of a licensed physician that the applicant was not able to work to normal capacity at ordinary tasks, either because of age or physical disability." Even then no license is granted for less than $8. * * * In November, 1918, less than 3 per cent of the total employees * * * [held] such permits.*

None of these states report any difficulty because of applications from the mentally defective. In many cases of course the mentally defective would also be physically handicapped, and thus receive their classification without question. Of the six licenses thus far issued by the Minnesota commission, three were for women thus doubly handicapped. Our informant states that no case of purely mental defect has as yet arisen. The Washington commission reports similarly: "We have had no application from a mentally subnormal person."

*Third Biennial Report I. W. C. of California, p. 70.

In view of the large number of mental defectives known to be at large in our population, this state of affairs is certainly surprising. Perhaps the majority of them find their way into simple piece work operations where their reduced output can affect no one but themselves.** Others doubtless drift about from job to job, never making themselves valuable enough to an employer to cause him even to try for a license for them. But a large remainder appear to be still unaccounted for. Can it be that much of our industry is so simplified and routinized that even a moron is good enough to support herself at it? Nay, possibly that she may in some respects be preferable to her normal and therefore more restless sister? (Pages 726-7.)

**However, in a state like California they would probably be discovered even there, if large numbers congregated in any one branch of piece work, for California has the provision in her ruling on manufactures that 66 2-3 per cent of all piece workers employed by any one establishment must earn over the weekly rate. (I. W. C. Order No. 11, amended 1919, sec. 8(d).)

Great Britain.

Great Britain. Report to the Minister of Labour of the Committee Appointed to Enquire into the Working and Effects of the Trade Boards Acts. London. April, 1922.

30. (A.) As regards unemployment and dislocation of trade generally, witnesses representing employers' organisations interested in the Ready-Made Tailoring, Shirtmaking, Tin Box and Paper Bag Trades stated that the operation of Trade Boards in their trades had not caused unemployment, and that such unemployment as prevailed was due to the general depression of trade and to other circumstances over which Trade Boards had no control. General submissions of a similar character were made by a witness for the London Chamber of Commerce and by representatives of workers' organisations.

31. As regards charges on these grounds made against individual Trade Boards, it was urged by workers' organisations interested in the Retail Dressmaking, and Hat, Cap and Millinery Trades that, apart from the inevitable reaction of general trade depression, one of the chief causes of the depression in their trades, and especially in retail dressmaking, was the growing success of the wholesale sections of their trades in producing ready-made articles which satisfied the requirements of customers who had hitherto purchased only garments made to order. They stated that the competition of the ready-made articles had been making itself felt many years before Trade Boards had begun to legislate and was an inevitable cause of dislocation in the retail sections of the trades. It was admitted by witnesses of certain employers' organisations that the ready-made section had begun to encroach on the retail sections in the early years of this century.

32. It was further submitted that in these trades the charges on the ground of unemployment caused

had been stated with exaggeration. It was urged that the trades were seasonal, and that heavy discharges of workpeople at certain seasons of the year were a normal feature before Trade Boards were set up; and it was suggested that in the criticism of the work of the Boards for these trades no sufficient account had been taken of unemployment due to normally recurrent seasonal depression. . . . .

34. As regards the charges levelled against the Laundry Trade Board, a representative of the workers' side of the Board, while implicitly admitting that a reduction in the number of persons employed in the trade had taken place since the Board started to legislate, stated that the reduction had been in progress for many years previously, owing to an extensive development of the use of machinery. The operation of the Trade Board, in so far as it had tended to reduce the number of persons employed, had, it was urged, been in the direction of decasualising the industry and of giving regular employment to the workers retained.

35. Workers in the Flax Trade submitted that even if the Trade Board rates were reduced by 50 per cent. unemployment would still continue. They contended that the high price of raw flax owing to the failure of Russian supplies had forced up the price of manufactured articles beyond the capacity of the consumer to pay, and that even if a heavy demand were to arise there would be a shortage of raw material to meet it. (Pages 19-21.)

Great Britain. Committee of Enquiry into the Working and Effects of the Trade Boards Acts. Minutes of Evidence. 1922.

ORDINARY WORKERS.

Statement of Mr. Humbert Wolfe, C.B.E., Principal Assistant Secretary at the Ministry of Labour in charge of the Trade Boards Branch. On October 12, 1921.

666. Unemployment, of course, is the point which has been urged most generally in the Press and elsewhere, as the reason against extending Trade Boards further, and as a general reason against having Trade Boards at all, particularly in the distributive trades. I would like to make two general observations upon that at the outset: the first that it is extremely difficult for anybody to say with certainty what the cause of the present unemployment in any trade is. . . . . It is rather an audacious employer who asserts generally that the unemployment in his trade is due to a Trade Board. The second general point is that it would be absurd to pretend that a Trade Board could not fix a rate which would smash its trade, of course it could. If they liked to commit suicide—the employers who were in the trade and the workers who have got to work in the trade—they could fix a rate which would put the whole trade out of business; but it is not likely that they would do it. . . . . If I liked to use what would not be a fair thing from my point of view, I could dispose of the whole case against Trade Boards on the grounds of unemployment, by reading out the percentages of unemployment in the trades covered by Trade Boards and the non-Trade Board trades. The actual statistics are the following:—The percentage of unemployment in industry generally at 16th September, 1921, was 12.4; in Trade Board industries, 10.2; and in non-Trade Board industries, 13.3. It would, therefore, appear to follow that the one way to avoid unemployment is to have a Trade Board in your industry. I make no such claim in

behalf of Trade Boards, because I began by saying that it is not fair to attribute unemployment to any single cause, but I think one is entitled to say, having regard to those figures, that at any rate at first sight there is nothing to show that a Trade Board by its operation does, in its own trade, increase unemployment. (Page 43.)

483. When the notice [of minimum rates in the country districts in the Dressmaking Trade] was exhibited to them [the employers] they said: "Well, if we pay this, we shall have to discharge our work people." We know perfectly well that some employers are less scrupulous than others about that sort of thing, when new legislation comes in. The people who were making these enquiries were not inexperienced; they were our most experienced inspectors, and they were convinced that this was not evasion, but that it was true. . . . . On the Board the workers' side were particularly interested in factory conditions and much less interested in conditions in the small rural areas, and they themselves were not indisposed to think that in the country the treatment might be rather different; and when we put it to them that 9s. was too high they said that they themselves had been considering the matter, and in fact they reduced it to 6s. . . . . I like to give that case, because that and another are the only cases in which our inspectors have found any evidence whatever to show that Trade Boards rates would, if enforced, have caused unemployment. (Page 29.)

On October 13, 1922.

673. . . . . Parliament has laid it down that in trades where the operation of economic laws has not given the workers an adequate wage the State shall intervene to protect the workers in spite of those laws. The possibility that its intervention might cause unemployment was envisaged, and it was decided in effect that the advantages to the majority of a reasonable wage must in the long run outweigh the temporary loss to the minority. But by providing that wages should be fixed trade by trade by a body, half of the representative element of

which consisted of employers in the trade, a guarantee was given that the dislocation, if any, would be kept within the narrowest limits. What I mean by that is that you cannot hope when you set up a Trade Board, not to cause some little dislocation; it is inevitable. You have in some trades employers so inefficient and employing such sweated labour, that if they have to pay a reasonable rate they go out of business. Parliament, I imagine, came to the conclusion that it was better that they should. If the trade is a trade which is likely to persist, it is not possible that the dislocation is going to last for a long period; and the result of better wages and conditions should be rather to increase employment in the long run than to decrease it. I do feel that very much which has been written about unemployment has not been proved. As I say, it is a charge which is as difficult to refute as to prove. I cannot refute it by producing my unemployment figures, because I say that I would not be using them fairly if I did. On the other hand, if employers appear before you and say that dismissals have been made on this and that account, I think it would be very difficult for them to prove that it is only due to the Trade Board rates. I should, however, just like very briefly, to mention the case of the jute trade. Employers in the jute trade asked for exclusion from the Acts because they said that they could not get on with their production at all because of the high rates fixed by the Trade Board. They said they required a 25 per cent. reduction in rates at once, and they said that that would make all the difference to them. I got out some figures when the application was made—they may be challenged—which indicated that a 25 per cent. reduction in jute wages would mean a reduction of less than 5 per cent. in the cost of production, and that on the other hand from March, 1920, when the price of jute was £64 a ton, it had gone down to £29 a ton in September, 1921. (Page 44.)

674. . . . . A 25 per cent. wages reduction or increase is not going to make a very alarming difference in these circumstances.

682. . . . . Some of them said that it would revive employment, but if you put to them a straight question, "If wages are reduced 25 per cent., will you guarantee to employ one man one hour more," I am not sure that you would have got an affirmative answer. . . . (Page 45.)

On February 22, 1922.

13,103. . . . . I think there are half-a-dozen reasons contributing to unemployment, and when I gave evidence last, I had not, and have not since, found it established that the Trade Board rates themselves directly cause, or can be alleged to cause, unemployment, except, as may happen, in a case where an inefficient employer is unable to organise his business adequately. That is inevitable when you start a new system. (Page 937.)

Statement of Mr. John Carr, Director of Peek, Frean and Co., Ltd. (biscuit makers) in behalf of Manufacturers' Section of London Chamber of Commerce. November 2, 1921.

927. *Lord Cave:* You do not yourself know of any such case?—Personally I am quite satisfied that the rates fixed by the Trade Boards have in no case caused unemployment. (Page 114.)

Statement of Mr. David Little, past chairman of the Wholesale Clothing Manufacturers' Federation and employers' representative since July 1910 on the Tailoring Trade Board and its successor, the Readymade and Wholesale Bespoke Tailoring Trade Board. December 6, 1921.

It has been stated in some quarters that if Trade Boards were suspended some hundreds of thousands of men now out of work would be fully employed. This statement is questioned, as in general it will be found that there is no more unemployment in the case of trades which come under Trade Boards than there is in other trades which are not governed by these bodies. Further, if

the complaint is to any extent well-founded, the cause is one of insufficient elasticity on the part of the Boards in that they have not the necessary powers to carry out quickly any variations in wages that may be made. Probably during the war period and the time since the opportunity might have been taken by the Government to accommodate by legislation the action of Trade Boards towards the existing abnormal conditions.

4028. *Lord Cave:* Have you any observations to make about unemployment?—We do not agree with the idea that unemployment is worse in trades covered by the Trade Boards Acts than in trades not covered.

4030. We have in Leeds prepared for use every month a very detailed account of the numbers of unemployed, and they are graded down right through, and I scan them very carefully each month when we get them; and I am bound to say that there is no evidence there—and we have, I think, in Leeds perhaps as many industries as the average place—that it is a punishment to an employee to be in a trade which comes within the scope of the Trade Board Act. (Page 321.)

Statement of Mr. R. M. Maxwell on behalf Scottish Garment Makers' and Millinery Trades' Federation (300 employers and 7,000 employees). December 8, 1921.

4981. "Unemployment and Trade Board Rates. A good deal has been said recently as to the extent of unemployment due to Trade Boards rates. In our case we think that is justified to some extent in Scottish country districts, owing to the failure of the Trade Board to differentiate the rates, and it possibly also has caused unemployment in Scottish towns among the humbler classes of business. We, however, are of the opinion that the real causes of unemployment in our trades are much wider and more deeply rooted. Some of these causes exist in the trade itself, such as the rapidly increasing tendency towards the selling of ready-made garments.

Many employers blame the Trade Board, however, as the sole cause of unemployment, because of the natural and human irritation at being subjected to fresh regulations, which may involve some little adaptation of their ordinary business activities, an irritation with which we have all full sympathy." (Page 369.)

Statement of the National Farmers' Union.

It was always recognized that even within what the National Farmers' Union regards as the legitimate function of Trade Boards, their operations would lead to a certain amount of unemployment; the justification of this was that it was cheaper in the end for the State to support industrial or social inefficients at a definite cost rather than allow them to be exploited by unscrupulous employers with a resulting indefinite liability upon the State in the form of public health services, etc. (Page 991.)

Statement of Professor L. T. Hobhouse, D.Litt., LL.D. Chairman of ten Trade Boards. (Has resigned from four of these which appeared to have come into smooth waters, namely, the Paper Bag, Tin Box, Wholesale Mantle, and Boot and Shoe Repairing Boards.) January 12, 1922.

9453. *Lord Weir:* You may replace underpayment by unemployment?—There is always that danger. There, I think, the Trade Board has some advantage over anything rigid. The Trade Board keeps this question of unemployment before it constantly. It never meets in these days without having this question put forward by employers very fully. There is nothing which burdens the conscience of an Appointed Member more than the fear that he may be causing unemployment by one of his decisions. The chief difficulty we have in this matter turns on the point of information. Supposing it is said to me: "Here is your rate of 8d. per hour, and there are lots of women unemployed." I say, "Suppose we agree to 7d., how many should we get into employment?" and no

one can answer. If we went to 3d. or 4d., or even to 1d., employment would leap up, but the people would starve, or have to live on something else. If you talk about a reduction which would keep them without some sort of subsistence limit, no one can say what the result would be.

9454. *Lord Cave:* But still it is true that if the wages are so high that they cannot be passed on to the consumer without stopping the demand, then unemployment must result?—In a general way that is true, but you do not know the quantitative relations; that is the difficulty. (Page 690.)

9119. . . . . My feeling was that on the evidence they [Rope, Twine and Net Board] themselves had given me it was the general industrial situation, and particularly the depreciation of European currency, which was the cause of the greater part of their troubles. Theirs is largely an export trade. He [Mr. Buckpitt] spoke of the impossibility of competing with Germany and Belgium. He went into the question of the German mark and of the Belgian franc and the rates of wages and the impossibility of competing. That leaves you with a very confused and uncertain sense of what the effect of any reduction of any nature which you could at all contemplate is going to be. Of course, if you cut the wages down to nothing it would have a great effect; but any reduction you could contemplate would seem to be a small matter. (Page 676.)

Statement of Mr. W. Addington Willis, Chairman of the Boot and Shoe Repairing, and the Toy Trade Boards, and Deputy-Chairman of the Brush and Broom, the Hair, Bass and Fibre, and the Grocery and Provisions Trade Boards, and arbitrator or conciliator in over 260 industrial disputes. February 1, 1922.

11,270. *Lord Weir:* It has been suggested, of course, that higher rates have caused unemployment also, especially in country towns?—Well, I do not know; I have

never heard of any proof of it. I have kept my ears open; we have District Trade Committees, as you know, and I am always on the look-out for any indication as to the effect of our Trade Board Orders; and I have been surprised that I have not heard more of unemployment owing to that cause, simply because where you are introducing something new, and which you think is an improvement, very often you do dislocate things; but on only two occasions have I come up against anybody who has been able to make the assertion that owing to our Trade Board rates he has thrown men out of employment. One case was, I think, in Northampton; if not Northampton, it was Norwich; and in the course of argument, not on this question, but on some other question, an employer did say: "When the Trade Board rates came out I had to discharge half my men." That astonished me, and of course I followed it up, and I found that the men he was employing before were two. They were both skilled; he told me they were both equally skilled, and I asked him what he was paying them. To one man he was paying a sum which was about £3, somewhere near our rate. The other man he was paying 26s.

11,271. . . . . He discharged the 26s. man, and I was anxious about that man, and I said: "Well, what became of him?" "He went and got another job." "Where?" "In the town." "What as?" "A boot repairer." (Page 803.)

SUB-ORDINARY WORKER.

Summary of Mr. J. J. Mallon in behalf of the Trade Boards Advisory Council of the General Council of Trade Union Congress and member of thirteen Trade Boards.

On February 8, 1922.

12,091. . . . . The "ordinary worker" clause is very ingenious, if I may say so, and has worked on the whole with astonishing success. It is applied with such elasticity that it is conceivable that you might have a hundred

workers on a given piece-rate, and they might all be earning at a rate less than the piecework basis time-rate, and yet that rate might be pronounced fair within the meaning of the Act, because it might appear that every one of those hundred workers was in some way infirm or old, or decrepit, and if that were so, all those workers would be seen to be sub-ordinary workers, and the employer would not be open to any penalty for employing these persons at rates which yielded less to them than the prescribed rate. All he has to do is to see that his piece-rate is fair. When the piece-rate is fair he need not worry any more. (Page 867.)

On February 15, 1922.

12,411. *Chairman:* There are trades in which there is not and can be no piece-rate?—That is true.

12,413. You cannot provide for the slow worker there by putting him on piecework?—No.

12,444. *Mr. Poulton:* Supposing a basic rate was kept intact, there is no reason, is there, why it should not be sufficiently widened for these abnormal cases to be dealt with?—When cases of that sort are referred to the Board the Board does not, I think, stand too nicely on ceremony. If it is satisfied that a case is made out that the worker is for some reason not normal—it does not worry too much over the words of the section—it gives a permit. But the consideration that lies behind all this, I think, is that both sides want as far as possible to get rid of the sub-ordinary worker—I mean in an entirely painless way. You do that by preventing people who are not fit for an industry from getting into it. What we are doing gradually under this Trade Board system is to have a test applied to any young worker who seeks to enter a particular trade. Generally no question is asked for a month in all the trades where we have the system of issuing certificates for learners, and in some cases for longer. During that month the employer has a chance of ascertaining through his representatives, the Welfare Worker or whoever it may be, whether the worker is

really fit for that trade. If the girl is not fit for that trade then she is turned away, and it is good from every point of view that she should be. In this way, in this entirely painless way, we are getting rid of the ordinary worker difficulty.

12,415. *Dame Adelaide Anderson:* She has to find some other trade?—Yes, she has to find some other trade; she is removed to something which is more appropriate to her. In the past no test of that sort was applied, and thus a very large class of sub-ordinary workers was brought into existence. There may be here and there some present difficulty and possibly some little suffering—I do not say that there is not—but I am sure that the effect of the Trade Board machinery, if you take a long view, is to prevent the slow worker from being created.

12,416. *Sir Arthur Pease:* Where does she go to?—That is a question almost always of the suitability of the trade. If you take a worker who has previously been fit for some manual employment, and put her into a trade in which she has to work with her head, she is not very good. At present there is no attempt really to suit people to their jobs, and all kinds of people do get into the wrong trades.

12,417. But the man or woman I am thinking of is a man or woman that nobody would want in any trade or any occupation unless they could get him or her at a considerably lower rate than is the ordinary rate of the trade. Are you going to shut those people out from employment altogether?—No. If the case was as plain as that then there would be something specifically affecting the man or woman and that could be made the subject of an application. (Page 888.)

Statement of Professor L. T. Hobhouse, D.Litt., LL. D. Chairman of ten Trade Boards. January 12, 1922.

9375. *Lord Cave:* Have you considered at all the question of exemptions?—

9376. . . . .—Yes. I think they are really dealt with rather satisfactorily, if I may say so, considering all things. The question of principle involved really is whether there should be an exemption for slow workers. About that I may say quite frankly that the objection to it, of course, was the fear that the whole rate would be undermined; that you cannot define a slow worker in quantitative terms, and therefore you get back on the rate like that. I have had a lot of experience in this, and I do not believe you would. I think the Administrative Committees would be perfectly competent to do that if you gave them perfect freedom. They take a lot of trouble. The two sides agree; they really have substantially the same interests. They think they have not. They begin by opposing one another, but that disappears at the end of the first discussion, and they discover that they all want the rate to be maintained unless there is good reason to the contrary. (Page 686.)

Statement of Mr. H. Crabb, President of the National Federation of Boot Trades Association (200 branches, 8,000 employees) and employers' representative on the Boot and Shoe Repairing Trade Board. January 18, 1922.

At the present time, there is a large amount of unemployment in the boot trade, as in other industries, but there is no evidence whatever to prove that the Trade Board has been the cause of such unemployment.

Permits of Exemption.

The consideration of applications for permits of exemption from the operation of the minimum rates for infirm or disabled workers has occupied a great deal of the time and attention of the Administrative Committee of the Trade Board, to whom the Trade Board delegated its powers of dealing with these applications. We have been very generous in the use of our powers to grant permits of exemption. Each case is carefully investigated by a member of the Committee. The usual practice

is for a member to visit the workshop and see the worker at work and assess his value to his employer accordingly.

Over 630 permits at rates lower than those given by the Trade Board have been issued to sub-ordinary workers. This is a larger number than that issued by any other Trade Board, with the exception of the Laundry Trade Board, but the proportion of permits to the number of workers in the trade is higher in the boot repairing trade than that of the laundry trade. (Pages 697-698.)

JUVENILES.

Statement of Mr. Humbert Wolfe, C.B.E., Principal Assistant Secretary Ministry of Labour in charge of the Trade Boards Branch. October 12, 1921.

318. . . . . In regard to juveniles, of course, the Trade Boards have a difficult problem. In the first place, they must take care not to fix rates so low as to prejudice the employment of adults, and conversely, they must not prejudice the employment of the younger workers, and the recruitment of the trade, by fixing rates too high. I mean on the one hand you would upset the adults and on the other hand you might get no further entrants into the trade. (Page 20.)

621. . . . . The Boards have, as I pointed out in some cases developed a very elaborate apprenticeship system; they have dealt with learnership in other cases on very sound lines and they have, to some extent, helped to mitigate the evils of the blind-alley employment which were so notorious and so much canvassed in the public Press.

622. *Lord Cave:* They have not, except in the case which you mentioned this morning, prevented the employment of younger labour?—No, they have tried to strike a balance so as to fix a rate not high enough to scare employers from employing juveniles and not so low as to interfere with the employment of adults. (Page 39.)

Statement of Mr. W. Addington Willis, Chairman of the Boot and Shoe Repairing, and the Toy Trade Boards, and Deputy-Chairman of the Brush and Broom, the Hair, Bass and Fibre, and the Grocery and Provisions Trade Boards, and arbitrator or conciliator in over 260 industrial disputes. February 1, 1922.

The control of the employment of juveniles is one of the most useful opportunities afforded to Trade Boards by the Act of 1918. In the boot and shoe repairing trade, and no doubt in others, the exploitation of child labour, often at excessively low wages, has had a damaging effect on adult employment and remuneration, and on the supply of craftsmen. It has had a worse effect on the juveniles themselves, for they are found at 18 or 21 years of age turned out of employment without any knowledge of the trade which is marketable.

There are three ways in which Trade Boards can and do deal with juvenile employment:

(*a*) by fixing juvenile rates;

(*b*) by establishing learnership schemes;

(*c*) by establishing apprenticeship schemes. (Page 798.)

Henry Clay. The Times. London, September 26, 1921.

Sir,—The allegation is repeatedly made that high rates fixed by Trade Boards are a principal cause of the present unemployment. The actual figures of unemployment revealed by the operation of the Unemployment Insurance Acts suggest the opposite. The average rate of unemployment at the end of August for the whole of the 12,000,000 employed persons covered by the Acts was 13.15 per cent. The percentages in the largest occupational groups covered by Trade Boards were as follows: Distributive trades, 6.02; dressmaking, etc., 9.89; tailoring, 10.21; laundry, 5.78; all well below the average.

In only two trade board industries is the rate exceptionally high—linen and jute—and a good deal more evidence than has been forthcoming is needed to establish a casual connexion there.

Yours faithfully,
(Signed) HENRY CLAY
(Professor of Economics, University of Manchester).

Great Britain. Women's Wages and the Trade Boards. ELLEN C. WILKINSON. *The Woman's Leader. January 5, 1923. London.*

The net result of the Cave Report and of all the administrative changes proposed by the Minister of Labour is that in spite of the terrific opposition, Trade Boards have become a permanent feature of British law, and they will be extended to new trades, however slowly. What has been their effect on industry after fourteen years' experience of the oldest Boards, and four years of the new Acts? It is usual to say that Trade Boards have caused unemployment, especially in the dressmaking and millinery trades. This statement is not borne out by statistics. The average rate of unemployment at the end of August, 1921, for the whole of the twelve million employed persons in insured trades was roughly 13 per cent. The percentage of unemployed in the groups covered by those Trade Boards about which the accusation is most frequently made was: Distributive Trades, 6 per cent.; Dressmaking, 9.8 per cent.; Tailoring, 10 per cent.; and Laundry, 5.7 per cent., so that although the Trade Boards came into operation at a most difficult time, when unemployment was growing, their unemployment percentages are comfortably below the average of unemployment in the country. (Pages 388-389.)

Canada.

Province of British Columbia. Department of Labour. Annual Report for the Year Ending December 31, 1919.

The constantly reiterated assertion that a greater number of girls under eighteen years of age were being employed since the introduction of the minimum wage appears also to be disproved by a comparison of the returns, which indicate practically no change. (Page 85.)

The statement is constantly made that under minimum wage legislation only the competent can hope to earn a livelihood, and that the incompetent will be deprived of opportunity to obtain even the little they now receive. Convincing reply to this has been made by Bertha Bradley Warbasse in "The Survey." She remarks: "But obviously the places made vacant must and will be filled by workers competent to earn the minimum wage who were out of employment. That is, one class will be thrown out of work and two will benefit—the competent unemployed and the competent who are employed, but not receiving a living wage. * * * The unemployed in America are unemployed men. Is it not because a man demands a living wage? Because he personally tries to exact a minimum wage from an employer who finds it cheaper to get several girls at a less total cost and a larger total output?" (Page 86.)

The Board, finding that statements are continually made that since the introduction of the minimum wage women over eighteen years of age are being discharged in order to be replaced by younger girls, for whom a lower wage has been set, caused a survey to be made in one industry of which this allegation had been very definitely and persistently put forth. The actual figures revealed not only that the statement was unfounded, but that in reality there had been a very perceptible decline in the number of girls under eighteen years of age engaged in that particular class of work. (Page 87.)

PART SECOND

MINIMUM WAGE LAWS.

I. In America.

Since 1916 minimum wage legislation has been enacted in the District of Columbia, North Dakota and Texas. In Arizona and Porto Rico a flat rate of minimum wages has been established by statute. The Colorado act has been replaced by one applying to all women employees and providing for the creation of wage boards. The Arkansas statute has been extended to apply to all women employees with certain few exceptions. The California and Massachusetts laws have been amplified in detail. The Texas law was repealed in 1921 as defective and unworkable.

In Kansas, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Utah and Washington the power to administer the law has been vested in the general labor department of the state.

Nebraska, in 1920, joined California and Ohio in validating minimum wage legislation by specific constitutional authorization.

(1) The Minimum Wage Laws.

District of Columbia.

Enacted in 1918. (*65th Congress, Second Session, No. 215.*)

AN ACT to protect the lives and health and morals of women and minor workers in the District of Columbia, and to establish a Minimum Wage Board, and define its powers and duties, and to provide for the fixing of minimum wages for such workers, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled:

SECTION 1.—That where used in this Act—the term "Board" means the Minimum Wage Board created by section two;

The term "Commissioners" means the Commissioners of the District of Columbia;

The term "woman" includes only a woman of eighteen years of age or over;

The term "minor" means a person of either sex under the age of eighteen years;

The term "occupation" includes a business, industry, trade, or branch thereof, but shall not include domestic service.

SEC. 2.—That there is hereby created a Board to be known as the "Minimum Wage Board," to be composed of three members to be appointed by the Commissioners of the District of Columbia. As far as practicable, the members shall be so chosen that one will be representative of employees, one representative of employers, and one representing the public.

The Commissioners shall make their first appointments hereunder within thirty days after this Act takes effect and shall designate one of the three members first

appointed to hold office until January first, nineteen hundred and nineteen; one to hold office until January first, nineteen hundred and twenty; and one to hold office until January first, nineteen hundred and twenty-one. On or before the first day of January of each year, beginning with the year nineteen hundred and nineteen, the Commissioners shall appoint a member to succeed the member whose term expires on such first day of January, and such new appointee shall hold office for the term of three years from such first day of January. Each member shall hold office until his successor is appointed and has qualified; and any vacancy that may occur in the membership of the Board shall be filled by appointment by the Commissioners for the unexpired portion of the term.

A majority of the members shall constitute a quorum to transact business, and the act or decision of such a majority shall be deemed the act or decision of the Board; and no vacancy shall impair the right of the remaining members to exercise all the powers of the Board.

SEC. 3.—That the first members appointed shall within twenty days after their appointment, meet and organize the Board by electing one of their number as chairman and by choosing a secretary, who shall not be a member of the Board; and on or before the tenth day of January of each year thereafter the Board shall elect a chairman and choose a secretary for the ensuing year. The chairman and secretary shall each hold office until his successor is elected or chosen; but the Board may at any time remove the secretary. The secretary shall perform such duties as may be prescribed and receive such salary, not in excess of $2,500 per annum, as may be fixed by the Board. None of the members shall receive any salary as such. The Board shall have power to employ agents and such other assistants as may be necessary for the proper performance of its duties: *Provided,* That until further authorization by Congress, the sum which it may expend, including the salary of the secretary, shall not exceed the sum of $5,000.

SEC. 4.—That at any public hearing held by the Board any person interested in the matter being investigated may appear and testify. Any member of the Board shall have power to administer oaths and the Board may require by subpœna the attendance and testimony of witnesses, the production of all books, registers and other evidence relative to any matters under investigation, at any such public hearing or at any session of any conference held as hereinafter provided. In case of disobedience to a subpœna the Board may invoke the aid of the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia in requiring the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the production of documentary evidence. In case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpœna the court may issue an order requiring appearance before the Board, the production of documentary evidence, and the giving of evidence touching the matter in question, and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by such court as a contempt thereof.

SEC. 5.—That the Board is hereby authorized and empowered to make rules and regulations for the carrying into effect of this Act, including rules and regulations for the selection of members of the conferences hereinafter provided for and the mode of procedure thereof.

SEC. 6.—That the Board shall, on or before the first day of January of the year nineteen hundred and nineteen, and of each year thereafter, make a report to the Commissioners of its work and the proceedings under this Act.

SEC. 7.—That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of the revenues of the District of Columbia, for the fiscal year ending June thirtieth, nineteen hundred and nineteen, the sum of $5,000, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to carry into effect the provisions of this Act.

SEC. 8.—That the Board shall have full power and authority: (1), To investigate and ascertain the wages

of women and minors in the different occupations in which they are employed in the District of Columbia; (2), to examine, through any member or authorized representative, any book, pay roll or other record of any employer of women or minors that in any way appertains to or has a bearing upon the question of wages of any such women or minors; and (3), to require from such employer full and true statements of the wages paid to all women and minors in his employment.

Every employer shall keep a register of the names of the women and minors employed by him in any occupation in the District of Columbia, of the hours worked by each, and of all payments made to each, whether paid by the time or by the piece; and shall, on request, permit any member or authorized representative of the Board to examine such register.

To assist the Board in carrying out this Act the Commissioners shall at all times give it any information or statistics in their possession under the Act of Congress approved February twenty-fourth, nineteen hundred and fourteen, entitled "An Act to regulate the hours of employment and safeguard the health of females employed in the District of Columbia." (Public, numbered sixty, Sixty-third Congress.)

SEC. 9.—That the Board is hereby authorized and empowered to ascertain and declare, in the manner hereinafter provided, the following things: (a), Standards of minimum wages for women in any occupation within the District of Columbia, and what wages are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to any such women workers to maintain them in good health and to protect their morals; and (b), standards of minimum wages for minors in any occupation within the District of Columbia, and what wages are unreasonably low for any such minor workers.

SEC. 10.—That if, after investigation, the Board is of the opinion that any substantial number of women workers in any occupation are receiving wages inadequate to supply them with the necessary cost of living and maintain

them in health and protect their morals, it may call and convene a conference for the purpose and with the powers of considering and inquiring into and reporting on the subject investigated by the Board and submitted by it to such conference. The conference shall be composed of not more than three representatives of the employers in such occupation, of an equal number of representatives of the employees in such occupation, of not more than three disinterested persons representing the public, and of one or more members of the Board. The Board shall name and appoint all the members of the conference and designate the chairman thereof. Two-thirds of the members of the conference shall constitute a quorum, and the decision or recommendation or report of the conference on any subject submitted shall require a vote of not less than a majority of all its members.

The Board shall present to the conference all the information and evidence in its possession or control, relating to the subject of the inquiry by the conference, and shall cause to be brought before the conference any witnesses whose testimony the Board deems material.

SEC. 11.—That after completing its consideration of and inquiry into the subject submitted to it by the Board, the conference shall make and transmit to the Board a report containing its findings and recommendations on such subject, including recommendations as to standards of minimum wages for women workers in the occupation under inquiry and as to what wages are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to women workers in such occupation and to maintain them in health and to protect their morals.

In its recommendations on a question of wages the conference (1) shall, where it appears that any substantial number of women workers in the occupation under inquiry are being paid by piece rates as distinguished from time rate, recommend minimum piece rates as well as minimum time rate and recommend such minimum piece rates as will, in its judgment, be adequate to supply the necessary cost of living to women workers in such

occupation of average ordinary ability and to maintain them in health and protect their morals; and (2) shall, when it appears proper or necessary, recommend suitable minimum wages for learners and apprentices in such occupation and the maximum length of time any woman worker may be kept at such wages as a learner or apprentice, which wages shall be less than the regular minimum wages recommended for the regular women workers in such occupation.

SEC. 12.—That, upon receipt of any report from any conference, the Board shall consider and review the recommendations, and may approve or disapprove any or all of such recommendations, and may resubmit to the same conference, or a new conference, any subject covered by any recommendations so disapproved.

If the Board approves any recommendations contained in any report from any conference, it shall publish a notice, once a week, for four successive weeks in a newspaper of general circulation printed in the District of Columbia, that it will, on a date and at a place named in the notice, hold a public hearing at which all persons in favor of or opposed to such recommendations will be heard.

After such hearing the Board may, in its discretion, make and render such an order as may be proper or necessary to adopt such recommendations and carry them into effect, requiring all employers in the occupation affected thereby to observe and comply with such order. Such order shall become effective sixty days after it is made. After such order becomes effective, and while it is effective, it shall be unlawful for any employer to violate or disregard any of its terms or provisions, or to employ any woman worker in any occupation covered by such order at lower wages than are authorized or permitted therein.

The Board shall, as far as is practicable, mail a copy of such order to every employer affected thereby; and every employer affected by any such order shall keep a copy thereof posted in a conspicuous place in each room

in his establishment in which women workers are employed.

SEC. 13.—That for any occupation in which only a minimum time-rate wage has been established, the Board may issue to a woman whose earning capacity has been impaired by age or otherwise, a special license authorizing her employment at such wage less than such minimum time-rate wage as shall be fixed by the Board and stated in the license.

SEC. 14.—That the Board may at any time inquire into wages of minors employed in any occupation in the District of Columbia, and determine suitable wages for them. When the Board has made such determination it may make such an order as may be proper or necessary to carry such determination into effect. Such order shall become effective sixty days after it is made; and after such order becomes effective and while it is effective it shall be unlawful for any employer in such occupation to employ a minor at less wages than are specified or required in or by such order.

SEC. 15.—That any conference may make a separate inquiry into and report on any branch of any occupation, and the Board may make a separate order affecting any branch of any occupation.

SEC. 16.—That the Board shall from time to time investigate and ascertain whether or not employers in the District of Columbia are observing and complying with its orders, and shall report to the corporation counsel of the District of Columbia all violations of this Act.

SEC. 17.—That all questions of fact arising under the foregoing provisions of this Act shall, except as otherwise herein provided, be determined by the Board, and there shall be no appeal from the decision of the Board on any such question of fact; but there shall be a right of appeal from the Board to the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia from any ruling or holding on a question of law included or embodied in any decision or order of the Board; and, on the same question of law, from such court to the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia.

In all such appeals the corporation counsel shall appear for and represent the Board.

SEC. 18.—That whoever violates this Act, whether an employer or his agent, or the director, officer, or agent of any corporation, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor; and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not less than $25 nor more than $100, or by imprisonment not less than ten days nor more than three months, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

SEC. 19.—That any employer and his agent, or the director, officer, or agent of any corporation, who discharges or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has served or is about to serve on any conference, or has testified or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employee may serve on any conference or may testify in any investigation or proceedings under or relative to this Act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor; and, upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not less than $25 nor more than $100.

SEC. 20.—That any act which, if done or omitted to be done by any agent or officer or director acting for such employer, would constitute a violation of this Act, shall also be held to be a violation by the employer and subject such employer to the liability provided for by this Act.

SEC. 21.—That prosecutions for violations of this Act shall be on information filed in the police court of the District of Columbia by the corporation counsel.

SEC. 22.—That if any woman worker is paid by her employer less than the minimum wage to which she is entitled under or by virtue of an order of the Board, she may recover in a civil action the full amount of such minimum wage, less any amount actually paid to her by the employer, together with such reasonable attorney's fees as may be allowed by the court; and any agreement for her to work for less than such minimum wage shall be no defense to such action.

SEC. 23.—That this Act shall be known as the "District of Columbia minimum-wage law." The purposes of the Act are to protect the women and minors of the District from conditions detrimental to their health and morals, resulting from wages which are inadequate to maintain decent standards of living; and the Act in each of its provisions and in its entirety shall be interpreted to effectuate these purposes.

[Approved, September 19, 1918.]

Arizona.

Enacted in 1917. (*Chapter 38.*)

AN ACT to provide for a minimum wage for women and fixing penalty for violation thereof.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Arizona:

SECTION 1.—No person, persons, firm or corporation, transacting business within the State of Arizona, shall employ any female in any store, office, shop, restaurant, dining room, hotel, rooming house, laundry or manufacturing establishment, at a weekly wage of less than Ten Dollars per week; a lesser amount being hereby declared inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to any such female to maintain her health, and to provide her with the common necessaries of life.

SEC. 2.—Any person, persons, firm or corporation violating any of the provisions of this act shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than Fifty Dollars, nor more than Three Hundred Dollars, or by imprisonment in the county jail for not less than ten days, nor more than sixty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment, for each separate offense.

SEC. 3.—All acts and parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

[Approved March 8, 1917.]

Arkansas.

Enacted in 1915. (Chapter 191.) Amended in 1919, (Chapter 275), and in 1921 (Chapter 140).

ACT to regulate the hours of labor, safeguard the health and establish a minimum wage for females in the State of Arkansas.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Arkansas:

Be it enacted by the People of the State of Arkansas:

SECTION 1.—That no females shall be employed in any manufacturing, mechanical or mercantile establishment, laundry, or by an express or transportation company, in this State, for more than nine hours in any one day, or more than six days, or more than fifty-four hours in any one week; provided, however, that the present law governing the employment of children under sixteen years of age shall not be repealed by this act.

SEC. 2.—That no female under eighteen years of age shall be employed or permitted to work in, or in connection with, any of the establishments or occupations named in section 1 of this Act before the hour of 7 o'clock in the morning, or after the hour of 9 o'clock in the evening of any one day.

SEC. 3.—That no female shall be employed or permitted to work for more than six hours continuously at one time in any establishment or occupation named in section 1 of this Act, in which three or more females are employed, without any interval of at least three-quarters of an hour, except that such female may be so employed for not more than six and one-half hours continuously at one time if such employment ends not later than half past 1 o'clock in the afternoon, and if she is then dismissed for the remainder of the day. The time allowed for noon luncheon shall not be less than three-quarters of an hour.

SEC. 4.—That every employer shall post and keep posted in a conspicuous place in every room in any establishment or occupation named in section 1 of this Act in which females are employed, a printed notice stating the number of hours such females are required or permitted to work on each day of the week, the hours of beginning and ending, the recess allowed for meals. The printed form of such notice shall be furnished upon application, by the Commissioner of Labor and Statistics. The employment of any such female for longer time in any one day than that stated in a printed notice shall be deemed a violation of the provisions of this section. Where the nature of the business makes it impracticable to fix the recess allowed for meals at the same time for all females employed, the Commissioner of Labor and Statistics may issue a permit dispensing with the posting of the hours when the recess for meals begins and ends, and requiring the posting of only the total number of hours that females are required or permitted to work on each day of the week, and the hours of beginning and stopping such work. Such permit shall be kept by such employer upon such premises and exhibited to all inspectors authorized to enforce this Act.

SEC. 5.—That every employer shall keep a time book or record of every female employed in any establishment or occupation named in section 1 of this Act stating the wages paid, the number of hours worked by her on each day of the week, the hours of beginning and ending such work and the hours of beginning and ending the recess allowed for meals. Such time book or record shall be open at all reasonable hours to the inspection of the officials authorized to enforce this Act. Any employer who fails to keep such record as required by this section, or makes any false statements therein, or refuses to exhibit such time book or record, or makes a false statement to any official authorized to enforce this Act in reply to any question put in carrying out the provisions of this Act shall be liable for violation thereof.

SEC. 6.—The Commisioner of Labor and Statistics, or any person duly authorized by him, may, in the discharge of their duties, enter any establishment or occupation where females are employed mentioned in section 1 of this Act as often as practicable during reasonable hours and shall cause the provisions of this Act to be enforced therein, and shall have full police power in enforcing compliance therewith.

SEC. 7.—That it shall be unlawful for any employer of labor mentioned in section 1 of this Act to pay any female worker in any establishment or occupation less than the wage specified in this section, to wit, except as herein provided: All female workers who have had six months' practicable experience in any line of industry or labor shall be paid not less than $1.25 per day. The minimum wage for inexperienced female workers who have not had six months' experience in any line of industry or labor shall be paid not less than $1.00 per day, provided, that any inexperienced female worker or apprentices shall be given a certificate by their employers showing the amount of experience they have had and all time served as inexperienced workers, or apprentices shall be cumulative. All female workers working less than nine hours per day shall receive the same wages per hour as those working nine hours per day.

SEC. 8.—[*As amended, Acts* 1921, *Ch.* 140.]—That whenever it can be shown beyond question of doubt that it would work irreparable injury to any industry engaged in handling products, such as canning factories and candy factories to comply with the provisions of the Act, regarding hours, a commission to be known as the "Industrial Welfare Commission," hereinafter provided for, consisting of the Commissioner of Labor and Statistics as ex-officio chairman and two men and two women, may by majority vote, after hearing duly held in which all interested parties may have an opportunity to be heard, permit such industry to operate more than nine hours per day, provided, that women so employed are paid at the

rate of time and one-half for each hour worked in excess of nine hours in any one day; provided, further that said period in which overtime may be worked shall not exceed 90 days in any one year.

Provided, further that said Industrial Welfare Commission shall consist of one woman and one man representative of employers, and one woman and one man representative of employees. One woman and one man member of the commission shall be appointed by the Governor and one woman and one man member of the commission shall be appointed by the Commissioner of Labor and Statistics. All members to serve without salary and shall hold office for terms of two years each or until their successors are appointed and qualify.

SEC. 9.—[*As amended, Acts* 1921, *Ch.* 140.]—All females employed in any industry in this State, who are paid upon a piece-work basis, bonus system, or any other manner than by the day, shall be paid not less than the rate per day herein specified for female employees who are working on the day rate system, and the Industrial Welfare Commission shall investigate, upon complaint, any line of industry wherein females are employed and if in their judgment said system of piece-work is working an injury to the general health of the employees, they may, after hearing, duly held, issue an order compelling said firm to abolish piece-work or any other injurious system, and establish a daily rate of wages for all female employees, said rate not to be less than rate specified in section 7 of this Act.

SEC. 10.—Provided, however, that if said commission should find, after an investigation that a lower minimum rate of wages is adequate to supply a woman, or minor female worker engaged in any occupation, trade or industry, the necessary cost of proper living, and to maintain the health and welfare of such woman, or minor female worker, may, after a public hearing, duly held, at which time all interested employers and employees are given a reasonable opportunity to present their argu-

ments, issue an order establishing a minimum wage rate that in their judgment is reasonable, and said rate so established shall be the legal minimum wage in the industry or occupation affected, and should such said commission find after said investigation that the minimum wage specified in section 7 in this Act is insufficient to adequately supply a woman or minor female worker engaged in any occupation, trade or industry, the necessary cost of proper living and to maintain the health and welfare of such woman or female worker, may, after public hearing duly held, at which time all interested parties are given a reasonable opportunity to present their argument, issue an order establishing a higher minimum wage for female workers that, in the judgment of the commission, is reasonable, and said minimum wage rate so established by said commission shall be the legal minimum wage in the industry or occupation affected.

SEC. 11.—[*As amended, Acts* 1919, *Ch.* 275.]—Said Commission, after a public hearing duly held, at which all interested persons are given an opportunity to present arguments, may establish regulations governing the employment of females in hotels and restaurants; provided, said rules and regulations shall not permit female workers to be employed in excess of nine hours in any one day, nor at a lower rate of wages than will supply said female employees the cost of proper living, and safeguard their health and welfare. The rate of wages established by the Commission shall not be greater than the rate of wages specified in Section 7.

SEC. 12.—That any female person, or persons, company or corporation, who violates the provisions of this Act, or does not comply with the provisions of this Act, shall, upon conviction in any court of competent jurisdiction, be punished by a fine of not less than $25 nor more than $100 and each day of noncompliance shall constitute a separate offense.

SEC. 13.—[*As amended, Acts* 1919, *Ch.* 275.]—Should any section or sections of this Act be held invalid by the

courts, it shall not thereby be understood as affecting, and shall not affect, the other provisions of this Act; provided this Act shall not apply to cotton factories, or to the gathering of fruits or farm products in Arkansas.

SEC. 14.—All laws and parts of laws in conflict with this law are hereby repealed, and this law being necessary for the immediate public peace, health and safety, an emergency is hereby declared to exist, and this Act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

[Approved March 20, 1915.]

California.

Enacted in 1913. (Chapter 324.) Amended in 1915 (Chapter 571), in 1919 (Chapter 204), and in 1921 (Chapter 279).

AN ACT regulating the employment of women and minors and establishing an industrial welfare commission to investigate and deal with such employment, including a minimum wage; providing for an appropriation therefor and fixing a penalty for violations of this act.

The People of the State of California do enact as follows:

SECTION 1.—There is hereby established a commission to be known as the industrial welfare commission, hereinafter called the commission. Said commission shall be composed of five persons, at least one of whom shall be a woman, and all of which shall be appointed by the governor as follows: two for the term of one year, one for the term of two years, one for the term of three years, and one for the term of four years; *provided, however,* that at the expiration of their respective terms their successors shall be appointed to serve a full term of four years. Any vacancies shall be similarly filled for the unexpired portion of the term in which the vacancy shall occur. Three members of the commission shall constitute a quorum. A vacancy on the commission shall not impair the right of the remaining members to perform all the duties and exercise all the powers and authority of the commission.

SEC. 2.—The members of said commission shall draw no salaries, but all of said members shall be allowed ten dollars per diem while engaged in the performance of their official duties. The commission may employ a secretary, and such expert, clerical and other assistants as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this act, and shall fix the compensation of such employees, and

may, also, carry out such purposes, incur reasonable and necessary office and other expenses, including the necessary traveling expenses of the members of the commission, of its secretary, of its experts, and of its clerks and other assistants and employees. All employees of the commission shall hold office at the pleasure of the commission.

SEC. 3.—(*a*) It shall be the duty of the commission to ascertain the wages paid, the hours and conditions of labor and employment in the various occupations, trades, and industries in which women and minors are employed in the State of California, and to make investigations into the comfort, health, safety and welfare of such women and minors.

(b) It shall be the duty of every person, firm or corporation employing labor in this state:

1. To furnish to the commission, at its request, any and all reports or information which the commission may require to carry out the purposes of this act, such reports and information to be verified by the oath of the person, or a member of the firm, or the president, secretary, or manager of the corporation furnishing the same, if and when so requested by the commission or any member thereof.

2. To allow any member of the commission, or its secretary, or any of its duly authorized experts or employees, free access to the place of business or employment of such person, firm, or corporation, for the purpose of making any investigation authorized by this act, or to make inspection of, or excerpts from, all books, reports, contracts, pay rolls, documents, or papers, of such person, firm or corporation relating to the employment of labor and payment therefor by such person, firm or corporation.

3. To keep a register of the names, ages, and residence addresses of all women and minors employed.

(*c*) For the purposes of this act, a minor is defined to be a person of either sex under the age of eighteen years.

SEC. 3½.—[*Amendment, Acts* 1919, *Ch.* 204.]—Any member of the commission or deputies duly authorized by it in writing, shall have the power and authority to issue subpœnas to compel the attendance of witnesses or parties and the production of books, papers, pay rolls or records, and to administer oaths and to examine witnesses under oaths and to take the verification or proof of instruments of writing, and to take depositions and affidavits for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act, or any of its orders, rules or regulations; *provided,* that no witness shall be compelled to attend on said commission outside of the county in which said witness resides or at a distance greater than fifty miles from his place of residence.

Obedience to subpœnas issued by the commission or its duly authorized representatives shall be enforced in the superior courts of the county or city and county in which the subpœnas were issued.

SEC. 4.—The commission may specify times to hold public hearings, at which times, employers, employees, or other interested persons, may appear and give testimony as to the matter under consideration. The commission or any member thereof shall have power to subpœna witnesses and to admister oaths. All witnesses subpœnaed by the commission shall be paid the fees and mileage fixed by law in civil cases. In case of failure on the part of any person to comply with any order of the commission or any member thereof, or any subpœna, or upon the refusal of any witness to testify to any matter regarding which he may lawfully be interrogated before any wage board or the commission, it shall be the duty of the superior court or the judge thereof, on the application of a member of the commission, to compel obedience in the same manner, by contempt proceedings or otherwise, that such obedience would be compelled in a pro-

ceeding pending before said court. The commission shall have power to make and enforce reasonable and proper rules of practice and procedure and shall not be bound by the technical rules of evidence.

SEC. 5.—[*As amended, Acts* 1921, *Ch.* 279.]—If, after investigation, the commission is of the opinion that, in any occupation, trade, or industry, the wages paid to women and minors are inadequate to supply the cost of proper living, or the hours or conditions of labor are prejudicial to the health, morals or welfare of the workers, the commission shall call a conference, hereinafter called "wage board," composed of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees in the occupation, trade, or industry in question, and a representative of the commission to be designated by it, who shall act as the chairman of the wage board. The members of such wage board shall be allowed five dollars per diem and necessary traveling expenses while engaged in such conferences. The commission shall make rules and regulations governing the number and selection of the members and the mode of procedure of such wage board, and shall exercise exclusive jurisdiction over all questions arising as to the validity of the procedure and of the recommendations of such wage board. The proceedings and deliberations of such wage board shall be made a matter of record for the use of the commission, and shall be admissible as evidence in any proceedings before the commission. On request of the commission, it shall be the duty of such wage board to report to the commission its findings, including therein:

1. An estimate of the minimum wage adequate to supply to women and minors engaged in the occupation, trade or industry in question, the necessary cost of proper living and to maintain the health and welfare of such women and minors.

2. The number of hours of work per day in the occupation, trade or industry in question, consistent with the health and welfare of such women and minors.

3. The standard conditions of labor in the occupation, trade or industry in question, demanded by the health and welfare of such women and minors.

SEC. 6.—[*As amended, Acts* 1921, *Ch.* 279.] (*a*) The commission shall have further power after a public hearing had upon its own motion or upon petition, to fix:

1. A minimum wage to be paid to women and minors engaged in any occupation, trade or industry in this state, which shall not be less than a wage adequate to supply to such women and minors the necessary cost of proper living and to maintain the health and welfare of such women and minors.

2. The maximum hours of work consistent with the health and welfare of women and minors engaged in any occupation, trade or industry in this state; *provided*, that the hours so fixed shall not be more than the maximum now or hereafter fixed by law.

3. The standard conditions of labor demanded by the health and welfare of the women and minors engaged in any occupation, trade or industry in this state.

(*b*) Upon the fixing of the time and place for the holding of a hearing for the purpose of considering and acting upon any matters referred to it in subsection (*a*) hereof, the commission shall give public notice by advertisement in at least one newspaper published in each of the cities of Los Angeles, Oakland, Sacramento, San Jose, Fresno, and in the city and county of San Francisco, and shall give due notice in at least one newspaper published in each of the cities of Fresno, San Jose, Eureka, San Diego, Long Beach, Alameda, Berkeley, and Stockton, and by mailing a copy of said notice to the county clerk of each county in the state to be posted at the court house of each county, or city and county, and also to each association of employers or employees and to any employer within the State of California filing with the commission a written request for such notice of such hearing and the purpose thereof; which notice shall state the time and place fixed for such hearing, which shall not be earlier

than fourteen days from the date of publication and mailing of such notices.

(*c*) After such public hearing, the commission may, in its discretion, make a mandatory order to be effective in sixty days from the publication of such order, specifying the minimum wage for women or minors in the occupation in question, the maximum hours; *provided*, that the hours specified shall not be more than the maximum for women or minors in California and the standard conditions of labor for said women or minors. Such order shall be published in at least one newspaper in each of the cities of Los Angeles, Sacramento, Oakland, San Jose, Fresno, and in the city and county of San Francisco, and a copy thereof be mailed to the county clerk of each county in the state, and such copies shall be filed without charge. The commission shall send by mail, so far as practicable, to each employer in the occupation in question, a copy of the order, and each employer shall be required to post a copy of such order in the building in which women or minors affected by the order are employed; and it shall be the duty of the commission to send a copy of such order to each employer registering his name with the commission and requesting such order to be mailed, but failure to mail such order or notice thereof to any employer affected thereby shall not relieve such employer from the duty to comply with such order, and finding by the commission that there has been the publication and mailing to county clerks as herein provided shall be conclusive as to service.

SEC. 7.—Whenever wages, or hours, or conditions of labor have been so made mandatory in any occupation, trade, or industry, the commission may at any time in its discretion, upon its own motion or upon petition of either employers or employees, after a public hearing held upon the notice prescribed for an original hearing, rescind, alter or amend any prior order. Any order rescinding a prior order shall have the same effect as herein provided for in an original order.

SEC. 8.—[*As amended, Acts* 1915, *Ch.* 571.]—(*a*) For any occupation in which a minimum wage has been established, the commission may issue to a woman physically defective by age or otherwise, a special license authorizing the employment of such licensee, for a period of six months, for a wage less than such legal minimum wage; and the commission shall fix a special minimum wage for such person. Any such license may be renewed for like periods of six months.

(*b*) For any occupation in which a minimum wage has been established, the commission may issue to an apprentice or learner, a special license authorizing the employment of such apprentice or learner, for such time and under such conditions as the commission may determine at a wage less than such legal minimum wage; and the commission shall fix a special wage for such apprentice or learner.

(*c*) The commission may fix the maximum number of women, and minors under eighteen years of age, to be employed under the licenses provided for in subdivisions (*a*) and (*b*) of this section in any occupation, trade, industry or establishment in which a minimum wage has been established.

SEC. 9.—Upon the request of the commission, the labor commissioner shall cause such statistics and other data and information to be gathered, and investigations made, as the commission may require. The cost thereof shall be paid out of the appropriations made for the expenses of the commission.

SEC. 10.—Any employer who discharges, or threatens to discharge, or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has testified or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employee may testify in any investigation or proceedings relative to the enforcement of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor.

SEC. 11*a*.—[A*s amended, Acts* 1915, *Ch.* 571.]—The minimum wage for women and minors fixed by said commission as in this act provided, shall be the minimum wage to be paid to such employees, and the payment to such employees of a less wage than the minimum so fixed shall be unlawful, and every employer or other person who, either individually or as an officer, agent, or employee of a corporation or other person, pays or causes to be paid to any such employee a wage less than such minimum, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than fifty dollars, or by imprisonment for not less than thirty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment; and every employer or other person who, either individually or as an officer, agent or employee of a corporation, or other persons, violates or refuses or neglects to comply with the provisions of this act, or any orders or rulings of this commission, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof be punished by a fine of not less than fifty dollars, or by imprisonment for not less than thirty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

SEC. 11*b*.—[*Amendment, Acts* 1919, *Ch.* 204.]—It shall be the duty of the industrial welfare commission to enforce the provisions of this act and compliance with its orders, rules and regulations. Full power and authority is hereby vested in the commission to take such action as may be deemed essential for such purposes.

SEC. 12. (a)—[*As amended, Acts* 1921, *Ch.* 279.]—In every prosecution for violation of any provision of this act, the minimum wage, the maximum hours of work and the standard conditions of labor fixed by the commission as herein provided, shall be prima facie presumed to be rasonable and lawful, and to be the living wage, the maximum hours of work and standard conditions of labor required herein.

(*b*) The findings of fact made by the commission acting within its powers shall, in the absence of fraud, be conclusive; *provided,* that any person aggrieved directly

or indirectly by any final rule or regulation of the commission made or entered under any provision contained in this act may apply to the commission for a rehearing in respect to any matters determined or covered therein or thereby and specified in the application for rehearing within twenty days after the publication thereof as herein provided. Such application for rehearing shall be verified and shall state fully the grounds upon which the application for rehearing is based. The commission upon considering any such application or applications for rehearing, may either grant the same by order and notice thereof given by mail to the party or parties applying for such rehearing, fix a time for such rehearing and reconsider its order, rule, or regulation, or it may redetermine the matter upon the record before it, and give such notice of its redetermination in the same manner as is herein provided for service of an original order, rule or regulation; or the commission may deny such rehearing upon the record before it, giving notice of such decision by mail to the applicant or applicants therefor. Such rehearing shall be deemed to be denied unless acted upon by the commission within thirty days after being filed. No rehearing shall be granted except on the grounds that the final order, rule or regulation was obtained as follows, that is to say—

That the commission acted without or in excess of its powers.

That the order, rule or regulation was procured by fraud.

The final determination made by the commission shall be subject to review only after application for rehearing as herein provided and the final disposition thereof by the commission, and then only in the manner and on the ground following:

Within twenty (20) days from the date of the service of any final order, rule or regulation, any party aggrieved thereby may commence in the superior court in and for the city and county of San Francisco or of Los Angeles or of Sacramento, or of Santa Clara, or of Ala-

meda, or of Fresno, an action against the commission for review of its determination. In such action a complaint, which shall state the grounds upon which a review is sought, shall be served with the summons. Service upon the secretary of the commission, or any member of the commission, shall be deemed a complete service. The commission shall serve its answer within twenty (20) days after the service of the complaint and with its answer shall make a return to the court of all documents and papers on file in the matter, and of all testimony and evidence which may have been taken before it or by it, and of its findings and decision. The action may thereupon be brought on for hearing before the court upon such record by either party on ten (10) days' notice to the other. Upon such hearing, the court may confirm or set aside the decision of the commission; but the same shall be set aside only upon the following grounds, that is to say—

1. That the commission acted without or in excess of its powers.

2. That the determination was procured by fraud.

Upon the setting aside of any decision of the commission the court may recommit the controversy and remand the record in the case to the commission for further proceedings. The commission, or any party aggrieved, by a decree entered upon the review herein provided for, may appeal therefrom within the time and in the manner provided for an appeal from the final orders of the said superior courts.

(*c*) The filing of an application for a rehearing shall have the effect of suspending the order, rule or regulation affected only with respect to the party or parties applying therefor, and for a period not to exceed ten (10) days unless otherwise ordered by the commission, which shall have the power to grant a further stay upon such terms and conditions as it may direct.

SEC. 13.—Any employe receiving less than the legal minimum wage applicable to such employe shall be en-

titled to recover in a civil action the unpaid balance of the full amount of such minimum wage, together with costs of suit, notwithstanding any agreement to work for such lesser wage.

SEC. 14.—Any person may register with the commission a complaint that the wages paid to an employe for whom a living rate has been established, are less than that rate, and the commission shall investigate the matter and take all proceedings necessary to enforce the payment of a wage not less than the living wage.

SEC. 15.—The commission shall biennially make a report to the governor and the state legislature of its investigations and proceedings.

SEC. 16.—There is hereby appropriated annually out of the moneys of the state treasury, not otherwise appropriated, the sum of fifteen thousand dollars, to be used by the commission in carrying out the provisions of this act, and the controller is hereby directed from time to time to draw his warrants on the general fund in favor of the commission for the amounts expended under its direction, and the treasurer is hereby authorized and directed to pay the same.

SEC. 17.—The commission shall not act as a board of arbitration during a strike or lock-out.

SEC. 18.—(*a*) Whenever this act, or any part or section thereof, is interpreted by a court, it shall be liberally construed by such court.

(*b*) If any section, subsection, or subdivision of this act is for any reason held to be unconstitutional, such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining portions of this act. The legislature hereby declares that it would have passed this act, and each section, subsection, subdivision, sentence, clause and phrase thereof, irrespective of the fact that any one or more sections, subsections, subdivisions, sentences, clauses or phrases is declared unconstitutional.

SEC. 19.—The provisions of this act shall apply to and include women and minors employed in any occupation, trade or industry, and whose compensation for labor is measured by time, piece or otherwise.

[Approved May 26, 1913.]

Acts of 1921. (*Chapter* 604.)

Department of Labor and Industrial Relations.

[This act adds Article IIe, embracing sections 364 to 364d, to the Political Code, as follows:]

SEC. 364.—A department of the government of the State of California to be known as the department of labor and industrial relations is hereby created. The department shall consist of the following governmental agencies of the State of California, to wit: The industrial accident commission, the commission of immigration and housing, the industrial welfare commission, and the bureau of labor statistics. Said department shall be divided into four divisions as follows:

(1) The division of workmen's compensation insurance and safety, which shall be administered by the industrial accident commission and shall succeed to and is hereby invested with all the duties, powers, purposes, responsibilities and jurisdiction now or hereafter conferred by law upon the industrial accident commission.

(2) The division of immigration and housing, which division shall be administered by the commission of immigration and housing and shall succeed to and is hereby invested with all the duties, powers, purposes, responsibilities and jurisdiction now or hereafter conferred by law upon the commission of immigration and housing.

(3) The division of industrial welfare, which division shall be administered by the industrial welfare commission and shall succeed to and is hereby invested with all the duties, powers, purposes, responsibilities and juris-

diction now or hereafter conferred by law upon the industrial welfare commission.

(4) The division of labor, which division shall be administered by the commission of labor statistics and shall succeed to and is hereby invested with all the duties, powers, purposes, responsibilities and jurisdiction now or hereafter conferred by law upon the commissioner of labor statistics and the bureau of labor statistics.

SEC. 364—(*a*) On or before the first day of October, 1921, and on or before the first day of January of each and every year thereafter, and at such other times in case of a vacancy, each of divisions one, two, and three shall designate one of its members as it representative on the department of labor and industrial relations; and the chief of the division of labor shall be the representative of the division of labor. Such representatives shall meet at a place to be designated by them at least once each month or oftener at the call of any two members. At their first meeting which shall be held during the month of October, 1921, they shall organize by electing one member as chairman and one as secretary. It shall be the duty of the secretary to keep a minute record of the proceedings of each meeting.

At each meeting of the department there shall be presented for determination all problems involving conflict of authority or activity of two or more divisions and the department shall hear, consider, and act upon any complaints or complaints of duplication of activities.

SEC. 364.—(*b*) The said department of labor and industrial relations shall make and promulgate rules and regulations that will eliminate overlapping and duplication of the activities of the several divisions and may provide for the transfer of functions and activities from one division to another in the interest of the betterment of the service of such division or divisions.

SEC. 364.—(*c*) From and after the date upon which this act takes effect, the funds now made, or which here-

after may be made available for the support of the industrial accident commission shall be transferred to the division of workmen's compensation insurance and safety; the funds now made, or which may hereafter be made available for the support of the commission of immigration and housing shall be transferred to the division of immigration and housing; the funds now made, or which may hereafter be made, available for the support of the industrial welfare commission shall be transferred to the division of industrial welfare; the funds now made, or which may hereafter be made available for the support of the commissioner of labor statistics and the bureau of labor statistics shall be transferred to the division of labor; *provided, however,* that the department of industrial relations may by majority vote and with the approval of the state board of control, transfer moneys from one division to another in such amounts as the department may determine to be necessary, to pay the cost and expenses of performing or carrying out any duty or activity so transferred.

SEC. 364.—(*d*) The department of labor and industrial relations shall submit a report to the governor and to the forty-fifth session of the legislature embodying a complete plan of reorganization and departmentalization of the activities herein mentioned.

[Approved May 31, 1921.]

Colorado.

First enacted in 1913. (Chapter 110.) Superseded in 1917. (Chapter 98.)

AN ACT for the determination of minimum wages and proper conditions of labor for women and minors.

Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Colorado:

SECTION 1.—The welfare of the State of Colorado demands that women and minors be protected from conditions of labor which have a pernicious effect on their health and morals, and it is therefore hereby declared, in the exercise of the police and sovereign power of the State of Colorado, that inadequate wages and unsanitary conditions of labor exert such pernicious effect.

SEC. 2.—The Industrial Commission of Colorado is hereby made and constituted a Minimum Wage Commission for this State, and the word "Commission" as hereinafter used refers to and means said Industrial Commission of Colorado, and the word "Commissioner" as hereinafter used refers to and means a member of said Commission. The act and decision of a majority of said Commission or any deputy when duly authorized by the Commission, shall be deemed the act or decision of said Commission, and no vacancy shall impair the right of the remaining Commissioners to exercise all the powers of said Commission.

SEC. 3.—The Commission may appoint a Secretary, who shall devote his entire time to the duties of the office, and shall receive a salary of $1,800.00 per annum, payable monthly. The Commission may employ and fix the compensation of such deputies, expert, clerical and other assistants as may be necessary to carry out the purpose of this act, and may include among its expenses the traveling expenses of the members of the Commission and its employes. All employes shall hold office at the pleasure of the Commission. The Commission may

incur other expenses not exceeding the annual appropriations therefor, and shall be provided with a suitable office in the State Capitol.

SEC. 4.—It shall be unlawful to employ women in any occupation within the State of Colorado for wages which are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living, and to maintain in health the women so employed; and it shall be unlawful to employ minors in any occupation within the State of Colorado for unreasonably low wages; and it shall be unlawful to employ women or minors in any occupation within this State under conditions of labor detrimental to their health or morals.

SEC. 5.—It shall be the duty of the Commission to inquire into the wages paid to women employes above the age of eighteen (18) years, and minor employes under eighteen (18) years of age; also into the condition of labor surrounding said employes, in any occupation in this State, if the Commission has reason to believe that said conditions of labor are detrimental to the health or morals of said employes, or that the wages paid to a substantial number of employes are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain such employes in health. The word "minor," as used in this act, refers to and means any person of either sex under the age of eighteen (18) years; and the word "woman" as used in this act refers to and means a female person of or over the age of eighteen (18) years. At the request of not less than twenty-five (25) persons engaged in any occupation in which women or minors are employed, the Commission shall forthwith make such investigation as is herein provided. The Commission may, at any time, make such investigation upon its own initiative.

SEC. 6.—The Commission is hereby authorized and empowered to ascertain and determine, and shall ascertain and determine, the minimum wages sufficient for living wages for women and minors of ordinary ability, including minimum wages sufficient for living wages, whether paid according to time rate or piece rate; also

the minimum wages sufficient for living wages for learners and apprentices; also standards of conditions of labor and hours of employment not detrimental to health or morals for women and for minors, and what are unreasonably long hours for women and minors, and what are unreasonably low wages for minors, in any occupation in this State.

SEC. 7.—The Commission shall, for the purposes of this act, have full power and authority to investigate and ascertain the conditions of labor surrounding said women and minors, also the wages of women and minors in the different occupations in which they are employed, whether paid by time rate or piece rate, in the State of Colorado. The word "occupation" as used in this act shall be so construed as to include any and every vocation, trade, pursuit and industry. The Commission shall have full power and authority as a Commission, or through any authorized representative or any Commissioner, to inspect and examine and make excerpts from any and all books, reports, contracts, pay rolls, documents, papers and other records of any employer of women or minors, that in any way appertain to or have bearing upon the question of wages of any such women workers or minor workers in any of said occupations, and to require from any such employer full and true statements of the wages paid to all women and minors by any employer. Every employer of women and minors shall keep a register of the names, ages, dates of employment and residence addresses of all women and minors employed, and it shall be the duty of every such employer, whether a person, firm, or corporation, to furnish to the Commission, at its request, any and all reports or information which the Commission may require to carry out the purposes of this act, such reports and information to be verified by the oath of the person or a member of the firm, or the president, secretary or manager of the corporation furnishing the same, if and when so requested by the Commission or any member thereof; also to allow the Commission, any authorized representa-

tive, or any Commissioner, free access to the place of business of such employer for the purpose of making any investigation authorized by this act.

SEC. 8.—The Commission may hold public hearings at such times and places as it deems proper for the purpose of investigating any of the matters it is authorized to investigate by this act, at which hearings employers, employes or other interested persons may appear and give testimony as to the matter under consideration. The Commission, or any member thereof, shall have power to subpoena and compel the attendance of any witnesses and to administer oaths; also, by subpoena, to compel the production of any books, papers or other evidence at any public hearing of the Commission or at any session of any wage board called and held, as hereinafter provided. All witnesses subpoenaed by said Commission shall be paid the same mileage and per diem as are allowed by law to witnesses in civil cases before the District Court of the State of Colorado.

If any person shall fail to attend as a witness, or to bring with him any books, papers or other evidence when subpoenaed by the Commission, or shall refuse to testify when ordered so to do, the Commission may apply to any District Court or County Court in this State to compel obedience on the part of such person, and such District Court or County Court shall thereupon compel obedience by proceedings for contempt, as in cases of disobedience of any order of said Court in a proceeding pending before said Court. The Commission shall have power to make and enforce reasonable and proper rules and procedure and shall not be bound by the technical rules of evidence. Said Commission may hold meetings for the transaction of any of its business at such times and places as it may prescribe.

SEC. 9.—If, after investigation, the Commission is of the opinion that the conditions of employment surrounding said employes are detrimental to the health or morals, or that a substantial number of women workers

in any occupation are receiving wages, whether by time rate or piece rate, inadequate to supply the necessary costs of living and to maintain such workers in health, the Commission shall proceed to establish minimum wage rates, either directly or by the indirect method hereinafter described. If it selects the direct method, the Commission shall establish the minimum wage rates. If it adopts the indirect method, the Commission shall establish a wage board, consisting of not more than three (3) representatives of employers in the occupation in question, and of an equal number of persons to represent the female employes in said occupation, and of an equal number of disinterested persons to represent the public, and some one representing the Commission, if it so desires. The Commission shall name and appoint all members of such wage board and designate the chairman thereof; provided, however, that the selection of members representing employers and employes shall be, so far as practicable, through election by employers and employes respectfully, subject to approval and selection by the Commission, as aforesaid. At least one representative of the employers, at least one representative of the employes, and at least one representative of the public shall be a woman. The members of the wage board shall be compensated at the same rate and fees for service as jurors in counties of the second class, and they shall be allowed their necessary traveling and clerical expenses incurred in the actual performance of their duties, these payments to be made from the appropriations for the expenses of the Commission. The proceedings and deliberations of such wage board shall be made a matter of record, for the use of the Commission, and shall be admissible as evidence in any proceedings before the Commission. Each wage board shall have the same power as the Commission to subpoena witnesses, administer oaths and compel the production of books, papers and other evidence. Witnesses subpoenaed by a wage board shall be allowed the same compensation as when subpoenaed by the Commission.

SEC. 10.—The Commission may transmit to each wage board all pertinent information in its possession relative to the wages paid or material to the subject of inquiry in the occupation in question. Each wage board shall endeavor to determine, if requested so to do by the Commission, the standard conditions of employment; also the minimum wage, whether by time rate or piece rate, adequate to maintain in health and to supply with the necessary cost of living, a female employe of ordinary ability in the occupation in question, or in any branches thereof; also suitable minimum wages (graded, so far as practicable, on a rising scale toward the minimum allowed experienced workers) for learners and apprentices; also suitable minimum wages for minors below the age of eighteen (18) years. When a majority of the members of a wage board shall agree upon standard conditions of employment or minimum wage board determinations, they shall report such determinations to the Commission, together with the reasons therefor and the facts relating thereto. A majority of the members of any such wage board shall constitute a quorum.

SEC. 11.—Upon receipt of a report from a wage board, the Commission shall review the same and may approve or disapprove any or all the determinations, or may re-commit the subject to the same or a new wage board. If the Commission approves any or all of the determinations of the wage board, said Commission shall publish notice not less than once a week for two (2) successive weeks in a newspaper of general circulation published in the county or counties in which any business directly affected thereby is located, that it will, on a date and a place named in said notice, hold a public meeting, at which all persons in favor of or opposed to said recommendations will be given a hearing; and after said publication of said notice and said meeting, said Commission may, in its discretion, make and render such an order as may be proper or necessary to adopt such recommendations and carry the same into effect and require

all employes in the occupation directly affected thereby to preserve and comply with such recommendations and said order. Said order shall become effective in thirty (30) days after it is made and rendered and shall be in full force and effect on and after the thirtieth (30th) day following its making and rendition. After said order becomes effective, and while it is effective, it shall be unlawful for any employer to violate or disregard any of the terms or provisions of said order, or to employ any woman worker in any occupation covered by said order at lower wages or under other conditions than are authorized or permitted by said order.

Said Commission shall, as far as practicable, mail a copy of any such order to every employer affected thereby; and every employer affected by any such order shall keep a copy thereof posted in a conspicuous place in each room in his establishment in which women workers work. No such order of said Commission shall authorize or permit the employment of any woman or minor for more hours per day or per week than the maximum now fixed by law; provided, however, that in case of emergencies which may arise in the conduct of any industry or occupation, overtime may be permitted under conditions and rules, and for increased minimum wages, which the Commission, after investigation, shall determine and prescribe by order, and which shall apply equally to all employers in such industry or occupation.

SEC. 12.—Whenever a minimum wage rate, or a new standard of conditions of employment established in any occupation, has been established in any occupation, the Commission may, if it deems proper or necessary so to do, upon petition of either employers or employes, reconvene the wage board or establish a new wage board, and any recommendation made by such board shall be dealt with in the same manner as the original recommendation of a wage board; provided, however, that, pending any new determination, any minimum wage rate and any new standard of conditions of employment there-

tofore established shall be and continue in force and effect.

SEC. 13.—For any occupation in which a time rate only has been established, the Commission may issue to any woman physically defective or crippled by age or otherwise, or less efficient than woman workers of ordinary ability, a special license authorizing the employment of the licensee at such wage less than said legal minimum wage as shall be provided by said Commission and stated in said license; provided, that the number of such persons so specially licensed shall not exceed one-tenth of the whole number of workers in any establishment.

SEC. 14.—The Commission may at any time inquire into the wages paid to minors and the conditions of their employment in any occupation, and may, after public hearings, determine minimum wages and working conditions suitable for such minors. When the Commission has made such a determination, it may proceed in the same manner as if the determination had been recommended to the Commission by a wage board.

SEC. 15.—Any employer who discharges or threatens to discharge, or in any other way discriminates against an employe because such employe serves upon a wage board, or is active in its formation, or has testified or is about to testify, or because the employer believes that said employe may testify in any investigation or proceeding relative to enforcement of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than two hundred ($200.00) dollars, nor more than one thousand ($1,000.00) dollars for each such misdemeanor. The Commission shall, from time to time, investigate and report to the proper prosecuting official whether employers in each occupation investigated are obeying its decrees, and members and employes of the Commission may cause informations to be filed with, and prosecu-

tions to be instituted by, the proper prosecuting officials for any violation of any of the provisions of this act.

SEC. 16.—The minimum wages for women and minors fixed by the Commission, as in this act provided, shall be the minimum wages to be paid to such employes, and the payment to such employes of a less wage than the minimum so fixed shall be unlawful, and every employer or other person who, individually or as an officer, agent, or employe of a corporation, or other person, pays or causes to be paid to any such employe a wage less than such minimum, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred ($100.) dollars, or by imprisonment for not less than thirty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

SEC. 17.—In every prosecution for the violation of any provision of this act, the minimum wage established by the Commission, as herein provided, shall be prima facie presumed to be reasonable and lawful and to be the wage required herein to be paid to women and minors. The findings of fact made by the Commission acting within its powers shall, in the absence of fraud, be conclusive, and the determination made by the Commission shall be subject to review only in the manner hereinbefore prescribed.

SEC. 18.—An employe receiving less than the legal minimum wage applicable to such employe shall be entitled to recover in a civil action the unpaid balance of the full amount of such minimum wage, together with costs of suit, notwithstanding any agreement to work for such lesser wage.

SEC. 19.—Any person may register with the Commission complaint that the wages paid to an employe for whom a rate has been established are less than that rate, and the Commission shall investigate the matter and take all proceedings necessary to enforce the payment of a wage not less than accords with such rate.

SEC. 20.—The Commission shall, on or before the first day of January of the year 1919, and biennially thereafter, make a succinct report to the Governor and the General Assembly of its works and any proceedings under this act during the preceding two years.

SEC. 21.—There is hereby appropriated out of any moneys in the State Treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of three thousand ($3,000.00) dollars to carry into effect the provisions of this act and to pay the expenses and expenditures authorized by or incurred under this act for the years 1917 and 1918. The expenditures authorized shall be payable at the end of each month, upon certificate made by the Commission to the Auditor of State, who shall draw his warrant upon the State Treasurer; and the Auditor of State is hereby authorized and directed to draw said warrants, as aforesaid, upon receipt of certified vouchers of the chairman of said Commission, attested by the Secretary.

SEC. 22.—Whenever this act or any part thereof is interpreted by any court, it shall be liberally construed by such court.

SEC. 23.—If any part, section, sub-section, sentence, clause or phrase of this act is for any reason declared unconstitutional, such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining portions of this act. The General Assembly hereby declares that it would have passed this act, and each part, section, sub-section, sentence, clause and phrase, irrespective of the fact that any one or more other parts, sections, sub-sections, clauses, phrases, word or words, be declared unconstitutional.

SEC. 24.—Chapter 110 of the Session Laws of 1913, entitled "Minimum wage for women and minors," and all acts and parts in conflict with any of the provisions of this act are hereby repealed.

SEC. 25.—It is hereby declared that this act is necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health and safety.

SEC. 26.—In the opinion of the General Assembly an emergency exists; therefore, this act shall take effect and be in force immediately after its passage.

[Approved April 20, 1917.]

Kansas.

Enacted in 1915. (Chapter 275.) Amended in 1921. (Chapter 263.)

AN ACT to establish an industrial welfare commission for women, learners and apprentices, and minors, prescribing its powers and duties and providing for the fixing of wages, hours and the standard conditions of labor for such workers; providing penalties for violations of the same.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas:

SECTION 1.—That the State of Kansas exercising herewith its police and sovereign powers declares that inadequate wages, long continued hours and unsanitary conditions of labor, exercise a pernicious effect on the health and welfare of women, learners and apprentices, and minors.

SEC. 2.—That it shall be unlawful to employ women, learners, and apprentices and minors in any industry or occupation within the State of Kansas under conditions of labor detrimental to their health or welfare and it shall be unlawful to employ women, learners, and apprentices and minors in any industry within the State of Kansas at wages which are not adequate for their maintenance and for more hours in any one day than is consonant with their health and welfare, except as hereinafter provided.

Sections 3-14.—Repealed. [*Laws* 1921, *Ch.* 263.]

SEC. 15.—That a violation of any provision of this act shall constitute a misdemeanor, and any one convicted thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than twenty-five ($25.00) dollars, nor more than one hundred ($100.00) dollars for each such misdemeanor.

SEC. 16.—Repealed. [*Laws* 1921. *Ch.* 263.]

SEC. 17.—That any employer who employs any woman, or minor, learner or apprentice in any occupation at less than the minimum wage or for a greater number of hours in a day or week fixed or under sanitary or other conditions forbidden by order or license issued by the commission, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not less than twenty-five ($25.00) dollars nor more than one hundred ($100.00) dollars for each such misdemeanor. Any woman or minor or learner or apprentice who shall receive less than the minimum wage or shall be compelled to work for a greater number of hours than that fixed by order or license issued by the commission, shall be entitled to recover in a civil action the full amount of the legal minimum wage, and compensation at the same rate for the number of hours of over-time work as herein provided for, together with costs and attorneys fees to be fixed by the court, notwithstanding any agreement to work for such lesser wage or greater number of hours. In such action, however, the employer shall be credited with any wages which have been paid upon account.

SEC. 18.—Repealed. [*Laws* 1921, *Ch.* 263.]

SEC. 19.—That the commissioner of labor and the several inspectors of the bureau of labor shall, at any and all times, give to the commission any information or statistics in their respective offices that may assist said commission in carrying out this act and render such assistance to said commission as may not be inconsistent with the performance of their respective official duties.

SEC. 20.—That the commission shall biennially make a report to the governor and legislature of its investigations and proceedings, and such reports shall be printed and distributed as in the case of other executive documents.

SEC. 21.—That this act is to be construed as supplemental to existing laws regulating the employment of women, learners and apprentices and minors.

SEC. 22.—That this act shall take effect and be in force from and after its publication in the statute book.

[Approved March 6, 1915.]

Laws of 1921. (Chapter 263.)

AN ACT relating to the powers and duties of the Court of Industrial Relations, abolishing the Industrial Welfare Commission, amending sections 3, 6 and 8, chapter 275, Session Laws 1915, and repealing all acts and parts of acts in conflict therewith.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Kansas:

SECTION 1.—The jurisdiction conferred by law upon the Industrial Welfare Commission of the state of Kansas is hereby conferred upon the Court of Industrial Relations, and said Industrial Welfare Commission and all boards organized thereunder are hereby abolished: *Provided,* That all orders and rules heretofore made by the Industrial Welfare Commission and now in force shall continue in force until the same may be changed or repealed by the Court of Industrial Relations.

SEC. 2.—All laws relating to the powers, authority, jurisdiction and duties of the Industrial Welfare Commission of this state are hereby adopted except as amended and repealed in this act; and all the duties imposed upon the Industrial Welfare Commission or any board thereof shall from and after the taking effect of this act, devolve upon the Court of Industrial Relations.

SEC. 3.—That section 3 of chapter 275, Session Laws of 1915, be amended as follows: SEC. 3.—That the Court of Industrial Relations may establish such standard of wages, hours, and conditions of labor for women, learners and apprentices, and minors employed within this state as shall be held hereunder to be reasonable and not detrimental to health and welfare: *Provided,*

however, the court may establish different minimum hours and standards for each class in an occupation of different localities in the state, when, in the judgment of the court the different conditions obtaining justify such action.

SEC. 4.—That section 6 of chapter 275, Session Laws of 1915, be amended as follows: SEC. 6.—That every employer of women or of learners and apprentices, or of minors shall keep a register of all such persons employed by him; and every such employer shall on request permit the court or any of its members, or agents to inspect such register.

SEC. 5.—That section 8 of chapter 275, Session Laws of 1915, be amended as follows: SEC. 8.—That if after investigation the Court of Industrial Relations is of the opinion that in any occupation the wages, hours and conditions, sanitary and otherwise, are prejudicial to the health or welfare of any substantial number of the class of employes named in this act and are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain the worker in health it shall publish a notice, not less than once a week for four successive weeks in the official state paper, that it will on a date and at a place named in said notice, hold a public meeting at which all persons will be given a hearing; and, after said publication of said notice and said meeting, the Court of Industrial Relations may, in its discretion, make and render such an order as may be proper or necessary, and require all employers in the occupation affected thereby to observe and comply with such determinations and said order. Said order shall become effective in sixty days after it is made and rendered and shall be in full force and effect on and after the 60th day following its making and rendition. The Court of Industrial Relations shall, in so far as it is practicable, mail a copy of any such order to every employer affected thereby; and every employer affected by any such order shall keep a copy thereof posted in

a conspicuous place in each room of his establishment. That whenever wages, hours, or conditions of labor have been made mandatory in any occupation, upon petition of either employers or employes, the Court of Industrial Relations may at its discretion reopen the question.

SEC. 6.—The Court of Industrial Relations may employ such inspectors and clerical force as may be necessary in carrying on the provisions of this act.

SEC. 7.—The orders of the Industrial Court under the provisions of this act may be reviewed in the same manner as is now provided for the review of its decisions by chapter 29 of the Session Laws of 1920.

SEC. 8.—Sections 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 16, 18, chapter 275, Session Laws of 1915, being sections 10497, 10498, 10499, 10500, 10501, 10502, 10503, 10504, 10505, 10506, 10507, 10508, 10510, 10512, 10513 and 10514, General Statutes of 1915, and all acts and parts of acts in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

SEC. 9.—This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage and publication in the official state paper.

[Approved March 8, 1921.]

Massachusetts.

First Enacted in 1912. (Chapter 706) Amended in 1913. (Chapters 330 and 673), in 1914 (Chapter 368), in 1916 (Chapter 303), in 1919 (Chapters 72, 76 and 77), in 1920 (Chapters 48, 350 and 387). Revised in General Laws, 1920. (Chapter 151.)

The Minimum Wage.

[*As revised, General Laws,* 1920.]

SECTION 1.—The board of conciliation and arbitration of the department of labor and industries in performing the duties required by this chapter shall be known as the minimum wage commission, in this chapter called the commission. It shall investigate the wages paid to female employes in any occupation, if it has reason to believe that the wages paid to a substantial number of such employes are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain the worker in health.

SEC. 2.—If after such investigation the commission is of the opinion that in the occupation in question the wages paid to a substantial number of female employes are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain the worker in health, it shall establish a wage board consisting of an equal number of representatives of employers in the occupation in question, and of persons to represent the female employes in said occupation, and of one or more disinterested persons appointed by it to represent the public; but the representatives of the public shall not exceed one-half of the number of representatives of either of the other parties. The commission shall give notice to employers and employes in said occupation by publication or otherwise of its determination to establish a wage board and of the number of representatives of employers and of employes to be chosen therefor, and shall request that said

employers and employes, respectively, nominate such representatives by furnishing names to it.

The representatives of employers and employes shall be selected by the commission from names furnished by the employers and by the employes, respectively; provided, that the same are furnished within ten days after such request; and provided, further, that at least twice as many names respectively are furnished as are required. If less than this number of names are furnished for representatives, either of employers or of employes, at least one-half the names so furnished shall be selected and the remaining places necessary may be filled by the commission by appointments made directly from employers, including officers of corporations, associations, and partnerships, or from employes in the occupation, as the case may be. The commission shall designate as chairman one of the representatives of the public, and shall make rules and regulations governing the selection of members and the modes of procedure of the wage boards, and shall exercise exclusive jurisdiction over all questions rising with reference to the validity of the procedure and of the determinations of the wage boards. The members of wage boards shall be compensated at the same rate as jurors, and they shall be allowed the necessary traveling and clerical expenses incurred in the performance of their duties, these payments to be made from the appropriation for the expenses of the commission. The commission may fill vacancies arising in a duly constituted wage board by appointing a sufficient number of suitable persons to complete the representation of the employers, employes or public, as the case may be.

SEC. 3.—The commission may transmit to each wage board all pertinent information in its possession relative to the wages paid in the occupation in question. Each wage board shall take into consideration the needs of the employes, the financial condition of the occupation and the probable effect thereon of any increase in the minimum wages paid, and shall endeavor to determine

the minimum wage, whether by time rate or piece rate, suitable for a female employe of ordinary ability in the occupation in question, or for any or all of the branches thereof, and also suitable minimum wages for learners and apprentices and for minors under eighteen. When a majority of the members of a wage board shall agree upon minimum wage determination, they shall report such determination to the commission, together with the reasons therefor and the facts relating thereto.

SEC. 4.—Upon receipt of a report from a wage board, the commission shall review the same, and may approve or disapprove any or all of the determinations recommended, or may recommit the subject to the same wage board or to a new one. If the commission approves any or all of the determinations of the wage board it shall, after not less than fourteen days' notice to employers paying a wage less than the minimum wage approved, give a public hearing to such employers, and if, after such public hearing, the commission finally approves the determination, it shall enter a decree of its findings and note thereon the names of employers, so far as they may be known to it, who fail or refuse to accept such minimum wage and agree to abide by it. The commission shall thereafter publish at such times and in such manner as it may deem advisable a summary of its findings and of its recommendations. It shall also at such times and in such manner as it shall deem advisable publish the facts, as it may find them to be, as to the acceptance of its recommendations by the employers engaged in the industry to which any of its recommendations relate, and may publish the names of employers whom it finds to be following or refusing to follow such recommendations. An employer who files a declaration under oath in the supreme judicial or superior court to the effect that compliance with the recommendation of the commission would render it impossible for him to conduct his business at a reasonable profit shall be entitled to a review of said recommendation by the court under the rules of equity procedure.

The burden of proving the averments of said declaration shall be upon the complainant. If, after such review, the court finds the averments of the declaration to be sustained, it may issue an order restraining the commission from publishing the name of the complainant as one who refuses to comply with its recommendations. But such review, or any order issued by the court thereupon, shall not be an adjudication affecting the commission as to any employer other than the complainant, and shall in no way affect its right to publish the names of those employers who comply with its recommendations. The type in which the employers' names shall be printed shall not be smaller than that in which the news matter of the newspaper is printed. The publication shall be attested by the signatures of at least a majority of the commission.

SEC. 5.—Whenever a minimum wage rate has been established in any occupation, the commission may, upon petition of either employers or employees, or if in its opinion such action is necessary to meet changes in the cost of living may without such petition, reconvene the wage board or establish a new one, and any recommendation made by such wage board shall be dealt with in the same manner as the original recommendation of a wage board.

SEC. 6.—For any occupation in which a minimum time rate only has been established, the commission may issue to any woman physically defective a special license authorizing the employment of the licensee for a wage less than the legal minimum wage; *provided*, that it is not less than the special minimum wage fixed for that person.

SEC. 7.—The commission may at any time inquire into the wages paid to minors in any occupation in which the majority of employes are minors, and may, after giving public hearings, determine minimum wages suitable therefor. When the commission has made such a determination, it may proceed in the same manner as

if the determination had been recommended to it by a wage board.

SEC. 8.—Every employer of women and minors shall keep a register of the names, addresses and occupations of all women and minors employed by him, together with a record of the amount paid each week to each woman and minor, and if the commission shall so require, shall also keep for a specified period, not exceeding six months, a record of the hours worked by such employes, and shall, on request of the commission or of the department of labor and industries, permit the commission or any of its members or agents, or of the department or any duly accredited agent thereof, to inspect the said register and to examine such parts of the books and records of employers as relate to the wages paid to women and minors, and the hours worked by such employes. Any employer failing to keep a register or records as herein provided, or refusing to permit their inspection or examination, shall be punished by a fine of not less than five nor more than fifty dollars. The commission may also subpoena witnesses, administer oaths and take testimony, and require the production of books and documents. Such witnesses shall be summoned in the same manner and be paid by the commonwealth the same fees as witnesses before the superior court.

SEC. 9.—Upon request of the commission, the department of labor and industries shall cause to be gathered such statistics and other data as the commission may require, and the cost thereof shall be paid out of the appropriation made for the expenses of the commission in reference to the minimum wage.

SEC. 10.—No employer shall discharge or in any other manner discriminate against any employe because such employe has testified, or is about to testify, or has served or is about to serve upon a wage board, or is or has been active in the formation thereof, or has given or is about to give information concerning the condi-

tions of such employe's employment, or because the employer believes that the employe may testify, or may serve upon a wage board, or may give information concerning the conditions of the employe's employment, in any investigation or proceeding relative to the enforcement of this chapter. Whoever violates this section shall be punished by a fine of not less than two hundred nor more than one thousand dollars.

SEC. 11.—The commission shall from time to time determine whether employers in each occupation investigated are obeying its decrees, and shall publish in the manner provided in section four, the name of any employer whom it finds to be violating any such decree.

SEC. 12.—Any newspaper refusing or neglecting to publish the findings, decrees or notices of the commission at its regular rates for the space taken shall be punished by a fine of not less than one hundred dollars.

SEC. 13.—No member of the commission and no newspaper publisher, proprietor, editor or employe thereof, shall be liable to an action for damages for publishing the name of any employer as provided for in this chapter, unless such publication contains some wilful misrepresentation.

SEC. 14.—The commission may require employers in any occupation to post notices of its hearings or of nominations for wage boards, or of decrees that apply to their employes, in such reasonable way and for such length of time as it may direct. Whoever refuses or fails to post such notices or decrees, when so required, shall be punished by a fine of not less than five nor more than fifty dollars. The department of labor and industries shall enforce this section.

SEC. 15.—The commissioner of labor and industries shall make an annual report of the acts of the commission in performing the duties required by this chapter.

[Approved June 4, 1912.]

General Laws, 1919. (Chapter 350.)

AN ACT to organize in departments the executive and administrative functions of the Commonwealth.

Department of Labor and Industries.

SECTION 69.—The board of labor and industries, existing under authority of chapter seven hundred and twenty-six of the acts of nineteen hundred and twelve and acts in amendment thereof and in addition thereto; . . . . the minimum wage commission, existing under authority of chapter seven hundred and six of the acts of nineteen hundred and twelve, and acts in amendment thereof and in addition thereto; . . . . are hereby abolished. All the rights, powers, duties and obligations of the said boards, commission and officers, or of any member or official thereof, ... are hereby transferred to and shall hereafter be exercised and performed by the department of labor and industries, established by this act, which shall be the lawful successor of said boards, commissions, and offices and of said bureau of statistics, and the director thereof, with respect to the said rights, powers, duties and obligations.

SEC. 70.—The department of labor and industries shall be under the supervision and control of a commissioner, to be known as the commissioner of labor and industries, an assistant commissioner, who may be a woman, and three associate commissioners, one of whom shall be a representative of labor and one of whom shall be a representative of employers of labor, all of whom shall be appointed by the governor, with the advice and consent of the council. The first appointment of the commissioner and assistant commissioner shall be for the term of three years, and of the associate commissioners for the terms of one, two and three years, respectively. Thereafter as the terms expire the governor shall in like manner appoint the said commissioners for terms of three years, shall fill any vacancy for the unexpired term, and may, with the consent of the council, remove any commissioner. The commissioner

shall receive such annual salary not exceeding seven thousand five hundred dollars, and the assistant commissioner and associate commissioners such annual salary, not exceeding four thousand dollars each, as the governor and council may determine.

SEC. 71.—The commissioner shall be the executive and administrative head of the department. He shall have charge of the administration and enforcement of all laws, rules and regulations which it is the duty of the department to administer and enforce, and shall direct all inspections and investigations except as is otherwise provided herein. He may organize the department in such divisions as he may from time to time determine, and may assign the officers and employes of the department thereto. He shall prepare for the consideration of the associate commissioners, rules and regulations, in accordance with existing law, to carry out the provisions of this act relative to the department. All rules and regulations so prepared shall take effect, subject to the provisions of chapter three hundred and seven of the General Acts of nineteen hundred and seventeen where applicable, when approvd by the associate commissioners, or upon such date as they may determine. The commissioner may designate an associate commissioner to discharge the duties of the commissioner during his absence or disability.

SEC. 72.—The associate commissioners shall constitute a board to be known as the board of conciliation and arbitration, which shall have the authority and exercise the functions heretofore vested in the board of conciliation and arbitration and in the minimum wage commission, except as to matters of an administrative nature, and in pursuance of the said authority shall, if they deem it necessary, investigate immediately the circumstances of any industrial dispute which arises, shall establish wage boards and review their reports, and may issue special licenses under the provisions of section nine of chapter seven hundred and six of the acts of nineteen hundred and twelve. In all investigations

and proceedings conducted by said associate commissioners they shall have authority to summon witnesses, to administer oaths, to take testimony and to require the production of books and documents. . . . They shall be assigned such assistants from the officers and employees of the department as the commissioner and they shall from time to time determine. The fees of witnesses before the associate commissioners for attendance and travel shall be the same as those of witnesses before the superior court, and shall be certified and paid in accordance with the provisions of section fifteen of chapter five hundred and fourteen of the acts of nineteen hundred and nine, and acts in amendment thereof and in addition thereto.

SEC. 73.—In all matters relating specifically to women and minors the assistant commissioner shall have and exercise such duties and authority as may be prescribed by the commissioners with the approval of the associate commissioners.

[Approved July 23, 1919.]

Minnesota.

Enacted in 1913. (*Chapter 547.*)

AN ACT to establish a minimum wage commission, and to provide for the determination and establishment of minimum wages for women and minors.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota:

SECTION 1.—Repealed. [*Laws* 1921, *Ch.* 84.]

SEC. 2.—The commission may at its discretion investigate the wages paid to women and minors in any occupation in the state. At the request of not less than one hundred persons engaged in any occupation in which women and minors are employed, the commission shall forthwith make such investigation as herein provided.

SEC. 3.—Every employer of women and minors shall keep a register of the names and addresses of and wages paid to all women and minors employed by him, together with number of hours that they are employed per day or per week; and every such employer shall on request permit the commission or any of its members or agents to inspect such register.

SEC. 4.—The commission shall specify times to hold public hearings at which employers, employees, or other interested persons may appear and give testimony as to wages, profits and other pertinent conditions of the occupation or industry. The commission or any member thereof shall have power to subpoena witnesses, to administer oaths, and to compel the production of books, papers, and other evidence. Witnesses subpoenaed by the commission may be allowed such compensation for travel and attendance as the commissioner may deem reasonable, to an amount not exceeding the usual mileage and per diem allowed by our courts in civil cases.

SEC. 5.—If after investigation of any occupation the commission is of opinion that the wages paid to one-

sixth or more of the women or minors employed therein are less than living wages, the commission shall forthwith proceed to establish legal minimum rates of wages for said occupation, as hereinafter described and provided.

SEC. 6.—The commission shall determine the minimum wages sufficient for living wages for women and minors of ordinary ability, and also the minimum wages sufficient for living wages for learners and apprentices. The commission shall then issue an order, to be effective thirty days thereafter, making the wages thus determined the minimum wages in said occupation throughout the state, or within any area of the state if differences in the cost of living warrant this restriction. A copy of said order shall be mailed, so far as practicable, to each employer affected; and each such employer shall be required to post such a reasonable number of copies as the commission may determine in each building or other work place in which affected workers are employed. The original order shall be filed with the commissioner of labor.

SEC. 7.—The commission may at its discretion establish in any occupation an advisory board which shall serve without pay, consisting of not less than three nor more than ten persons representing employers, and an equal number of persons representing the workers in said occupation, and of one or more disinterested persons appointed by the commission to represent the public; but the number of representatives of the public shall not exceed the number of representatives of either of the other parties. At least one-fifth of the membership of any advisory board shall be composed of women, and at least one of the representatives of the public shall be a woman. The commission shall make rules and regulations governing the selection of members and the modes of procedure of the advisory boards, and shall exercise exclusive jurisdiction over all questions arising with reference to the validity of the procedure and deter-

mination of said boards. Provided, that the selection of members representing employers and employees shall be, so far as practicable, through election by employers and employees respectively.

SEC. 8.—Each advisory board shall have the same power as the commission to subpoena witnesses, administer oaths, and compel the production of books, papers and other evidence. Witnesses subpoenaed by an advisory board shall be allowed the same compensation as when subpoenaed by the commission. Each advisory board shall recommend to the commission an estimate of the minimum wages, whether by time rate or by piece rate, sufficient for living wages for women and minors of ordinary ability, and an estimate of the minimum wages sufficient for living wages for learners and apprentices. A majority of the entire membership of an advisory board shall be necessary and sufficient to recommend wage estimates to the commission.

SEC. 9.—Upon receipt of such estimates of wages from an advisory board, the commission shall review the same, and if it approves them shall make them the minimum wages in said occupation, as provided in section 6. Such wages shall be regarded as determined by the commission itself and the order of the commission putting them into effect shall have the same force and authority as though the wages were determined without the assistance of an advisory board.

SEC. 10.—All rates of wages ordered by the commission shall remain in force until new rates are determined and established by the commission. At the request of approximately one-fourth of the employers or employees in an occupation, the commission must reconsider the rates already established therein and may, if it sees fit, order new rates of minimum wages for said occupation. The commission may likewise reconsider old rates and order new minimum rates on its own initiative.

SEC. 11.—For any occupation in which a minimum time rate of wages only has been ordered the commis-

sion may issue to a woman physically defective a special license authorizing her employment at a wage less than the general minimum ordered in said occupation; and the commission may fix a special wage for such person. Provided, that the number of such persons shall not exceed one-tenth of the whole number of workers in any establishment.

SEC. 12.—Every employ r in any occupation is hereby prohibited from employing any worker at less than the living wage or minimum wage as defined in this act and determined in an order of the commission; and it shall be unlawful for any employer to employ any worker at less than said living or minimum wage.

SEC. 13.—It shall likewise be unlawful for any employer to discharge or in any manner discriminate against any employee because such employee has testified, or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employee is about to testify, in any investigation or proceeding relative to the enforcement of this act.

SEC. 14.—Any worker who receives less than the minimum wage ordered by the commission shall be entitled to recover in civil action the full amount due as measured by said order of the commission, together with costs and attorney's fees to be fixed by the court, notwithstanding any agreement to work for a lesser wage.

SEC. 15.—The commission shall enforce the provisions of this act and determine all questions arising thereunder, except as otherwise herein provided.

SEC. 16.—The commission shall biennially make a report of its work to the governor and the state legislature, and such reports shall be printed and distributed as in the case of other executive documents.

SEC. 17.—The members of the commission shall be reimbursed for traveling and other necessary expenses incurred in the performance of their duties on the com-

mission. The woman member shall receive a salary of eighteen hundred dollars annually for her work as secretary. All claims of the commission for expenses necessarily incurred in the administration of this act, but not exceeding the annual appropriation hereinafter provided, shall be presented to the state auditor for payment by warrant upon the state treasurer.

SEC. 18.—There is appropriated out of any money in the state treasury not otherwise appropriated for the fiscal year ending July 31, 1914, the sum of five thousand dollars ($5,000.00), and for the fiscal year ending July 31, 1915, the sum of five thousand dollars ($5,000.00).

SEC. 19.—Any employer violating any of the provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be punished for each offense by a fine of not less than ten nor more than fifty dollars or by imprisonment for not less than ten nor more than sixty days.

SEC. 20.—Throughout this act the following words and phrases as used herein shall be considered to have the following meanings respectively, unless the context clearly indicates a different meaning in the connection used:

(1) The terms "living wage" or "living wages" shall mean wages sufficient to maintain the worker in health and supply him with the necessary comforts and conditions of reasonable life; and where the words "minimum wage" or "minimum wages" are used in this act the same shall be deemed to have the same meaning as "living wage" or "living wages."

(2) The terms "rate" or "rates" shall mean rate or rates of wages.

(3) The term "commission" shall mean the minimum wage commission.

(4) The term "woman" shall mean a person of the female sex eighteen years of age or over.

(5) The term "minor" shall mean a male person under the age of twenty-one years, or a female person under the age of eighteen years.

(6) The terms "learner" and "apprentice" may mean either a woman or a minor.

(7) The terms "worker" or "employee" may mean a woman, a minor, a learner, or an apprentice, who is employed for wages.

(8) The term "occupation" shall mean any business, industry, trade, or branch of a trade in which women or minors are employed.

SEC. 21.—This act shall take effect and be in force from and after its passage.

[Approved April 26, 1913.]

Laws of 1921. (*Chapter 84.*)

AN ACT transferring the secretary and employees of the Minimum Wage Commission to the Department of Labor and Industries, terminating such commission and devolving its powers and duties upon the Industrial Commission of Minnesota.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Minnesota:

SECTION 1.—*Duties of Minimum Wage Commission Transferred*—On and after the first day of June, 1921, the powers and duties then by law vested in and imposed upon the Minimum Wage Commission shall be exercised and performed by the Industrial Commission of Minnesota and its subordinates, as a part of the functions of the division of women and children in the Department of Labor and Industries.

SEC. 2.—*Secretary and Employees Transferred*—On the first day of June, 1921, persons then serving as secretary and employees of the Minimum Wage Commission, shall be transferred by the Industrial Commission to the division of women and children to the Department of Labor and Industries and assigned to such positions as the Industrial Commission shall designate.

SEC. 3.—*Minimum Wage Commission Abolished*—On and after the first day of June, 1921, the Minimum Wage Commission, as heretofore constituted, shall have no further legal existence, except that it shall, within ten days after such date, submit to the Governor a report covering the period extending to such date from the date of the last report of such Minimum Wage Commission.

SEC. 4.—*Inconsistent Acts Repealed*—All acts and parts of acts so far as inconsistent with the provisions of this act and not otherwise are hereby repealed.

SEC. 5.—*Effective June 1, 1921*—This act shall take effect on the first day of June, 1921.

[Approved March 15, 1921.]

North Dakota.

Enacted in 1919. (*Chapter 174.*)

AN ACT to protect the lives and health and morals of women and minor workers and to establish maximum hours and minimum wages therefor; authorizing and empowering the Workmen's Compensation Bureau to fix such maximum hours and minimum wages and standard conditions of labor for such workers; providing penalties for violation of this act; making an appropriation therefor and repealing Chapter 181 of the Session Laws of North Dakota for the year 1917, and all acts or parts of acts in conflict with the provisions of this act.

Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the State of North Dakota:

SECTION 1.—Definition. That when used in this act the term "Bureau" means the Workmen's Compensation Bureau.

The term "Commissioner" means a member of the Workmen's Compensation Bureau.

The term "minor" means a person of either sex under the age of eighteen years.

The term "women" includes only women eighteen years of age or over.

The term "Occupation" includes a business, industry, trade or branch thereof, but shall not include agricultural or domestic service.

SEC. 2.—The said bureau is hereby authorized and empowered to ascertain and declare, in the manner hereinafter provided, the following things:

(a) Standards of hours of employment for women or minors and what are unreasonably long hours for women or for minors in any occupation within the State of North Dakota;

(b) Standards of conditions of labor for women or for minors in any occupation within the state and what surroundings or conditions, sanitary or otherwise, are detrimental to the health or morals of women or of minors in any such occupation;

(c) Standards of minimum wages for women in any occupation in the state and what wages are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to any such women workers and to maintain them in good health;

(d) Standard of minimum wages for minors in any occupation within the state of North Dakota and what wages are unreasonably low for any such minor workers;

(e) To prepare, adopt and promulgate rules and regulations for the carrying into effect of the foregoing provisions of this act, including rules and regulations for the selection of members and the mode of procedure of conferences;

(f) To employ any and all necessary help and assistance for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this act and to fix their compensation and bonds, providing that the total amount of such compensation shall not exceed the amount appropriated therefor by the Legislative Assembly;

(g) To investigate and ascertain the wages and the hours of labor and the conditions of labor of women and minors in different occupations in which they are employed in the state of North Dakota;

(h) Either through any authorized representative or any commissioner, to inspect and examine any and all books and payrolls and other records of any employer of women or minors that in any way appertain to or have a bearing upon the questions of labor or hours of labor or conditions of labor of any such women workers or minor workers, in any of such occupations;

(i) To require from any such employer full and true statements of the wages paid to and the hours of

labor and conditions of labor, of all women and minors in such employment.

SEC. 3.—It shall be unlawful to employ women or minors in any occupation within the state for unreasonably long hours; and it shall be unlawful to employ women or minors in any occupation within the state under such surroundings or conditions, sanitary or otherwise, as may be detrimental to their health, or morals; and it shall be unlawful to employ women in any occupation within the state for wages which are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain them in health; and it shall be unlawful to employ minors in any occupation within the state for unreasonably low wages.

SEC. 4.—Every employer of women or minors shall keep a register of the names of all women and all minors employed by him, and shall, on request, permit any commissioner or any authorized representative of said bureau to inspect and examine such register.

SEC. 5.—Said bureau may hold meetings for the transaction of any of its business at such times and places as it may prescribe; and said bureau may hold public hearings at such times and places as it deems fit and proper for the purpose of investigating any of the matters it is authorized to investigate by this act. At any such public hearing any person interested in the matter being investigated may appear and testify. Said bureau or any commissioner shall have power to subpoena and compel the attendance of any witness at any such public hearing or at any session of any conference called and held as hereinafter provided; and any commissioner shall have power to administer an oath to any witness who testifies at any public hearing or at any such session of any conference. All witnesses subpoenaed by said bureau shall be paid the same mileage and per diem as are allowed by law to witnesses in civil cases before the district court.

SEC. 6.—If, after investigation, said bureau is of the opinion that any substantial number of women workers in any occupation are working for unreasonably long hours or are working under surroundings or conditions detrimental to their health or morals or are receiving inadequate wages to supply them with the necessary cost of living and maintain them in health, said bureau may call and convene a conference for the purpose and with the powers of considering and inquiring into and reporting on the subject investigated by said bureau and submitted by it to such conference. Such conference shall be composed of not more than three representatives of the employers in said occupation and of an equal number of the representatives of the employees in said occupation and of not more than three disinterested persons representing the public and of one or more commissioners. Said bureau shall name and appoint all members of such conference and designate the chairman thereof. Said bureau shall present to such conference all information and evidence in the possession or under the control of said bureau which relates to the subject of the inquiry of such conference, and said bureau shall cause to be brought before such conference any witness whose testimony said bureau deems material to the subject of the inquiry of such conference. After completing its consideration of any inquiry into the subject submitted to it by said bureau, such conference shall make and transmit to said bureau a report containing the findings and recommendations of such conference on said subject. Accordingly as the subject submitted to it may require, such conference shall, in its report, make recommendations on any or all of the following questions concerning the particular occupation under inquiry, to-wit:

(a) Standards of hours of employment for women workers and what are unreasonably long hours of employment for women workers;

(b) Standards of conditions of labor for women workers and what surroundings or conditions, sanitary

or otherwise, are detrimental to the health or morals of women workers;

(c) Standards of minimum wages for women workers and what wages are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to women workers and maintain them in health.

In its recommendation on a question of wages such conference shall, where it appears that any substantial number of women workers in the occupation under inquiry are being paid by piece rates as distinguished from time rate, recommend minimum piece rates as well as minimum time rate and recommend such minimum piece rates as will in its judgment be adequate to supply the necessary cost of living to women workers of average ordinary ability and maintain them in health. Two-thirds of the members of any such conference shall constitute a quorum; and the decision or recommendation or report of such two-thirds on any subject submitted shall be deemed the decision or recommendation or report of such conference.

SEC. 7.—Upon receipt of any report from any conference said bureau shall consider and review the recommendation contained in said report; and said bureau may approve any or all of said recommendations or disapprove any or all of said recommendations; and said bureau may resubmit to the same conference or a new conference any subject covered by any recommendations so disapproved. If said bureau approves any recommendations contained in any report from any conference, said bureau shall publish notice, not less than once a week for four successive weeks in not less than two newspapers of general circulation published in the state, that it will on a date and at a place named in said notice hold a public meeting at which all persons in favor of or opposed to said recommendations will be given a hearing; and, after said publication of said notice and said meeting, said bureau may, in its discretion, make and render such an order as may be proper or necessary to adopt such recommendations and carry the same

into effect and require all employers in the occupation affected thereby to observe and comply with such recommendations and said order. Said order shall become effective in sixty days after it is made and rendered and shall be in full force and effect on and after the sixtieth day following its making and rendition. After said order becomes effective and while it is effective, it shall be unlawful for any employer to violate or disregard any of the terms or provisions of said order or to employ any woman worker in any occupation covered by said order for longer hours or under different surroundings or conditions or at a lower wage than are authorized or permitted by said order. Said bureau shall, as far as is practicable, mail a copy of such order to every employer affected thereby; and every employer affected by any such order shall keep a copy thereof posted in a conspicuous place in each room in his establishment in which women workers work. No such order of said bureau shall authorize or permit the employment of any women for more hours per day or per week than the maximum now fixed by law.

SEC. 8.—Said bureau may at any time inquire into wages or hours or conditions of labor of minors employed in any occupation in this state and determine suitable wages and hours and conditions of labor for such minors. When said bureau has made such determination, it may issue an obligatory order in the manner hereinbefore provided; and, after such order is effective, it shall be unlawful for any employer in said occupation to employ a minor at less wages or for more hours or under different conditions of labor than are specified or required in or by said order; but no such order of said bureau shall authorize or permit the employment of any minor for more hours per day or per week than the maximum now fixed by law or at any times or under any conditions now prohibited by law.

SEC. 9.—Said bureau shall, from time to time, investigate and ascertain whether or not employers in the

state are observing and complying with its orders and take such steps as may be necessary to have prosecuted such employers as are not observing or complying with its orders.

SEC. 10.—All questions of fact arising under the foregoing provisions of this act shall, except as otherwise herein provided, be determined by said bureau, and there shall be no appeal from the decision of said bureau on any such question of fact; but there shall be a right of appeal from said bureau to the district court of Burleigh county, from any ruling or holding on a question of law included in or embodied in any decision or order of said bureau, and, on the same question of law, from said district court to the supreme court of the state. In all such appeals the attorney general shall appear for and represent said bureau.

SEC. 11.—For any occupation in which the minimum wage has been established the bureau may issue to a female physically defective by age or otherwise or to an apprentice or learner in such occupations as usually require learners or apprentices, a special license authorizing the employment of any such licensee at a wage less than the minimum wage to be fixed by the bureau, such license to be issued under such rules and regulations as the bureau may establish therefor.

SEC. 12.—Nothing in this act shall authorize or empower the bureau to increase the hours of labor for women or in any manner impair or affect the provisions of an act entitled "For an Act regulating and fixing the hours of labor for females and providing penalties for the violation thereof," adopted at the Sixteenth Legislative Session of this state.

SEC. 13.—Any person who violates any of the foregoing provisions of this act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than twenty-five ($25.00) dollars nor more than one hundred ($100.00) dollars or by imprisonment in the county jail for not less than ten

days nor more than three months or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 14.—Any employer who discharges or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has testified, or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employee may testify, in any investigation or proceedings under or relative to this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than twenty-five ($25.00) dollars nor more than one hundred ($100.00) dollars.

SEC. 15.—If any woman worker shall be paid by her employer less than the minimum wage to which she is entitled under or by virtue of an order of said bureau, she may recover in a civil action the full amount of her said minimum wage less any amount actually paid her by said employer, together with such attorney's fees as may be allowed by the court; and any agreement for her to work for less than such minimum wage shall be no defense to such action.

SEC. 16.—Said bureau shall, on or before the first day of November of the year 1920 and of each second year thereafter, make a succinct report to the governor and legislature of its work and the proceedings under this act during the preceding two years.

SEC. 17.—Appropriation. There is hereby appropriated out of the moneys in the state treasury, not otherwise appropriated, the sum of Six Thousand Dollars per annum, or so much thereof as may be necessary per annum, to carry into effect the provisions of this act and to pay the expenses and expenditures authorized by or incurred under this act.

SEC. 18.—That Chapter 181 of the Session Laws of North Dakota for the year 1917 and all acts and parts of acts in conflict herewith, are hereby repealed.

[Approved March 6th, 1919.]

Oregon.

Enacted in 1913. (Chapter 62.) Amended in 1915 (Chapter 35), and in 1917 (Chapter 163).

AN ACT to protect the lives and health and morals of women and minor workers, and to establish an Industrial Welfare Commission and define its powers and duties, and to provide for the fixing of minimum wages and maximum hours and standard conditions of labor for such workers, and to provide penalties for violation of this act.

WHEREAS, The welfare of the State of Oregon requires that women and minors should be protected from conditions of labor which have a pernicious effect on their health and morals, and inadequate wages and unduly long hours and unsanitary conditions of labor have such a pernicious effect; therefore,

Be it enacted by the People of the State of Oregon:

SECTION 1.—It shall be unlawful to employ women or minors in any occupation within the State of Oregon for unreasonably long hours; and it shall be unlawful to employ women or minors in any occupation within the State of Oregon under such surroundings or conditions—sanitary or otherwise—as may be detrimental to their health or morals; and it shall be unlawful to employ women in any occupation within the State of Oregon for wages which are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living and to maintain them in health; and it shall be unlawful to employ minors in any occupation within the State of Oregon for unreasonably low wages.

SEC. 2.—There is hereby created a commission composed of three commissioners, which shall be known as the "Industrial Welfare Commission;" and the word "Commission" as hereinafter used refers to and means said "Industrial Welfare Commission;" and the word "Commissioner" as hereinafter used refers to and

means a member of said "Industrial Welfare Commission." Said Commissioners shall be appointed by the Governor. The Governor shall make his first appointments hereunder within thirty days after this bill becomes a law; and of the three Commissioners first appointed, one shall hold office until January 1, 1914, and another shall hold office until January 1, 1915, and the third shall hold office until January 1, 1916; and the Governor shall designate the terms of each of said three first appointees. On or before the first day of January of each year, beginning with the year 1914, the Governor shall appoint a Commissioner to succeed the Commissioner whose term expires on said first day of January; and such new appointee shall hold office for the term of three years from said first day of January. Each Commissioner shall hold office until his successor is appointed and has qualified; and any vacancy that may occur in the membership of said Commission shall be filed by appointment by the Governor for the unexpired portion of the term in which such vacancy occurs. A majority of said Commissioners shall constitute a quorum to transact business, and the act or decision of such a majority shall be deemed the act or decision of said Commission; and no vacancy shall impair the right of the remaining Commissioners to exercise all the powers of said Commission. The Governor shall, so far as practicable, so select and appoint said Commissioners—both the original appointments and all subsequent appointments—that at all times one of said Commissioners shall represent the interests of the employing class and one of said Commissioners shall represent the interests of the employed class and the third of said Commissioners shall be one who will be fair and impartial between employers and employees and work for the best interests of the public as a whole.

SEC. 3.—The first Commissioners appointed under this Act shall, within twenty days after their appointment, meet and organize said Commission by electing one of their number as chairman thereof and by choosing a

secretary of said Commission; and by or before the tenth day of January of each year, beginning with the year 1914, said Commissioners shall elect a chairman and choose a secretary for the coming year. Each such chairman and each such secretary shall hold his or her position until his or her successor is elected or chosen; but said Commission may at any time remove any secretary chosen hereunder. Said secretary shall not be a Commissioner; and said secretary shall perform such duties as may be prescribed and receive such salary as may be fixed by said Commission. None of said Commissioners shall receive any salary as such. All authorized and necessary expenses of said Commission and all authorized and necessary expenditures incurred by said Commission shall be audited and paid as other State expenses and expenditures are audited and paid.

SEC. 4.—Said Commission is hereby authorized and empowered to ascertain and declare, in the manner hereinafter provided, the following things: (a) Standards of hours of employment for women or for minors and what are unreasonably long hours for women or for minors in any occupation within the State of Oregon; (b) Standards of conditions of labor for women or for minors in any occupation within the State of Oregon and what surroundings or conditions—sanitary or otherwise—are detrimental to the health or morals of women or of minors in any such occupation; (c) Standards of minimum wages for women in any occupation within the State of Oregon and what wages are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to any such women workers and to maintain them in good health;
and (d) Standards of minimum wages for minors in any occupation within the State of Oregon and what wages are unreasonably low for any such minor workers.

SEC. 5.—Said Commission shall have full power and authority to investigate and ascertain the wages and the hours of labor and the conditions of labor of women and minors in the different occupations in which they are

employed in the State of Oregon; and said Commission shall have full power and authority, either through any authorized representative or any Commissioner to inspect and examine any and all books and payrolls and other records of any employer of women or minors that in any way appertain to or have a bearing upon the questions of wages or hours of labor or conditions of labor of any such women workers or minor workers in any of said occupations and to require from any such employer full and true statements of the wages paid to and the hours of labor of and the conditions of labor of all women and minors in his employment.

SEC. 6.—Every employer of women or minors shall keep a register of the names of all women and all minors employed by him, and shall, on request, permit any Commissioner or any authorized representative of said Commission to inspect and examine such register. The word "minor," as used in this Act, refers to and means any person of either sex under the age of eighteen years; and the word "woman," as used in this Act, refers to and means a female person of or over the age of eighteen years.

SEC. 7.—Said Commission may hold meetings for the transaction of any of its business at such times and places as it may prescribe; and said Commission may hold public hearings at such times and places as it deems fit and proper for the purpose of investigating any of the matters it is authorized to investigate by this Act. At any such public hearing any person interested in the matter being investigated may appear and testify. Said Commission shall have power to subpoena and compel the attendance of any witness at any such public hearing or at any session of any conference called and held as hereinafter provided; and any Commissioner shall have power to administer an oath to any witness who testifies at any such public hearing or at any such session of any conference. All witnesses subpoenaed by said Commission shall be paid the same mileage and per diem as

are allowed by law to witnesses in civil cases before the Circuit Court of Multnomah County.

SEC. 8.—If, after investigation, said Commission is of opinion that any substantial number of women workers in any occupation are working for unreasonably long hours or are working under surroundings or conditions detrimental to their health or morals or are receiving wages inadequate to supply them with the necessary cost of living and maintain them in health, said Commission may call and convene a conference for the purpose and with the powers of considering and inquiring into and reporting on the subject investigated by said Commission and submitted by it to such conference. Such conference shall be composed of not more than three representatives of the employers in said occupation and of an equal number of the representatives of the employees in said occupation and of not more than three disinterested persons representing the public and of one or more Commissioners. Said Commission shall name and appoint all the members of such conference and designate the chairman thereof. Said Commission shall present to such conference all information and evidence in the possession or under the control of said Commission which relates to the subject of the inquiry by such conference; and said Commission shall cause to be brought before such conference any witnesses whose testimony said Commission deems material to the subject of the inquiry by such conference. After completing its consideration of and inquiry into the subject submitted to it by said Commission, such conference shall make and transmit to said Commission a report containing the findings and recommendations of such conference on said subject. Accordingly as the subject submitted to it may require, such conference shall, in its report, make recommendations on any or all of the following questions concerning the particular occupation under inquiry to wit: (a) Standards of hours of employment for women workers and what are unreasonably long hours of employment for women workers; (b) Standards of conditions of labor for women workers and

what surroundings or conditions—sanitary or otherwise —are detrimental to the health or morals of woman workers; (c) Standards of minimum wages for women workers and what wages are inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to women workers and maintain them in health. In its recommendations on a question of wages such conference shall, where it appears that any substantial number of women workers in the occupation under inquiry are being paid by piece rates as distinguished from time rate recommend minimum piece rates as well as minimum time rate and recommend such minimum piece rates as will in its judgment be adequate to supply the necessary cost of living to women workers of average ordinary ability and maintain them in health; and in its recommendations on a question of wages such conference shall, when it appears proper or necessary, recommend suitable minimum wages for learners and apprentices and the maximum length of time any woman worker may be kept at such wages as a learner or apprentice, which said wages shall be less than the regular minimum wages recommended for the regular women workers in the occupation under inquiry. Two-thirds of the members of any such conference shall constitute a quorum; and the decision or recommendation or report of such a two-thirds on any subject submitted shall be deemed the decision or recommendations or report of such conference.

SEC. 9.—[*As amended, Acts* 1915, *Ch.* 35.]—Upon receipt of any report from any conference said Commission shall consider and review the recommendations contained in said report; and said Commission may approve any or all of said recommendations; or disapprove any or all of said recommendations; and said Commission may re-submit to the same conference or a new conference any subject covered by any recommendations so disapproved. If said Commission approves any recomendations contained in any report from any conference, said Commission shall publish notice, not less than once a week for four successive weeks in not less than two news-

papers of general circulation published in Multnomah County, that it will on a date and at a place named in said notice hold a public meeting at which all persons in favor of or opposed to said recommendations will be given a hearing; and, after said publication of said notice and said meeting, said Commission may, in its discretion, make and render such an order as may be proper or necessary to adopt such recommendations and carry the same into effect and require all employers in the occupation affected thereby to observe and comply with such recommendations and said order. Said order shall become effective in sixty days after it is made and rendered and shall be in full force and effect on and after the sixtieth day following its making and rendition. After said order becomes effective and while it is effective, it shall be unlawful for any employer to violate or disregard any of the terms or provisions of said order or to employ any woman worker in any occupation covered by said order for longer hours or under different surroundings or conditions or at lower wages than are authorized or permitted by said order. Said Commission shall, as far as is practicable, mail a copy of any such order to every employer affected thereby; and every employer affected by any such order shall keep a copy thereof posted in a conspicuous place in each room in his establishment in which women workers work. No such order of said Commission shall authorize or permit the employment of any woman for more hours per day or per week than the maximum now fixed by law; provided, however, that in case of emergencies which may arise in the conduct of any industry or occupation overtime may be permitted under conditions and rules which the Commission after investigation shall determine and prescribe by order and which shall apply equally to all employers in such industry or occupation.

SEC. 10.—For any occupation in which only a minimum time rate wage has been established, said Commission may issue to a woman physically defective or crippled by age or otherwise a special license authorizing

her employment at such wage less than said minimum time rate wage as shall be fixed by said Commission and stated in said license.

SEC. 11.—Said Commission may at any time inquire into wages or hours or conditions of labor of minors employed in any occupation in the State and determine suitable wages and hours and conditions of labor for such minors. When said Commission has made such determination, it may issue an obligatory order in the manner provided for in Section 9 of this Act; and, after such order is effective, it shall be unlawful for any employer in said occupation to employ a minor at less wages or for more hours or under different conditions of labor than are specified or required in or by said order; but no such order of said Commission shall authorize or permit the employment of any minor for more hours per day or per week than the maximum now fixed by law or at any times or under any conditions now prohibited by law.

SEC. 12.—The word "occupation" as used in this Act shall be so construed as to include any and every vocation and pursuit and trade and industry. Any conference may make a separate inquiry into and report on any branch of any occupation; and said Commission may make a separate order affecting any branch of any occupation. Any conference may make different recommendations and said Commission may make different orders for the same occupation in different localities in the State when, in the judgment of such conference or said Commission, different conditions in different localities justify such different recommendations or different orders.

SEC. 13.—Said Commission shall, from time to time, investigate and ascertain whether or not employers in the State of Oregon are observing and complying with its orders and take such steps as may be necessary to have prosecuted such employers as are not observing or complying with its orders.

SEC. 14.—The "Commissioner of Labor Statistics and Inspector of Factories and Work Shops" and the several officers of the "Board of Inspection of Child Labor" shall, at any and all times, give to said Commission any information or statistics in their respective offices that would assist said Commission in carrying out this Act and render such assistance to said Commission as may not be inconsistent with the performance of their respective official duties.

SEC. 15.—Said Commission is hereby authorized and empowered to prepare and adopt and promulgate rules and regulations for the carrying into effect of the foregoing provisions of this Act, including rules and regulations for the selection of members and the mode of procedure of conferences.

SEC. 16.—All questions of fact arising under the foregoing provisions of this Act shall, except as otherwise herein provided, be determined by said Commission, and there shall be no appeal from the decision of said Commission on any such question of fact; but there shall be a right of appeal from said Commission to the Circuit Court of the State of Oregon for Multnomah County from any ruling or holding on a question of law included in or embodied in any decision or order of said Commission, and, on the same question of law, from said Circuit Court to the Supreme Court of the State of Oregon. In all such appeals the Attorney General shall appear for and represent said Commission.

SEC. 17.—Any person who violates any of the foregoing provisions of this Act shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than twenty-five ($25.00) dollars nor more than one hundred ($100.00) dollars or by imprisonment in the county jail for not less than ten days nor more than three months or by both such fine and imprisonment in the discretion of the court.

SEC. 18.—Any employer who discharges or in any other manner discriminates against any employe be-

cause such employe has testified, or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that such employe may testify, in any investigation or proceedings under or relative to this Act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine of not less than twenty-five ($25.00) dollars nor more than one hundred ($100.00) dollars.

SEC. 19.—If any woman worker shall be paid by her employer less than the minimum wage to which she is entitled under or by virtue of an order of said Commission, she may recover in a civil action the full amount of her said minimum wage less any amount actually paid to her by said employer, together with such attorneys' fees as may be allowed by the court; and any agreement for her to work for less than such minimum wage shall be no defense to such action.

SEC. 20.—Said Commission shall, on or before the first day of January of the year 1915 and of each second year thereafter, make a succinct report to the Governor and Legislature of its work and the proceeding under this Act during the preceding two years.

SEC. 21.—There is hereby appropriated out of the general fund of the State of Oregon the sum of thirty-five hundred ($3,500) dollars per annum, or so much thereof as may be necessary per annum, to carry into effect the provisions of this Act and to pay the expenses and expenditures authorized by or incurred under this Act.

[Filed in the office of Secretary of State, February 17, 1913.]

Amended in 1917. (*Chapter 163.*)

SECTION 1.—The hours of work may be so arranged as to permit the employment of females at any one time so that they shall not work more than ten hours during the twenty-four hours of one day or sixty hours during any one week. *Provided, however,* that the provisions of

this section in relation to the hours of employment shall not apply to nor affect females employed in harvesting, packing, curing, canning or drying any variety of perishable fruit, vegetable or fish. *Provided further,* they be paid time and a half for time over ten hours per day when employed in canneries or driers or packing plants. *Provided also* that piece workers shall be paid one and a half the regular prices for all work done during the time they are employed over ten hours a day.

SEC. 2.—That Chapter 62* of the laws of Oregon for the year 1913 and Chapter 35* of the laws of Oregon for the year 1915 in so far as they confer authority upon the Industrial Welfare Commission to regulate the hours of employment for women engaged in harvesting, packing, curing, canning or drying any variety of perishable fruit, vegetables, or fish, are hereby repealed.

*Industrial Welfare Commission Law.

Texas.

Enacted in 1919. (Chapter 160.) Repealed in 1921. (Chapter 118.)

AN ACT regulating the employment of women and minors and establishing an Industrial Welfare Commission to investigate and deal with such employment, including the fixing of a minimum wage; providing for an appropriation therefor, and fixing penalties for violating this act, and declaring an emergency.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Texas:

SECTION 1.—There is hereby established a commission to be known as the Industrial Welfare Commission, hereinafter called the Commission. Said Commission shall be composed of three persons as follows: The head of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, who shall be chairman of the Commission, the representative of employers of labor on the Industrial Accident Board, and the State Superintendent of Public Instruction. Two members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum, the concurrence of two members shall be necessary to determine any question that may arise for decision, and a vacancy on the Commission shall not impair the right of the remaining members to perform all the duties and exercise all the powers and authority of the Commission.

SEC. 2.—The Commission may employ a secretary and two (2) investigators to carry out the purpose of this Act, and shall fix the compensation of such employees, not to exceed the sum of $1,800 per annum for each one, and all necessary traveling expenses, within the appropriation made therefor.

SEC. 3. (a) It shall be the duty of the Commission to ascertain the wages paid, the hours and conditions of labor and employment in the various occupations, trades, and industries in which women and minors are employed

in the State of Texas, and to make investigations into the comfort, health, safety and welfare of such women and minors.

(b) It shall be the duty of every person, firm and corporation employing labor in this State:

1.—To furnish to the Commission, at its request, any and all reports or information which the Commission may require pertaining to the working conditions and wages paid women and minors to carry out the purpose of this Act; such reports and information to be verified by the oath of the person, or a member of the firm, or the president, secretary, or manager of the corporation furnishing the same, if and when requested by the Commission or any member thereof.

2.—To allow any member of the Commission, or its secretary or any of its duly authorized employees, free access to the place of business or employment of such person, firm, or corporation, for the purpose of making an investigation authorized by this Act, relating to the working conditions and wages of women and minors.

3.—To keep a register of the names, ages and residence addresses of all women and minors employed.

(c) For the purpose of this Act, a minor is defined to be a person of either sex under the age of fifteen years.

Sec. 4.—The Commission may specify times to hold public hearings, at which time employers, employees or other interested persons may appear and give testimony as to the matter under consideration. The Commission or any member thereof, or the secretary or any investigator employed by said Commission, shall have power to subpoena witnesses and to administer oaths. All witnesses subpoenaed by the Commission shall be paid the fee and mileage fixed by law in civil cases. In case of failure on the part of any person to comply with any order of the Commission or any member thereof or any subpoena, or upon the refusal of any witness to testify

to any matter regarding which he may lawfully be interrogated before any wage board or the Commission, it shall be the duty of any district court or the judge thereof, to whom application is made, on the application of a member of the Commission, to compel obedience in the same manner, by contempt proceedings or otherwise, that such obedience would be compelled in a proceeding pending before said court. The Commission shall have power to make and enforce reasonable and proper rules of practice and procedure and shall not be bound by technical rules of evidence.

SEC. 5.—The Commission shall have further power, after a public hearing before any member of the Commission, or before any investigator employed by said Commission, and upon its own motion or upon petition, to fix:

1. A minimum wage to be paid to women and minors engaged in any occupation, trade or industry in this State, which shall not be less than a wage adequate to supply such women and minors the necessary cost of proper living and to maintain the health and welfare of such women and minors.

2. The standard conditions of labor demanded by the health and welfare of the women and minors engaged in any occupation, trade or industry in this State.

(b) Upon the fixing of a time and place for the holding of a hearing for the purpose of considering and acting upon any matters referred to in subsection (a) hereof, the Commission shall give public notice by advertisement in at least one newspaper published in the county where the hearing is to be held, and by mailing a copy of said notice to the county clerk of such county where the hearing is to be held, and to the individual, firm, or corporation, to be investigated, which notice shall state the time and place of such hearing to be held which shall not be earlier than ten days from the date of publishing and mailing such notice.

(c) After such public hearing the Commission may, in its discretion, make a mandatory order to be effective in sixty days from the making of such order, specifying the minimum wage for women and minors in the occupation in question and the standard conditions of labor for said women and minors: provided, however, that no such order shall become effective until November 1, 1919.

Such order shall be published in at least one newspaper in the cities of Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, Fort Worth, El Paso and Austin; and a copy thereof mailed to the county clerk of each county in the State, and such copy shall be recorded without charge, and copies shall be mailed to each employer in the occupation in question, and each employer in the occupation in question shall be required to post a copy of such order in a conspicuous place in the building in which the women or minors affected by the order are employed. Failure of the employer to receive such notice shall not relieve the employer from the duty to comply with such order. Finding by the Commission that there has been such publication and mailing to the county clerk shall be conclusive to the service.

Sec. 6.—Whenever wages or conditions of labor have been so made mandatory in any occupation, trade or industry, the Commission may at any time in its discretion upon its own motion or upon petition of either employers or employees, after a public hearing held upon the notice prescribed for an original hearing, rescind, alter or amend any prior order. Any order rescinding a prior order shall have the same effects as herein provided for in an original order.

Sec. 7.—For any occupation in which a minimum wage has been established, the Commission may issue to any person subject to this Act, a special license authorizing the employment of such person for a period of six months for a wage less than such legal minimum wage; and the Commission shall fix a special minimum wage for such person; provided that at no time shall the special licenses exceed ten per cent. of the total num-

ber of employees in said industry. Any such license may be renewed for a like period of six months.

SEC. 8.—Upon the request of the Commission, the Labor Commissioner shall cause such statistics and other data and information to be gathered and investigation made, as the Commission may require pertaining to the wages and working conditions of women and minors.

SEC. 9.—Any employer who discharges, or threatens to discharge, or in any other manner discriminates against any employee because such employee has testified, or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employee may testify in any investigation or proceeding relative to the enforcement of this Act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall upon conviction be punished by a fine of not less than ten ($10) dollars nor more than one hundred ($100) dollars, or by imprisonment in the county jail of not more than thirty days, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

SEC. 10.—The minimum wage for women and minors fixed by said Commission as in this Act provided, shall be the minimum wage paid to such employees, and the payment to such employees of a less wage than the minimum wage so fixed shall be unlawful, and every employer or other person who, either individually or as an officer, agent or employee of a corporation or other person, pays or causes to be paid to any such employee a wage less than such minimum shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of not less than ten ($10) dollars nor more than one hundred ($100) dollars, or by imprisonment of not more than thirty days in the county jail, or by both such fine and imprisonment.

SEC. 11.—In every prosecution for the violation of any provision of this Act the minimum wage established by the Commission as herein provided, shall be prima facie presumed to be reasonable and lawful, and to be the living wage required herein to be paid women

and minors. The finding of facts made by the Commission acting within its powers shall, in the absence of fraud, be conclusive; and the determinations made by the Commission shall be subject to review only in a manner and upon the grounds following; within thirty days from the date of determination, any party aggrieved thereby may commence action in the district court in and for the county in which the aggrieved party resides, or in the district court of Travis County, against the Commission for review of such determination. In such action a complaint which shall state the grounds upon which a review is sought shall be served with the summons, service upon the secretary of the Commission or upon any member of the Commission, shall be deemed a complete service. The Commission shall file its answer within twenty days after the service of the complaint. With its answer, the Commission shall make a return to the court of all documents and papers on file in the matter, and of all testimony and evidence which may have been taken before it and of its findings and determinations in the matter. The action may thereupon be brought on for hearing before the court upon such record by either party on ten days' notice to the other. Upon such hearing the court may confirm or set aside such determination, but the same shall be set aside only upon the following grounds:

(1) That the Commission acted without or in excess of its powers, or on insufficient grounds.

(2) That the determination was procured by fraud.

Upon the setting aside of any determination the court may recommit the controversy and remand the record in the case to the Commission for further proceedings. The Commission or any party aggrieved, by a decree entered upon the review of a determination, may appeal therefrom within the time and in the manner provided for an appeal from the orders of the said district court.

SEC. 12.—Any employee receiving less than the minimum wage applicable to such employee shall be entitled

to recover in a civil action the unpaid balance of the full amount of such minimum wage, together with costs of suit, and an additional amount for attorneys' fees notwithstanding any agreement to work for such lesser wage.

SEC. 13.—Any person or persons for whom the Commission may have established a living wage may register a complaint with the Commission that the wages paid to him or them are less than that rate, and the Commission shall thereupon investigate the matter and take all proceedings necessary to enforce the payment of such established wage.

SEC. 14.—The Commission shall biennially make a report to the Governor and the State Legislature of its investigations and proceedings.

SEC. 15.—There is hereby appropriated out of the moneys of the State Treasury, not otherwise appropriated, the sum of five thousand ($5,000) dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, to be used by the Commission in carrying out the provisions of this Act to August 31, 1919, and the Comptroller is hereby directed from time to time to draw warrants upon presentation of properly itemized, verified and approved vouchers on the general fund in favor of the Commission for the amounts expended under its direction, and the treasurer is hereby authorized and directed to pay the same.

SEC. 16.—The Commission shall not act as a board of arbitration during a strike or a lockout.

SEC. 17. (a) Whenever this Act, or any part or section thereof is interpreted by a court, it shall be liberally construed by such court.

(b) If any section, or subsection or subdivision of this Act is for any reason held to be unconstitutional, such decision shall not affect the validity of the remaining portions of this Act. The Legislature hereby declares that it would have passed this Act, and each section, subsection, subdivision, sentence, clause and phrase

thereof; irrespective of the fact that any one or more sections, subsections, subdivisions, sentences, or clauses or phrases is declared unconstitutional.

SEC. 18.—The provisions of this Act shall apply to and include women and minors employed in any occupation, trade or industry and whose compensation for labor is measured by time, piece or otherwise, except those engaged as domestic servants, nurses, student nurses, farm or ranch labor and students in schools and colleges while actually attending such schools and colleges during their session or in vacation and who are working their way through such school or college, either in whole or in part.

SEC. 19.—The fact that there is now no law covering this matter and that the welfare of the women and minors of Texas demand suitable legislation creates an emergency and an imperative public necessity requiring that the constitutional rule requiring bills to be read on three several days be suspended and the same is hereby suspended, and that this Act shall take effect from and after the date of its passage, and it is so enacted.

[Approved April 3, 1919.]

Utah.

Enacted in 1913. (*Chapter 68.*) *Amended in 1917.* (*Chapter 49.*)

AN ACT to establish a minimum wage for female workers, providing a penalty for violation of the provisions of this act, and providing for its enforcement.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Utah:

SECTION 1.—It shall be unlawful for any regular employer of female workers in the State of Utah to pay any woman (female) less than the wage in this section specified, to wit:

For minors, under the age of eighteen years, not less than seventy-five cents per day; for adult learners and apprentices not less than ninety cents per day; provided, that the learning period or apprenticeship shall not extend for more than one year; for adults who are experienced in the work they are employed to perform, not less than one dollar and twenty-five cents per day.

SEC. 2.—All regular employers of female workers shall give a certificate of apprenticeship for time served to all apprentices.

SEC. 3.—Any regular employer of female workers who shall pay to any woman (female) less than the wage specified in Section 1 of this act, shall be guilty of a misdemeanor.

SEC. 4.—Repealed.

[Approved March 18th, 1913.]

Enacted in 1917. (Chapter 100.) Amended in 1919 (Chapter 63), and in 1921, (Chapter 67). See Compiled Laws, 1917, Title 49.

AN ACT creating the Industrial Commission of Utah.

3061. [*As amended, Laws* 1919, *Ch.* 63.]

There is hereby created the Industrial Commission of Utah, to be composed of three members, who shall be appointed by the Governor, by and with the advice of the Senate, one member of said Commission shall be appointed for a term of two years, one member for a term of four years and one member for a term of six years from the first Monday in January, 1919; and thereafter each member shall be appointed for a term of six years. Not more than two members of the Commission shall belong to the same political party.

SECTION 3076.—It shall also be the duty of the commission, and it shall have full power, jurisdiction, and authority:

1. To administer and enforce all laws for the protection of life, health, safety, and welfare of employes; . .

SEC. 3094.—[*As amended, Laws* 1921, *Ch.* 67.]—Every employer shall furnish the commission, upon request, all information required by it to carry out the purpose of this title. In the month of July of each year, every employer shall prepare and mail to the commission at the state capitol, Salt Lake City, Utah, a statement containing the following information, viz: The number of employes employed during the preceding year from July 1 to June 30, inclusive; the number of such employees employed at each kind of employment; and the scale of wages paid to each class of employment, showing the minimum and maximum wage paid, and the aggregate amount of wages paid to all employees; which information shall be furnished on a blank or blanks to be prepared by the commission; and it shall be the duty of the commission to furnish such blanks to employers free

of charge, upon request therefor. Every employer shall cause said blanks to be properly filled out so as to answer fully and correctly all questions therein propounded, and to give all the information therein sought, or if unable to do so, he shall give to the commission, in writing, good and sufficient reasons for such failure. The commission may require the information herein required to be furnished to be certified under oath and returned to the commission within the period fixed by it or by law. The commission, or any member thereof, or any person employed by the commission for that purpose, shall have the right to examine, under oath, any employer, or the officer, agent, or employee thereof, for the purpose of ascertaining any information which such employer is required by this title to furnish to the commission. Any employer who shall refuse to furnish to the commission the annual statement herein required, or who shall refuse to furnish such other information as may be required by the commission under authority of this section, or who shall wilfully furnish a false or untrue statement, shall be liable to a penalty of not to exceed $500 for each offense, to be collected in a civil action brought against said employer in the name of the state; all such penalties, when collected, shall be paid into the state treasury.

[Approved March 18, 1913.]

Washington.

Enacted in 1913. (*Chapter 174.*) *Amended in 1915.* (*Chapter 68.*)

AN ACT to protect the lives, health, morals of women and minors, workers, establishing an industrial welfare commission for women and minors, prescribing its powers and duties, and providing for the fixing of minimum wages and the standard condition of labor for such workers and providing penalties for violation of the same, and making an appropriation therefor.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Washington:

SECTION 1.—The welfare of the State of Washington demands that women and minors be protected from conditions of labor which have a pernicious effect on their health and morals. The State of Washington, therefore, exercising herein its police and sovereign power declares that inadequate wages and unsanitary conditions of labor exert such pernicious effect.

SEC. 2.—It shall be unlawful to employ women or minors in any industry or occupation within the State of Washington under conditions of labor detrimental to their health or morals; and it shall be unlawful to employ women workers in any industry within the State of Washington at wages which are not adequate for their maintenance.

SEC. 3.—There is hereby created a commission to be known as the "Industrial Welfare Commission" for the State of Washington, to establish such standards of wages and conditions of labor for women and minors employed within the State of Washington, as shall be held hereunder to be reasonable and not detrimental to health and morals, and which shall be sufficient for the decent maintenance of women.

SEC. 4.—Said commission shall be composed of five

persons, four of whom shall be appointed by the governor, as follows: The first appointments shall be made within thirty (30) days after this act takes effect; one for the term ending January 1st, 1914; one for the term ending January 1st, 1915; one for the term ending January 1st, 1916; and one for the term ending January 1st, 1917: *Provided, however,* That at the expiration of their respective terms, their successors shall be appointed by the governor to serve a full term of four years. No person shall be eligible to appointment as commissioner hereunder who is, or shall have been at any time within five years prior to the date of such appointment a member of any manufacturers' or employers' association or of any labor union. The governor shall have the power of removal for cause. Any vacancies shall be filled by the governor for the unexpired portion of the term in which the vacancy shall occur. The Commissioner of Labor of the State of Washington shall be *ex-officio* member of the commission. Three members of the commission shall constitute a quorum at all regular meetings and public hearings.

SEC. 5.—The members of said commission shall draw no salaries. The commission may employ a secretary, whose salary shall be paid out of the moneys hereinafter appropriated. All claims for expenses incurred by the commission shall, after approval by the commission, be passed to the state auditor for audit and payment.

SEC. 6.—It shall be the duty of the commission to ascertain the wages and conditions of labor of women and minors in the various occupations, trades and industries in which said women and minors are employed in the State of Washington. To this end, said commission shall have full power and authority to call for statements and to examine, either through its members or other authorized representatives, all books, pay rolls or other records of all persons, firms and corporations employing females or minors as to any matters that would have a bearing upon the question of wages of labor or conditions of labor of said employes.

SEC. 7.—Every employer of women and minors shall keep a record of the names of all women and minors employed by him, and shall on request permit the commission or any of its members or authorized representatives to inspect such record.

SEC. 8.—For the purposes of this act a minor is defined to be a person of either sex under the age of eighteen (18) years.

SEC. 9.—The commission shall specify times to hold public hearings, at which times employers, employes or other interested persons may appear and give testimony as to the matter under consideration. The commission shall have power to subpœna witnesses and to administer oaths. All witnesses subpœnaed by the commission shall be paid the same mileage and per diem allowed by law for witnesses before the superior court in civil cases.

SEC. 10.—If, after investigation, the commission shall find that in any occupation, trade or industry, the wages paid to female employes are inadequate to supply them necessary cost of living and to maintain the workers in health, or that the conditions of labor are prejudicial to the health or morals of the workers, the commission is empowered to call a conference composed of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees in the occupation or industry in question, together with one or more disinterested persons representing the public; but the representatives of the public shall not exceed the number of representatives of either of the other parties; and a member of the commission shall be a member of such conference and chairman thereof. The commission shall make rules and regulations governing the selection of representatives and the mode of procedure of said conference, and shall exercise exclusive jurisdiction over all questions arising as to the validity of the procedure and of the recommendations of said conference. On request of the commission, it shall be the duty of the conference to recommend to the commission an estimate of the minimum wage adequate in the occupa-

tion or industry in question to supply the necessary cost of living, and maintain the workers in health, and to recommend standards of conditions of labor demanded for the health and morals of the employees. The findings and recommendations of the conference shall be made a matter of record for the use of the commission.

SEC. 11.—Upon the receipt of such recommendations from a conference, the commission shall review the same and may approve any or all of such recommendations, or it may disapprove any or all of them and recommit the subject or the recommendations disapproved of, to the same or a new conference. After such approval of the recommendations of a conference the commission shall issue an obligatory order to be effective in sixty (60) days from the date of said order, or if the commission shall find that unusual conditions necessitate a longer period, then it shall fix a later date, specifying the minimum wage for women in the occupation affected, and the standard conditions of labor for said women; and after such order is effective, it shall be unlawful for any employer in said occupation to employ women over eighteen (18) years of age for less than the rate of wages, or under conditions of labor prohibited for women in the said occupation. The commission shall send by mail so far as practicable to each employer in the occupation in question a copy of the order, and each employer shall be required to post a copy of said order in each room in which women affected by the order are employed. When such commission shall specify a minimum wage hereunder the same shall not be changed for one year from the date when such minimum wage is so fixed.

SEC. 12.—Whenever wages or standard conditions of labor have been made mandatory in any occupation, upon petition of either employers or employes the commission may at its discretion reopen the question and reconvene the former conference or call a new one, and any recommendations made by such conference shall be dealt with in the same manner as the original recommendations of a conference.

SEC. 13.—For any occupation in which a minimum rate has been established, the commission through its secretary may issue to a woman physically defective or crippled by age or otherwise, or to an apprentice in such class of employment or occupation as usually requires to be learned by apprentices, a special license authorizing the employment of such licensee for a wage less than the legal minimum wage; and the commission shall fix the minimum wage for said person, such special license to be issued only in such cases as the commission may decide the same is applied for in good faith and that such license for apprentices shall be in force for such length of time as the said commission shall decide and determine is proper.

SEC. 14.—The commission may at any time inquire into wages, and conditions of labor of minors, employed in any occupation in the state and may determine wages and conditions of labor suitable for such minors. When the commission has made such determination in the cases of minors it may proceed to issue an obligatory order in the manner provided for in section 11 of this act, and after such order is effective it shall be unlawful for any employer in said occupation to employ a minor for less wages than is specified for minors in said occupation, or under conditions of labor prohibited by the commission for said minors in its order.

SEC. 15.—Upon the request of the commission the Commissioner of Labor of the State of Washington shall furnish to the commission such statistics as the commission may require.

SEC. 16.—Any employer who discharges, or in any other manner discriminates against any employe because such employe has testified or is about to testify, or because such employer believes that said employe may testify in any investigation or proceedings relative to the enforcement of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of from twenty-five dollars ($25.00) to one hundred dollars ($100.00) for each such misdemeanor.

SEC. 17.—Any person employing a woman or minor for whom a minimum wage or standard conditions of labor have been specified, at less than said minimum wage, or under conditions of labor prohibited by the order of the commission; or violating any other of the provisions of this act, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall, upon conviction thereof, be punished by a fine of not less than twenty-five dollars ($25.00) nor more than one hundred dollars ($100.00).

SEC. 17½.—Any worker or the parent or guardian of any minor to whom this act applies may complain to the commission that the wages paid to the workers are less than the minimum rate and the commission shall investigate the same and proceed under this act in behalf of the worker.

SEC. 18.—If any employe shall receive less than the legal minimum wage, except as hereinbefore provided in section 13, said employe shall be entitled to recover in a civil action the full amount of the legal minimum wage as herein provided for, together with costs and attorney's fees to be fixed by the court, notwithstanding any agreement to work for such lesser wage. In such action, however, the employer shall be credited with any wages which have been paid upon account.

SEC. 19.—All questions of fact arising under this act shall be determined by the commission and there shall be no appeal from its decision upon said question of fact. Either employer or employe shall have the right of appeal to the superior court on questions of law.

SEC. 20.—The commission shall biennially make a report to the governor and state legislature of its investigations and proceedings.

SEC. 21.—There is hereby appropriated annually out of any moneys of the state treasury not otherwise appropriated, the sum of five thousand dollars ($5,000.00) or as much thereof as may be necessary to meet the expenses of the commission.

[Approved March 24, 1913.]

Acts of 1915. (Chapter 68.)

Employment of Women and Children by Telephone Companies:

SECTION 1.—The Industrial Welfare Commission is hereby authorized, in such manner as it shall deem advisable, and upon notice and hearing to parties directly affected thereby, to ascertain and establish such standards of wages, hours of work and conditions of labor of women and minors employed in the telephone industry in rural communities and in cities of less than three thousand (3000) population, as shall be found to be reasonable and not detrimental to the health and morals of such women and minors and which shall be sufficient for the decent maintenance of such women and minors, and notwithstanding any statute heretofore passed or regulation of such commission heretofore made relative thereto: Provided, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed to amend or repeal any law or any regulation relating to wages, hours of labor or conditions of labor of women or minors excepting as in this act authorized.

[Approved March 15, 1915.]

Acts of 1921. (Chapter 7.) Administrative Code.

AN ACT relating to, and to promote efficiency, order and economy in, the administration of the government of the state, prescribing the powers and duties of certain officers and departments, defining offences and fixing penalties, abolishing certain offices, and repealing conflicting acts and parts of acts.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Washington:

SECTION 1.—This act shall be known and may be cited as the administrative code.

SEC. 2.—There shall be, and are hereby created, departments of the state government which shall be known respectively as, (1) the department of public works, (2)

the department of business control, (3) the department of efficiency, (4) the department of taxation and examination, (5) the department of health, (6) the department of conservation and development, (7) the department of labor and industries, (8) the department of agriculture, (9) the department of licenses, and (10) the department of fisheries and game; which departments shall be charged respectively with the execution, enforcement, and administration of such laws, and invested with such powers and required to perform such duties, as the legislature may provide.

SEC. 3.—There shall be a chief executive officer of each of the departments of the state government created by this act, to be known respectively as, (1) the director of public works, (2) the director of business control, (3) the director of efficiency, (4) the director of taxation and examination, (5) the director of health, (6) the director of conservation and development, (7) the director of labor and industries, (8) the director of agriculture, (9) the director of licenses, and (10) the director of fisheries and game; who shall be appointed by the governor with the consent of the senate, and hold office at the pleasure of the governor: *Provided,* That, if the senate be not in session when this act takes effect, and in case a vacancy occurs while the senate is not in session, the governor shall make a temporary appointment until the next meeting of the senate, when he shall present to the senate his nomination for the office.

SEC. 19.—The director of each department created by this act shall have the power to prescribe rules and regulations, not inconsistent with law, for the government of his department, the conduct of its subordinate officers and employees, the disposition and performance of its business, and the custody, use, and preservation of the records, papers, books, documents, and property pertaining thereto.

SEC. 20.—Each department created by this act shall maintain its principal office at the state capital in rooms

provided by the department of business control. The director of each department may, with the approval of the governor, establish and maintain branch offices at other places than the state capital for the conduct of one or more of the functions of his department.

SEC. 74.—The department of labor and industries shall be organized into, and consist of, three divisions, to be known respectively as, (1) the division of industrial insurance, (2) the division of safety, (3) the division of industrial relations. The director of labor and industries shall receive a salary of not to exceed seventy-five hundred dollars per annum, and have power to appoint such clerical assistants as may be necessary for the general administration of the department.

SEC. 77.—The director of labor and industries shall have power to appoint and deputize an assistant director, to be known as the supervisor of industrial relations, who shall be the state mediator, have charge and supervision of the division of industrial relations, and, with the approval of the director, shall appoint an assistant to be known as the industrial statistician, and a female assistant to be known as the supervisor of women in industry, and have power to appoint and employ such assistant mediators, experts, clerks, and other assistants as may be necessary to carry on the work of the division.

SEC. 81.—The director of labor and industries shall have the power, and it shall be his duty, through and by means of the division of industrial relations:

(1) To promote mediation in, conciliation concerning, and the adjustment of, industrial disputes, in such manner and by such means as may be provided by law;

(2) To study and keep in touch with problems of industrial relations and, from time to time, make public reports and recommendations to the legislature;

(3) To, with the assistance of the industrial statistician, exercise all the powers and perform all the

duties in relation to collecting, assorting, and systematizing statistical details relating to labor within the state, now vested in, and required to be performed by, the secretary of state, and to report to, and file with, the secretary of state duly certified copies of the statistical information collected, assorted, systematized, and compiled, and in collecting, assorting, and systematizing such statistical information to, as far as possible, conform to the plans and reports of the United States department of labor;

(4) To, with the assistance of the industrial statistician, make such special investigations and collect such special statistical information as may be needed for use by the department or division of the state government having need of industrial statistics;

(5) To, with the assistance of the supervisor of women in industry, supervise the administration and enforcement of all laws respecting the employment and relating to the health, sanitary conditions, surroundings, hours of labor, and wages of women and minors:

(6) To exercise all the powers and perform all the duties, not specifically assigned to any other division of the department of labor and industries, now vested in, and required to be performed by, the commissioner of labor;

(7) To exercise such other powers and perform such other duties as may be provided by law.

SEC. 82.—The director of labor and industries, the supervisor of industrial insurance, the supervisor of industrial relations, the industrial statistician, and the supervisor of women in industry shall constitute a committee, of which the director shall be chairman, and the supervisor of women in industry shall be executive secretary, which shall have the power, and it shall be its duty:

(1) To exercise all the powers and perform all the duties now vested in, and required to be performed by, the industrial welfare commission.

SEC. 135.—From and after the thirty-first day of March, 1921, the following offices, boards, commissions, bureaus and departments of the state government heretofore created by law shall be and are hereby abolished, viz.: the industrial welfare commission, the industrial insurance department, the bureau of labor, the commissioner of labor. . . .

SEC. 136.—All acts and part of acts in conflict with the provisions hereof are hereby repealed as of March 31, 1921.

SEC. 137.—If any section or provision of this act shall be adjudged to be invalid or unconstitutional, such adjudication shall not affect the validity of the act as a whole or any section, provision, or part thereof not adjudged invalid or unconstitutional.

SEC. 138. Whereas the revenues of the state are insufficient to support the state government and its existing public institutions as at present organized, and whereas it is necessary that the existing administrative agencies of the state government be consolidated and coordinated in order to bring the cost of supporting the state government and its existing institutions within the possible revenues of the state, therefore this act is necessary for the support of the state government and its existing public institutions, and shall take effect immediately.

[Approved February 9, 1921.]

Wisconsin.

Enacted in 1913. (Chapter 712.)

AN ACT to create Sections 1729s—1 to 1729s—12, inclusive, of the statutes, relating to the establishment of a living-wage for women and minors, and making an appropriation, and providing a penalty.

The people of the State of Wisconsin, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

SECTION 1729s—1. The following terms as used in Sections 1729s—1 to 1729s—12, inclusive, shall be construed as follows:

(1) The term "employer" shall mean and include every person, firm or corporation, agent, manager, representative, contractor, subcontractor or principal, or other person having control or direction of any person employed at any labor or responsible directly or indirectly for the wages of another.

(2) The term "employee" shall mean and include every person who is in receipt of or is entitled to any compensation for labor performed for any employer.

(3) The term "wage" and the term "wages" shall each mean any compensation for labor measured by time, piece or otherwise.

(4) The term "welfare" shall mean and include reasonable comfort, reasonable physical well-being, decency, and moral well-being.

(5) The term "living-wage" shall mean compensation for labor paid, whether by time, piece-work or otherwise, sufficient to enable the employee receiving it to maintain himself or herself under conditions consistent with his or her welfare.

SEC. 1729s—2. Every wage paid or agreed to be paid by any employer to any female or minor employee,

except as otherwise provided in sections 1729s—7, shall be not less than a living-wage.

SEC. 1729s—3. Any employer paying, offering to pay, or agreeing to pay to any female or minor employee a wage lower or less in value than a living-wage shall be deemed guilty of a violation of sections 1729s—1 to 1729s—12, inclusive, of the statutes.

SEC. 1729s—4. It shall be the duty of the industrial commission, and it shall have power, jurisdiction and authority to investigate, ascertain, determine and fix such reasonable classifications, and to issue general or special orders, determining the living wage, and to carry out the purposes of sections 1729s—1 to 1729s—12, inclusive, of the statutes. Such investigations, classifications and orders, and any action, proceeding, or suit to set aside, vacate or amend any such order of said commission, or to enjoin the enforcement thereof, shall be made pursuant to the proceeding in sections 2394—41 to 2394—70, inclusive,* of the statutes, which are hereby made a part hereof, so far as not inconsistent with the provisions of sections 1729s—1 to 1729s—12 inclusive, of the statutes; and every order of the said commission shall have the same force and effect as the orders issued pursuant to said sections 2394—41 to 2394—70, inclusive, of the statutes, and the penalties therein shall apply to and be imposed for any violation of sections 1729s—1 to 1729s—12, inclusive, of the statutes.

SEC. 1729s—5. After July 1, 1913, the industrial commission may, upon its own initiative, and after July 1, 1914, the industrial commission shall, within twenty days after the filing of a verified complaint of any person setting forth that the wages paid to any female or minor employee in any occupation are not sufficient to enable such employee to maintain himself or herself under conditions consistent with his or her welfare, investigate and determine whether there is reasonable

*Industrial commission act.

cause to believe that the wage paid to any female or minor employee is not a living wage.

SEC. 1729s—6. If, upon investigation, the commission finds that there is reasonable cause to believe that the wages paid to any female or minor employee are not a living-wage, it shall appoint an advisory wage board, selected so as fairly to represent employers, employees and the public, to assist in its investigations and determinations. The living-wage so determined upon shall be the living-wage for all female or minor employees, within the same class as established by the classification of the commission.

SEC. 1729s—7. The industrial commission shall make rules and regulations whereby any female or minor unable to earn the living-wage theretofore determined upon, shall be granted a license to work for a wage which shall be commensurate with his or her ability. Each license so granted shall establish a wage for the licensee, and no licensee shall be employed at a wage less than the rate so established.

SEC. 1729s—8. 1. All minors working in an occupation for which a living-wage has been established for minors, and who shall have no trade, shall, if employed in an occupation which is a trade industry, be indentured under the provisions of sections 2377 to 2386,* inclusive, of the statutes.

2.—A "trade" or a "trade industry" within the meaning of this act shall be a trade or an industry involving physical labor and characterized by mechanical skill and training such as render a period of instruction reasonably necessary. The industrial commission shall investigate, determine and declare what occupations and industries are included within the phrase a "trade" or a "trade industry."

3. All minors working in an occupation for which a living-wage has been established for minors, but which is

*Industrial commission act.

not a trade industry, who have no trade, shall be subject to the same provisions as minors between the ages of fourteen and sixteen as provided in sections 1728c—1† of the statutes.

4. The Industrial commission may make exceptions to the operation of subsections 1 and 2 of this section where conditions make their application unreasonable.

SEC. 1729s—9. Every employer employing three or more females or minors shall register with the industrial commission, on blanks to be supplied by the commission. In filling out the blank he shall state separately the number of females and the number of minors employed by him, their age, sex, wages and the nature of the work at which they are employed, and shall give such other information relative to the work performed and the wages received as the industrial commission requires. Each employer shall also keep a record of the names and addresses of all women and minors employed by him, the hours of employment and wages of each, and such other records as the industrial commission requires.

SEC. 1729s—10. Any employer who discharges or threatens to discharge, or in any way discriminates, or threatens to discriminate against any employee because the employee has testified or is about to testify, or because the employer believes that the employee may testify, in any investigation or proceeding relative to the enforcement of this act, is guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction thereof shall be punished by a fine of twenty-five dollars for each offense.

SEC. 1729s—11. Each day during which any employer shall employ a person for whom a living-wage has been fixed at a wage less than the living-wage fixed shall constitute a separate and distinct violation of sections 1729s—1 to 1729s—12, inclusive, of the statutes.

SEC. 1729s—12. Any person may register with the industrial commission a complaint that the wages paid

†Industrial education act.

to an employee for whom a living-wage has been established, are less than that rate, and the industrial commission shall investigate the matter and take all proceedings necessary to enforce the payment of a wage not less than the living-wage.

[Approved July 31, 1914.]

Porto Rico.

Enacted in 1919. (Chapter 45.)

AN ACT establishing minimum wages for working women, and for other purposes.

SECTION 1.—It shall be unlawful for any employer of women, girls inclusive, in industrial occupations, or commercial, or public-service undertakings in Porto Rico, to pay them wages lower than those specified in this Section, to wit:

Women under 18 years of age at the rate of four (4) dollars a week, and over said age at the rate of six (6) dollars a week. The first three weeks of apprenticeship shall be exempt from the provisions of this Section. The provisions of this Act shall not be applicable to agriculture and agricultural industries.

SEC. 2.—Any employer paying any woman, girls included, wages lower than those specified in Section 1 shall be guilty of misdemeanor, and upon conviction shall be punished by fine not to exceed fifty (50) dollars nor less than five (5) dollars.

SEC. 3.—The Bureau of Labor shall be intrusted with the enforcement of this Act.

SEC. 4.—All laws or parts of laws in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

SEC. 5.—This Act shall take effect ninety days after its approval.

[Approved June 9, 1919.]

(2) Constitutional Provisions Validating Minimum Wage Statutes.

Ohio.

Ohio Constitution—Amendment of 1912.

Article II. Labor Legislation.

SECTION 34.—Laws may be passed fixing and regulating the hours of labor, establishing a minimum wage commission, and providing for the comfort, health, safety and general welfare of all employees; and no other provision of the Constitution shall impair or limit this power.

California.

California Constitution. Article XX.

SECTION 17½.—The legislature may, by appropriate legislation provide for the establishment of a minimum wage for women and minors and may provide for the comfort, health, safety and general welfare of any and all employees. No provision of this constitution shall be construed as a limitation upon the authority of the legislature to confer upon any commission now or hereafter created such power and authority as the legislature may deem requisite to carry out the provisions of this section. (Adopted at the general election November 3, 1914, by an 84,000 majority.*)

Nebraska.

Nebraska Constitution—Amendments of 1920.

ARTICLE XV. SEC. 8.—Laws may be enacted regulating the hours and conditions of employment of women and children, and securing to such employees a proper minimum wage. (Adopted September 21, 1920, by a majority of 57,695.)**

*Third Biennial Report, California Industrial Welfare Commission, 1917-1918, Pages 7, 8.
**Letter from the Secretary of State.

(3) Committee Appointed to Draft Law.

Missouri.

Missouri. General Assembly. Joint and Concurrent Resolution. February 17, 1921.

WHEREAS, There is a great demand throughout the state for the enactment of legislation looking to the establishment of a minimum wage for female workers, and

WHEREAS, The problem of drafting a measure which will meet and effectually solve the problem presented by the wage situation as well as the industrial developments of the state, and at the same time be within the bounds of the Constitution of Missouri, presents one of great perplexities and a problem which demands for its legislation deliberate consideration and thought, therefore be it

RESOLVED: By the Senate, the House concurring herein, that a committee consisting of three Senators, to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, and three members of the House, to be appointed by the Speaker of the House, from the body of the House and Senate, and three women to be named by the Governor, to be known as the Minimum Wage Commission, be appointed for the purpose of drafting a minimum wage law suited to the needs of the industrial condition of the State of Missouri, and the said commission be required to make report to the Legislature at the next regular session of the Legislature; and that the sum of $500.00 be set aside out of the contingent fund of the House and Senate to pay the actual expenses of such commission, including the printing of their report.

2. Great Britain.

The Trade Boards Acts, 1909 and 1918 (9 Edw. VII, Chap. 22.) (8 & 9 Geo. V, Chap. 32.)

[1918] 1.—(1) The Trade Boards Act, 1909 (in this Act referred to as "the principal Act") shall apply to the trade specified in the Schedule to that Act and to any other trades to which it has been applied by a provisional order made under section one of that Act or by a special order made under this Act by the Minister of Labour (in this Act referred to as "a special order").

(2) The Minister of Labour (in this Act referred to as "the Minister") may make a special order applying the principal Act to any specified trade to which it does not at the time apply if he is of the opinion that no adequate machinery exists for the effective regulation of wages throughout the trade, and that accordingly, having regard to the rate of wages prevailing in the trade, or any part of the trade, it is expedient that the principal Act should apply to that trade.

(3) If at any time the Minister is of opinion that the conditions of employment in any trade to which the principal Act applies have been so altered as to render the application of the principal Act to the trade unnecessary, he may make a special order withdrawing that trade from the operation of the principal Act.

(4) If the Minister is of the opinion that it is desirable to alter or amend the description of any of the trades specified in the Schedule to the principal Act, he may make a special order altering or amending the said Schedule accordingly.

(5) Any Act confirming a provisional order made in pursuance of section one of the principal Act may be repealed or varied by a special order.

(6) Section one of the principal Act shall cease to have effect.

[1918] 2. (1) Every special order shall without confirmation by Parliament have effect as if enacted in this Act and may be varied or revoked by a subsequent special order.

(4) Every special order shall be laid before each House of Parliament forthwith, and if an Address is presented to His Majesty by either House within the next subsequent forty days on which that House has sat after the order has been so laid, praying that the order may be annulled, His Majesty may annul the order, and it shall thenceforth be void, but without prejudice to the validity of anything previously done thereunder or to the power of making a fresh order.

[1909] 2.—(1) The Board of Trade shall, if practicable establish one or more Trade Boards constituted in accordance with regulations made under this Act for any trade to which this Act applies or for any branch of work in the trade.

Where a Trade Board is established under this Act for any trade or branch of work in a trade which is carried on to any substantial extent in Ireland, a separate Trade Board shall be established for that trade or branch of work in a trade in Ireland.

Minimum Rates of Wages.

[1918] 3.—(1) The following provision shall be substituted for the first paragraph of subsection (1) of section four of the principal Act (which relates to the duties and powers of Trade Boards with respect to minimum rates of wages):

"Every Trade Board shall, subject to the provisions of this section, fix a minimum rate of wages for time-work in their trade (in this Act referred to as 'a general minimum time-rate') and may also fix for their trade—

"(a) A general minimum rate of wages for piece-work (in this Act referred to as 'a general minimum piece-rate');

"(b) A minimum time-rate (which shall not be higher than the general minimum time-rate) to apply in the case of workers employed on piece-work for the purpose of securing to such workers a minimum rate of remuneration on a time-work basis (in this Act referred to as 'a guaranteed time-rate');

"(c) A minimum rate (whether a time-rate or a piece-rate) to apply, in substitution for the minimum rate which would otherwise be applicable, in respect of hours worked by a worker in any week or on any day in excess of the number of hours declared by the Trade Board to be the normal number of hours of work per week or for that day in the trade (in this Act referred to as 'an overtime rate');

"Any of the minimum rates aforesaid may be fixed so as to apply universally to the trade or so as to apply to any special process in the work of the trade or to any special area, or to any class of workers in the trade, or to any class of workers in any special process or in any special area."

(2) The power of a Trade Board under the principal Act to fix a minimum rate of wages shall include the power to fix a series of minimum rates to come into operation successively on the expiration of specified periods, and the power to vary a minimum rate shall include the power so to vary a rate that the variation shall be operative only during a specified period.

(4) Where a Trade Board fix a minimum rate so as to apply to any class of workers in a trade they may, if they think it expedient so to do, attach to the fixing of the minimum rate the following conditions; that is to say,—

(a) A condition that workers who are members of the class must be the holders of certificates to that effect issued by the Trade Board; and

(b) If the class consists of persons who are learning the trade, such conditions as the Trade Board think necessary for securing the effective instruction of those persons in the trade.

If any condition so attached is not complied with in the case of any worker, he shall be deemed not to be a member of the class, and where a condition with respect to the holding of a certificate is so attached, the Trade Board shall issue a certificate to a person applying therefor on production of evidence to their satisfaction that the applicant is a member of the class.

[1909] 6.—(1) Where any minimum rate of wages fixed by a Trade Board has been made obligatory by order of the Board of Trade under this Act, an employer shall, in cases to which the minimum rate is applicable, pay wages to the person employed at not less than the minimum rate clear of all deductions, and if he fails to do so shall be liable on summary conviction in respect of each offence to a fine not exceeding twenty pounds and to a fine not exceeding five pounds for each day on which the offence is continued after conviction therefor.

[1918] 5.—(4) The following provisions shall be inserted at the end of subsection (1) of section six of the principal Act:

"In the foregoing provision, the expression 'deductions includes deductions for or in respect of any matter whatsoever (other than deductions under the National Insurance Act, 1911, as amended by any subsequent enactments or deductions authorized by any Act to be made from wages in respect of contributions to any superannuation or other provident fund), and notwithstanding that they are deductions which may lawfully be made from wages under the provisions of the Truck Acts, 1831 to 1896, and where any payment being a payment authorized to be received by an employer under section one, section two, or section three of the Truck

Act, 1896, is made by any employed person to his employer, the employer shall, for the purposes of the foregoing provision, be deemed to have deducted that amount from wages."

[1909] 6.—(2) On the conviction of an employer under this section for failing to pay wages at not less than the minimum rate to a person employed, the court may by the conviction adjudge the employer convicted to pay, in addition to any fine, such sum as appears to the court to be due to the person employed on account of wages, the wages being calculated on the basis of the minimum rate, but the power to order the payment of wages under this provision shall not be in derogation of any right of the person employed to recover wages by any other proceeding.

[1918] 5.—(5) The following provisions shall be substituted for subsections (3) and (4) of section six of the principal Act:

"(3) If a Trade Board are satisfied that any worker employed or desiring to be employed in any branch of a trade to which a general minimum time-rate, a guaranteed time-rate, or a time-work overtime rate is applicable is affected by any infirmity or physical injury which renders him incapable of earning that minimum rate and, where the worker is not already employed on piece-work, are of opinion that the case cannot suitably be met by employing him on piece-work, the Trade Board may, if they think fit, grant to the worker, subject to such conditions, if any, as they prescribe, a permit exempting the employment of the worker from the provisions of this Act relating to the payment of wages at less than the minimum rate, and while the permit is in force the employer shall not be liable for paying wages to the worker at a rate less than the minimum rate so long as the conditions prescribed by the Trade Board on the grant of the permit are complied with.

"A Trade Board may, if they think fit, delegate their powers under this subsection to a committee consisting of such number of persons, being members of the Board, as the Board may think fit, so, however, that the members of the Board on the committee representing employers and the members of the Board on the committee representing workers shall be in equal proportions.

"(4) It shall be the duty of every employer in a trade to which a minimum rate is applicable, to keep such records of wages as are necessary to show that the provisions of this Act are being complied with as respects persons in his employment, and if he fails to do so he shall be liable on summary conviction in respect of each offense to a fine of not exceeding two pounds, and also to a fine not exceeding one pound for every day during which the default continues after conviction.

"On any prosecution of a person for failing to pay wages at not less than the minimum rate, it shall lie on that person to prove that he has not paid wages at less than the minimum rate."

[1918] 8. For the purpose of calculating the amount of the wages payable in the case of a worker employed on any work for which a minimum rate of wages has been fixed under the principal Act, the worker shall be deemed to have been employed during all the time during which he was present on the premises of the employer, unless the employer proves that he was so present without the employer's consent, express or implied, or that he was so present for some purpose unconnected with his work and other than that of waiting for work to be given to him to perform, and in the case of a worker employed on piece-work shall be deemed during any time during which he was so present and was not doing piece-work to have been employed at the general minimum time-rate applicable to workers of the class to which he belongs:

Provided that—

(a) where a worker resides on the premises of the employer he shall not be deemed to be employed during any time during which he is present on the premises by reason only of the fact that he is so resident; and

(b) a worker while present during normal meal times in a room or place in which no work is being done shall be deemed to be present for a purpose unconnected with his work.

Constitution, Proceedings, etc., of Trade Boards.

[1909] 11.—(1) The Board of Trade may make regulations with respect to the constitution of Trade Boards which shall consist of members representing employers and members representing workers (in this Act referred to as representative members) in equal proportions and of the appointed members.

(2) Women shall be eligible as members of Trade Boards as well as men.

(3) The representative members shall be elected or nominated, or partly elected and partly nominated as may be provided by the regulations, and in framing the regulations the representation of home workers on Trade Boards shall be provided for in all trade in which a considerable proportion of home workers are engaged.

(4) The chairman of a Trade Board shall be such one of the members as the Board of Trade may appoint, and the secretary of the Trade Board shall be appointed by the Board of Trade.

[1909] 12.—(1) A Trade Board may establish district trade committees consisting partly of members of the Trade Board and partly of persons not being mem-

bers of the Trade Board but representing employers or workers engaged in the trade and constituted in accordance with regulations made for the purpose by the Board of Trade. . . .

(3) A Trade Board may refer to a district trade committee for their report and recommendations any matter which they think is expedient so to refer, and may also, if they think fit, delegate to a district trade committee or any sub-committee thereof any of their powers and duties under this Act, other than their power and duty to fix a general minimum time-rate and their power to fix a general minimum piece-rate, a guaranteed time-rate, a piece-work basis time-rate, and an overtime rate.

(4) Where a district trade committee has been established for any area, it shall be the duty of the committee to recommend to the Trade Board general minimum time-rates and, so far as they think fit, general minimum piece-rates, guaranteed time-rates, piece-work basis time-rates, and over-time rates, applicable to the trade in that area, and no such minimum rate of wages fixed under this Act and no variation or cancellation of such a rate shall have effect within that area unless either the rate or the variation or cancellation thereof, as the case may be, has been recommended by the district trade committee, or an opportunity has been given to the committee to report thereon to the Trade Board, and the Trade Board have considered the report (if any) made by the committee.

[1909] 13. (1) The Board of Trade may appoint such number of persons (including women) as they think fit to be appointed members of Trade Boards.

(2) Such of the appointed members of Trade Boards shall act on each Trade Board or district trade committee as may be directed by the Board of Trade, and, in the case of a Trade Board for a trade in which women are

largely employed, at least one of the appointed members acting shall be a woman:

Provided that the number of appointed members acting on the same Trade Board, or the same district trade committee, at the same time, shall be less than half the total number of members representing employers and members representing workers.

(3) Canada. [Extracts.]

Alberta.

The Factories Act, 1917. (*Chapter 20.*) *Amended in 1919* (*Chapter 4*), *in 1920* (*Chapter 40*), *in 1921* (*Chapter 41*), *and in 1922* (*Chapter 81*).

16. The provisions of this Act shall apply to shops, offices and office buildings in cities and towns having a population exceeding 5,000, and to all factories within the province.

24.—(2) No person shall be employed by any employer in any factory, shop, office or office building at a wage less than $1.50 per shift, except in the case of apprentices who may be paid a wage of not less than $1.00 per shift.

26a. Repealed. [Statutes, 1922, Ch. 81.]

The Minimum Wage Act, 1922. (*Chapter 81.*)

2. (c) "Employee" shall mean a female worker employed in any trade or occupation who works for wages, except domestic servants in private houses.

3. This Act shall only apply to employment in the places designated in schedule A hereto.

4. The Lieutnant Governor in Council may appoint three members to constitute a Minimum Wage Board, one of whom shall be appointed as representing employers, the second as representing the employed and the third as representing the province at large.

(2) The Lieutenant Governor in Council shall also name one of the members as chairman of the board.

(3) Two members of the board shall constitute a quorum.

5. The board may enquire into the conditions prevailing in any class of employment and the scale of

wages payable therefor, and in conducting such inquiry shall have all the powers conferred upon a commissioner under *An Act respecting Inquiries concerning Public Matters.*

6. The board may at any time direct a conference between representatives of employees and employers in any class of employmnt, for the purpose of reaching an agreement as to the minimum wage, and any matter referred to in section 10 herein, which ought to be paid in that class of employment.

(2) Every such conference shall consist of an equal number of representatives of employees and employers approved of by the board and of the chairman of the board sitting as chairman of the conference.

(3) Such number shall be fixed by the board.

(4) The chairman shall not vote.

7. The agreement, if any, arrived at by a majority of the conference shall be submitted in writing to the board, but a minority report may also be made.

8. The board may at any time by order, whether a conference has been held under the provisions of this Act or not, establish a minimum wage for employees with regard to any trade or occupation, and with regard to any municipality to which this Act applies or any number of such municipalities.

(2) A minimum wage may be established separately for employees classified as handicapped, or part time employees, or as apprentices.

13. Every agreement by an employee to work for less than the minimum wage fixed by the board with respect to the trade or occupation in which she is engaged shall have effect as if that minimum wage were stipulated for therein.

18. The provisions of Section 24 of *The Factories Act* as to a minimum wage and any other statutory pro-

vision with regard thereto shall not be applicable to any employee in respect of whom a minimum wage has been fixed by this Act.

Schedule A.

Calgary	75,000	Blairmore	1,550
Edmonton	65,000	Camrose	1,895
Lethbridge	13,000	Cardston	1,593
Medicine Hat.....	11,000	Coleman	1,583
Red Deer	3,000	Drumheller	2,054
Wetaskiwin	2,500	Redcliff	

[Assented to March 28, 1922.]

British Columbia.

Minimum Wage Act, 1918. (*Chapter 56.*) *Amended in 1919* (*Chapter 61*), *and in 1921* (*Chapter 40*).

3. For the purposes of administering and carrying out the provisions of this Act, there shall be in the Department of Labour of this Province a Board, to be called the "Minimum Wage Board," which shall consist of three members, one of whom shall be the Deputy Minister of Labour, who shall be Chairman of the Board, and the other members shall be appointed by and hold office during the pleasure of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council. One member of the Board shall be a woman. Two members of the Board shall constitute a quorum.

5. It shall be the duty of the Board to ascertain the wages paid and the hours and conditions of labour and employment in the various occupations, trades, and industries in which females are employed in this Province, and to fix the minimum wage, the maximum hours, and such conditions of labour and employment as in the opinion of the Board seem necessary or expedient for the welfare of employees. The Board shall have full power and authority, either by any member of the Board or by any duly authorized representative, to inspect and examine any and all books, pay-rolls, and other records of any employer that in any way appertain to or have any bearing upon the question of wages, hours, or conditions of labour and employment of any employees, and to take extracts from or make copies of any entries in such books, pay-rolls, and records, and to require from any employer full and true statements of the wages paid to his employees and the hours and conditions of labour and employment of such employees. A register of the names, ages, and residence address of all employees shall be kept by employers.

7. If, after investigation, the Board shall find that in any occupation, trade, or industry the wages paid to employees are inadequate or the hours of labour are ex-

cessive, the Board is empowered to call a conference composed of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees in the occupation or industry in question, together with one or more disinterested persons representing the public; but the representatives of the public shall not exceed the number of representatives of either of the other parties; and a member of the Board shall be a member of such conference and chairman thereof. The Board may make rules and regulations governing the selection of representatives and the mode of procedure of said conference, and shall exercise exclusive jurisdiction over all questions arising as to the validity of the procedure and of the recommendations of said conference. On request of the Board, it shall be the duty of the conference to recommend to the Board an estimate of the minimum wage proper in the occupation or industry in question, and adequate to supply the necessary cost of living, and also, when so requested, to recommend the maximum hours of labour proper in the occupation or industry. The findings and recommendations of the conference shall be made a matter of record for the use of the Board.

8. (1) [As amended, Statutes 1921, Ch. 40.]

Upon the receipt of such recommendations from a conference, the Board shall review the same, and may approve any or all of such recommendations, or it may disapprove any or all of them and recommit the subject of the recommendations disapproved of to the same or a new conference. After such approval of the recommendations of a conference the Board shall issue an obligatory order specifying the minimum wage for employees in the occupation affected and may also specify such maximum hours of labour and such conditions of labour and employment as are deemed necessary or expedient for the welfare of the employees.

(2) Where by any order heretofore or hereafter issued by the Board under this section in respect of any occupation, trade, or industry a minimum wage for in-

experienced employees is fixed at a rate less than the minimum wage fixed by the order for experienced employees, no employer in that occupation, trade, or industry shall hereafter employ any employee over eighteen years of age at a wage less than the minimum wage so fixed for experienced employees, unless the employee is the holder of a license under section 10, and is employed in conformity with the provisions of that section. (Page 413.)

10. (1) [Amendment, Statutes 1921, Ch. 40.]

In the case of women who are physically defective, and in the case of female apprentices over eighteen years of age in any occupation in which apprentices are usually employed, the Board may in respect of any occupation, trade, or industry as to which a minimum wage has been fixed issue to any such woman or apprentice a special license authorizing her employment in that occupation, trade, or industry at a minimum wage, to be fixed in the license, less than the minimum wage fixed for that occupation.

(2) In the case of women over eighteen years of age who are desirous of learning any occupation, trade, or industry in respect of which a minimum wage has been fixed, and in which apprentices are not usually employed, and who have not had sufficient experience, in the opinion of the Board, or as defined in any order of the Board relating to that occupation, trade, or industry, to qualify them as experienced employees therein, the Board may in respect of that occupation, trade, or industry issue to any such woman a special license authorizing her employment in that occupation, trade, or industry at a minimum wage according to the rate fixed in the order for inexperienced employees, or, if no rate has been fixed therein for inexperienced employees, at a minimum wage, to be fixed by the Board in the license, less than the minimum wage fixed for that occupation, trade, or industry.

(3) Every special license under this section shall be issued only in the discretion of the Board, and in cases where the Board is satisfied that the application therefor is made in good faith, and shall remain in force for such period as is fixed by the Board.

(4) The number of employees holding special licenses under this section employed in any plant or establishment shall not exceed one-seventh of the whole number of the employees in that plant or establishment: Provided, that in any plant or establishment where less than seven employees are employed one employee holding a special license may be employed.

(5) The aggregate number of employees holding special licenses under this section and employees under eighteen years of age employed in any plant or establishment shall not exceed thirty-five per centum of the whole number of the employees in that plant or establishment.

15. This Act shall not apply to farm-labourers, fruit-pickers, or domestic servants or their employers.

[Assented to April 23, 1918.]

Manitoba.

The Minimum Wage Act, 1918 (*Chapter 38.*) *Amended in 1919* (*Chapter 54*).

2. (e) "Employee" means and includes every female worker employed in any mail order house, shop, office, place of amusement, or factory in any city in Manitoba who is in receipt of or is entitled to compensation for labor performed for any such employer.

(f) "Shop" means and includes any barber shop and any building or portion of a building, booth, stall or place where goods are exposed or offered for sale by retail and without limiting the generality of the foregoing means and includes all places where the trade or business carried on is that of a tobacconist, news-agent, messenger service, hotel, inn, tavern, victualling house, restaurant, or refreshment house, and sale by retail shall be deemed to include sale by auction.

3. (1) For the purpose of this Act there is hereby created a board, to be called "The Minimum Wage Board," to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, on the recommendation of the Minister, and to consist of five persons as follows:

(a) Two representatives of employers, one of whom shall be a female.

(b) Two representatives of employees, one of whom shall be a female.

(c) One disinterested person to be chairman of the Board, who shall not be directly or indirectly connected with employers or employees.

4. The said Board is hereby authorized and empowered to ascertain and declare, and to make all necessary orders relative to:

(a) Standards of minimum wages for employees, and what wages are adequate to supply the necessary cost of living to employees, and maintain them in health.

(b) Standards of hours of employment for employees, and what are reasonable hours for employees in any occupation within the meaning of this Act.

(c) Standards of conditions of labor for employees, and what surroundings or conditions, sanitary or otherwise, are essential to the health or morals of employees in any such occupation.

9. The Board may at its discretion make an order extending the provisions of this Act to any portion of Manitoba not in any city, and any such order when made shall have the same force and effect as if such portion of Manitoba were part of a city.

[Assented to March 6, 1918.]

Nova Scotia.

Minimum Wage for Women Act, 1920. (*Chapter 11.*)

AN ACT to provide for fixing a minimum wage for women employed in factories and shops.

2. In this Act unless the context otherwise requires—

(e) the expression "Employee" means any female person who is in receipt of or who is entitled to any compensation for the labour or services performed in a factory or shop;

3. (1) There shall be a board to be called "The Minimum Wage Board."

(2) There shall be five members of the Board, two of whom shall be females.

(3) The members of the Board shall be appointed by the Governor-in-Council and may be paid such compensation for their services and expenses as the Governor-in-Council determines.

4. (1) The Board shall have authority—

(a) to ascertain and declare what wages are adequate to furnish the necessary cost of living to employees and where not inconsistent with the provisions of the Nova Scotia Factories Act or Chapter 124 Revised Statutes, 1900, what are reasonable hours and proper sanitary conditions and requirements for those employed in factories or in shops, or in any particular factory or in any particular shop, or in any class of factories or in any class of shops;

(b) to establish standards of minimum wages and of hours of employment for such employees;

(c) for the purpose of this section to make all necessary orders.

11. Every employer who employs an employee at less than the minimum wage to which she is entitled, or

who violates any other provision of this Act, or of any order or regulation of the Board shall be liable on summary conviction to a penalty of not less than $25.00 and not more than $100.00.

14. This Act shall apply only to the Cities and Incorporated Towns of Nova Scotia, but from time to time the Governor-in-Council on the recommendation of the Board may order that this Act shall apply to any portion of the Province outside of a City or Incorporated Town, and thereupon, this Act shall apply to the portion of the Province mentioned in such order.

15. This Act shall come into force on, from and after and not before such day as the Governor-in-Council orders and declares by proclamation.

[Passed May 15, 1920.]

Ontario.

The Minimum Wage Act, 1920. (*Chapter 87.*) *Amended in 1921* (*Chapter 78*) *and in 1922* (*Chapter 91*).

2. (d) "Employee" shall mean and include every female person in any trade or occupation in Ontario who works for wages;

3. For the purposes of this Act there shall be established a board composed of five persons, two of whom shall be women, appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council, and the board shall be a body corporate under the name of "The Minimum Wage Board."

11. [As Amended Statutes 1922, Ch. 91.]

The Board shall have authority to conduct such investigations as it may deem necessary for the purpose of ascertaining the wages, hours and conditions prevailing in any class of employment, and for this purpose shall possess all powers that may be conferred upon a Commissioner under *The Public Inquiries Act.*

12. [As Amended Statutes 1922, Ch. 91.]

(1) After due inquiry, the board may establish a minimum wage and the maximum number of hours per week for which such minimum wage shall be paid. The board may also establish a rate of wage for all time worked in excess of the established maximum number of hours per week.

(1-a) A wage lower than the minimum wage may also be established by the board for employees classified as handicapped or part time employees or as apprentices.

(2) The board shall have power upon petition of employers or employees, or upon its own motion, to temporarily suspend or vary any of its orders, or to revise them in accordance with special or changed conditions in any industry or establishment.

(3) The board shall have the power to make different orders for the same industry or industries in different localities of the province, when in the judgment of the board different conditions in different localities justify such action.

13.—(1) Where it is made to appear to the board that the scale of wages or the method of determining the same, payable to any class of employees, is inadequate or unfair the board may direct a conference between representatives of employers and employees in the class of employment in question for the purpose of reaching an agreement and recommending to the board minimum wages to be payable in that class of employment.

(2) The board may provide for the selection of such representatives by the employers and employees respectively, but every conference shall consist of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees respectively.

14.—(1) The board shall appoint a disinterested person to be chairman of the conference.

(2) The chairman shall not vote in the conference but may advise and direct the representatives of the conference as to their procedure and shall to the best of his ability assist the conference in arriving at a just conclusion.

15. The conference shall, forthwith, proceed to the investigation and discussion of the matters at issue and for this purpose the majority of the members, exclusive of the chairman, shall constitute a quorum.

16. The conference shall report its conclusions to the board in writing, signed by the chairman, but a minority of the members of the conference may make a separate report to the board. Failure of the conference to come to an agreement touching the matters in dispute shall be reported by the chairman of the conference to the board.

17. Upon the receipt of the report of the chairman of the conference the board with or without further enquiry

or investigation, may, by order in writing signed by the chairman of the board:

(a) Remit the matter of difference to the same or a new conference for consideration;

(b) Or forthwith establish a minimum wage in the class of employment in question.

22. (1) Every employer who contravenes an order of the board by the payment of wages of less amount than that fixed by the board shall be guilty of an offence and shall incur a penalty not exceeding $500 and not less than $50 for each employee affected, and in addition thereto shall upon conviction be ordered to pay to such employees the difference between the wages actually received and the minimum wage fixed by the board.

[Assented to June 4, 1920.]

Quebec.

The Woman's Minimum Wage Act, 1919. (*Chapter 11.*)

2. This Lieutenant-Governor in Council may appoint, under the direction of the Minister of Public Works and Labour, a commission consisting of three members, one of whom shall be the Deputy Minister of Labour or any other person designated by the Minister and who shall be the chairman thereof, and the two others shall be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council during good pleasure. One of such members may be a woman. Two members of the commission shall be a quorum.

4. The jurisdiction of the commission shall extend to all the industrial establishments of the Province as defined in articles 3829 and 3830 of the Revised Statutes, 1909.

6. If the commission is of opinion that the wages or salaries paid in an industrial establishment coming within the purview of this act, are insufficient, it may convene in a conference a number of persons who shall be selected one-half by the employers and one-half by the employees, and add a number of disinterested persons to it. One of the members of the commission shall form part of such conference and preside at the same.

After hearing the employers and employees, such conference shall, by the vote of the majority of the members constituting it, determine the minimum wage to be paid to the women employed in the special industry in question.

The commission may enact such rules as it may deem necessary regarding the selection of the members of the conference, and may determine the procedure to be followed thereat.

7. The decision of the conference shall be submitted to the commission, which may approve, reject or amend the same. It may order the holding of a new conference.

The decision of the commission fixing a minimum wage shall be binding upon employers and employees.

12. Every employer who employs a woman at wages lower than those fixed under the provisions of this Act, after the decision of the commission has come into force, shall incur a penalty of not more than fifty dollars, recoverable on summary conviction before any court of competent jurisdiction.

[Assented to March 17, 1919.]

Saskatchewan.

The Minimum Wage Act, 1919. (*Chapter 84.*) *Amended, 1919-1920* (*Chapter 78*), *and 1921-1922* (*Chapter 72*). *Revised Statutes, 1920* (*Chapter 186*).

2. (2) "Employee" includes every female worker employed in a shop or factory in any city in Saskatchewan who works for hire:

3.—(1) There shall be a board, to be called the "Minimum Wage Board," to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor in Council and to consist of five persons, two of whom shall be females.

4. [As amended, Statutes 1921-1922, Ch. 72.]

(1) The board shall have authority:

(*a*) to ascertain and declare what wages are adequate to furnish the necessary cost of living to employees; and, subject to the provisions of *The Factories Act,* what are reasonable hours and proper sanitary conditions and requirements for those employed in any occupation to which this Act applies;

(*b*) to establish standards of minimum wages, of hours of employment and, subject to the provisions of *The Factories Act* and of *The Public Health Act,* of sanitary conditions and requirements for such employees, to determine what number or proportion of the employees in a shop or factory may be apprentices, and for the purposes of this section to make all necessary orders.

12. An employer who violates the provisions of this Act or of any order or regulation of the board, shall be guilty of an offence and liable upon summary conviction before a police magistrate to a fine of not less than $10 nor more than $100, and in default of payment to imprisonment for not less than ten days nor more than three months.

14. This Act shall apply to the cities of Saskatchewan, but the board may at its discretion make an order extending its provisions to any portion of the province not contained within a city, and thereupon the Act shall apply to the prescribed area in all respects as if it were part of a city.

[Assented to February 5, 1919.]

Addenda to extracts from Canadian minimum wage laws.

Power conferred on government officials:

To issue special licenses to defective women and apprentices: Alta., Sec. 6, 16 (b); B. C., Sec. 10 (1), (2), (3); Man., 10; N. S., 9; Ont., 18 (e); Que., 9; Sas., 9.

To limit number of special licenses: Alta., 16 (b); B. C., 10 (4), (5); Ont., 18 (e).

To investigate for compliance: Alta., Sec. 12; Man., 13; Sas., 13.

To compel attendance of witnesses: Alta., Sec. (e); B. C., 6; Man., 7 (a); N. S., 6; Que., 5; Sas., 5 (a).

To examine under oath: Man., 7 (a); Sas., 5 (a).

To compel production of records: Alta., Sec. 16 (a); Man., 7 (b); N. S., 7; Ont., 18 (d); Que., 5; Sas., 5 (b).

To examine records: Alta., Sec. 15; B. C., 5; Man., 11; Que., 4.

To require registry of employees: Alta., Sec. 15; B. C., 5; Man., 11; N. S., 8; Sas., 8.

To require posting of notices: B. C., 8; Ont., 21; Que., 7.

Powers, privileges and immunities of commissioners appointed under the Public Inquiries Act, 1919: B. C., Sec. 6; N. S., 5; Ont. 11.

Penalties to employers for contravention of the law: Alta., Secs. 11, 12 (2), 14 (2); B. C., 12, 13; Man., 17; N. S., 11; Ont., 22; Que., 12; Sas., 12.

Liability of employers because of discrimination against employees: Alta., 14; B. C., Secs. 12, 13; Man., 16; N. S., 10; Sas., 11.

Employees' right to recover back wages from employers: B. C., Sec. 14; Man., 14; N. S., 12; Que., 11; Sas., 10.

4. In Other Foreign Countries.

Minimum wage legislation in other foreign countries, the Argentine, France and Norway, is aimed to prevent sweating in home work.

(1) In the Argentine.

Great Britain. Labour Gazette. Trade Boards in the Argentine. New Law. [Fall 1918]. February, 1919.

The law applies to all persons without distinction of sex (other than domestic servants) "who execute at home habitually or vocationally, work or manual labor for other person's account."

Trade boards are to be set up by the National Department of Labour for every industry in which home workers are employed in towns. The trade boards are to be composed of equal representatives of the employers and of the work people. . . . When the trade boards are considering the determination of a minimum rate of wages they are to take into consideration the nature of the work, the price paid locally for the article manufactured, the minimum wage received by the work people in the factories of the district which produce the same or a similar article, local habits, house rents and the prices of food in the district; and the value of the commodities or tools necessary to the worker to carry on his employment. Every owner . . . who employs outworkers is to keep a register of them, which is to be open to inspection. (Page 43.)

International Labour Office. International Labour Review. Geneva. April, 1922.

II. The Labour Code of Salta (Argentine Republic).

The Federal Government of the Argentine Republic had already enacted legislation relating to the employment of women and children (Act No. 5291 of 1907)[41] and

[41] English translation in *Bulletin of the International Labour Office* (Basle), 1908, Vol. III, p. 27.

to industrial accidents (Act No. 9688 of 1915)[44], but under the constitution it is left to each Province individually to adopt these measures as a whole or in part to suit the conditions prevailing in the different districts. Up to the end of 1915 the Province of Salta had adopted only the regulations concerning the notification of accidents[45], but on 7 May, 1921, a labour code incorporating the majority of these provisions and further dealing with hours of work, the minimum wage, contracts of work, etc., was adopted by the Legislature of this Province on the proposal of the Executive, under the title of Guemes Act[46]. (Page 669.)

The payment of a fixed minimum daily wage to adult workers is compulsory (§ 28). This varies according to the district and amounts to 4 pesos in the capital of the province, 3 pesos in industrial and agricultural districts, and 2 pesos in certain specified districts, plus an increase of 50 centavos in cattle-breeding areas. These scales of payment do not apply to persons engaged in domestic service (§ 29). (Page 670.)

(2) In France.

U. S. Department of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. Minimum Wage Law in France. December, 1915.

France adopted the principle of the minimum wage by enacting a law on July 10, 1915, providing for the fixing by special boards of such a wage for women employed in home work in the clothing industry. The law was enacted unanimously by the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. Its origin [is due] to sweating women in home work; and [the Minister of Labor states] although partly a war measure it is nevertheless a piece of permanently valuable legislation.

The law applies more particularly to the execution of work at home in the manufacture of clothing, hats, boots,

[44] Text in *Boletin del Departamento nacional del Trabajo*, 1918, p. 137.
[45] See *Boletin del Departamento nacional del Trabajo*, 1918, p. 131.
[46] Text in *Cronica Mensual del Departamento nacional del Trabajo*, 1921, p. 701.

and shoes, white goods, embroidery, lace, feathers, and artificial flowers. The application of the law [may be extended] to other trades by a ministerial order.

The law provides for the establishment of special wage boards in the principal town of each Department [unless] councils of labor [exist] consisting of [elected] employers and employees in equal number.*

Three steps in the establishment of the minimum wage are to be noted: (1) The determination of the customary or ruling rates of wages which can be earned by a woman of average capacity working 10 hours per day by the labor council or special wage board; (2) determination of the minimum time required . . . to make a completed article by a special board of trade experts; (3) the final fixing by employers of the resulting rates for the particular piece of work to be executed by the home worker. (Pages 36-37.)

(3) In Norway.

U. S. Department of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. Minimum Wage Legislation in Norway. September, 1918.

A law of February 15, 1918, which took effect July 1, creates for Norway a home workers commission or board. The fact that the law continues in effect only five years—*i. e.*, to June 30, 1923—suggests the experimental nature of the legislation. The commission is composed of a non-partisan chairman and vice-chairman and at least two additional members, but not more than four, representing equally workers and employers in the trades within the scope of the act. Women may be appointed to membership by the Crown equally with men. Special wage boards are to be established in the trades covered whenever the commission deems it advisable or upon request of at least six workers or employers in any trade. These wage boards may be appointed for a single trade, for the

*Wage boards were established in 22 departments and minimum wages determined. (U. S. Dept. of Labor. Monthly Labor Review. Vol. 3. No. 3. Sept., 1916. P. 7)

related branches of a trade, for a locality, or for a group of localities.

The home workers commission is given authority to investigate and study labor conditions in all places where home work is carried on, to recommend legislation, and to fix minimum wages in certain limited occupations. The authority of the commission in the matter of fixing minimum wages is limited to home work in the manufacture of clothing and articles of needlework. Subsequent governmental regulations will define such trades, and may also add other trades and occupations. If the home workers commission finds wages inadequate in any of the trades specified it appoints a wage board to fix minimum wages, and the award of such board is subject to modification and revision by the commission before being published and put into effect. The rates may be revised at any time during the continuance of an award if it is found that the award is adversely affecting the workers in a trade or if home work is being displaced as a result of the award.

In fixing minimum rates consideration is to be given to the customary rates in any locality for the same or similar work, and the existing relationship between the rates in factory and home work so that factory work may not come to displace home work. The earnings of a worker of average ability are to be taken as the standard. Piece rates may also be fixed by wage boards.

Every employer and intermediary is required to keep a separate register of home workers employed, the list to be filed each year with the local inspecting authorities and with the commission. (Pages 204-205.)

PART THIRD

THE NEED FOR MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION FOR WOMEN IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AND GENERALLY IN THE UNITED STATES.

1. The Wages of Women.

(1) In Certain Industries and Occupations the Level of Wages Is Below the Cost of Living.

Recent authoritative statistics show that in certain industries, the average wage is too low to maintain the workers in health judged even by the most meagre standard. In these low paid industries some workers earn a living wage but their number is inconsiderable.

In the more skilled industries certain occupations do not pay a living wage, for example, stemming and stripping tobacco and banding cigars, quilling and winding silk, and machine operating on house dresses.

In certain states or cities wages are low in skilled occupations which ordinarily command the best wages.

District of Columbia.

Senate. Sixty-fifth Congress, Second Session. Report No. 486. Minimum Wage. Submitted by Mr. Hollis, from the Committee on the District of Columbia.

The Need.

Owing to the increasing cost of living during the past few years, Congress has judged it wise to raise the

salary scale of the Government employees, and a bill providing further increases is now pending. The wages of women and girls in general occupations, however, have not been proportionately increased; in fact, have only slightly risen.

A large proportion of working women in the District of Columbia are now living on wages which do not come up to the reasonable standard set in this bill; that is, to supply the necessary cost of living to maintain them in health and to protect their morals.

In making this statement we do not speak without facts, but quote the figures of the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics in its investigation of the cost of living in the District of Columbia.

Of 600 women employed in stores, factories, laundries, etc., almost half (46 per cent) were earning less than $8 per week; over half (53 per cent) were earning less than $9 per week; and 64 per cent were earning less than $10 per week.

Meanwhile the cost of living rises steadily. The retail price of food rose 30 per cent between 1916 and 1917. Food which cost $1 in 1913 cost $1.46 in 1917.

This great increase obviously has a vital effect on the standards of living of all classes, and hence of the working girl or woman, whether she lives alone or with her family.

Of the 600 women investigated in 1917, 186, or 31 per cent lived away from home, 55 per cent were entirely self-supporting, and 128, or 21 per cent, had others wholly or partly dependent upon them. They were not inexperienced workers, for of the 316 receiving less than $9 per week, 145, or 46 per cent, had been working more than five years. (Pages 2-3.)

The Pin-Money Fallacy.

Another fallacy disproved by investigation in many States and in the District of Columbia is the so-called

"pin-money" theory that girls and women do not need to work and hence may be paid any wage, however low. These investigations prove that an ascertained proportion of wage-earning girls and women work to support themselves alone away from home (31 per cent of the 600 interviewed in the District of Columbia belong to this class); that another group lives at home but is self-supporting (55 per cent of the 600 interviewed in the District); and that another group is not only self-supporting but has others dependent upon them (21 per cent of the District of Columbia workers belonged in this class).

Hence obviously the level of wages must be sufficient at least for decent self-support and must not be dragged down by the wholly negligible proportion of working women who are not in need of wages. (Page 5.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Review. January, 1918. Cost of Living in the District of Columbia.

Fourth Article—Wage-Earning Women: Who They Are and What They Do.

As a part of the cost of living study in the District of Columbia for the year 1916 a special study was made of wage-earning women. This special study was made for the purpose of finding out how working women live, with special reference to the manner in which they apportion the expenditure of their incomes as between food, clothing, room rent, and the other items of expense. The study was confined to women receiving incomes less than $1,100 a year. (Page 1.)

It is of immense importance to know how these women live, whether they live at home or away from home, whether their meager earnings are supplemented out of the general family funds or whether their earnings must support the wage earner and help out the insufficient income of the family, and whether they obtain sufficient nourishment, clothing, and the other essentials

to enable them to live healthy and comfortable lives. Of course in some instances women receiving higher incomes have such demands to meet as force them down to or below the "poverty line." Also it may be argued that the extravagance of the better paid women workers is as significant, economically and socially, as the rigorous economy of the poorly paid women. For the purpose of this study this argument is of no importance.

In the selection of women workers to furnish the information required in this study the effort was made to obtain a fair representation from the various industrial employments open to women in the city of Washington. No occupations, except those of trained nurse, domestic servant, and washerwoman, were excluded.

Except in a few very unusual cases, such as protracted illness, no woman was included who had not worked during at least nine calendar months of the year 1916, unless the occupation was seasonal in character and so failed to furnish nine months' employment during the year. Thus the merely occasional or intermittent workers were excluded, and the study limited to women who were regularly engaged in wage-earning employments.

This study is based upon schedules for the year 1916, secured through personal visits and interviews by agents of the bureau. These interviews were obtained either at the girl's home or her place of employment, in the latter case through the cooperation of her employer, who allowed her to be questioned during working hours. In almost all instances the women visited were willing to give the desired information. In the final tabulation of results only those schedules were used in which the information obtained was believed to be complete and accurate.

The total number of schedules thus obtained was 676, of which 600 were from white women and 76 from colored women. The present article is concerned solely with the former group, inasmuch as the industrial employment and living conditions of the two races were

found to be too dissimilar to permit of combined treatment. Also, it is to be noted that this article is limited to a general consideration of the personal and working conditions of the 600 white wage-earning women. (Pages 1-2.)

Industries and Occupations Represented.

The employments engaged in by the 600 women were as follows: United States Government employees, 63; office clerks, stenographers, and cashiers in private employment, 172; saleswomen, 192; telephone operators, 38; factory workers, 95; waitresses in hotels and restaurants, 12; and laundry workers, 28.

The employments here represented may be taken as fairly typical of woman's work in the District of Columbia, although the numbers shown are not necessarily proportionate to the total numbers engaged in the several industries. This is particularly true of the employees of the Federal Government, as no effort was made to cover at all fully the better paid Government employees. Of the 63 for whom schedules were obtained the majority were operatives and printers' assistants at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. The others were clerks and stenographers in various departments, employees of the Congressional Library and Capitol, and one charwoman. Two school-teachers and one librarian employed by the District of Columbia are also here included as Government employees.

As regards the factory work covered, a word of reminder is necessary. Washington is unique among the large cities of the country in having very few manufacturing industries. Those existing are mostly small, and, altogether, employ comparatively few persons. The women here classed as factory workers represent a number of miscellaneous trades—box making, cigar manufacture, candy making, tailoring, printing, and publishing. A number of seamstresses and milliners are also included in this group. (Pages 2-3.)

Race, Marital Condition, Age, and Experience.

As practically all of the women covered were either native Americans or of English-speaking families of long residence, no racial separation seemed necessary. The race factor, indeed, except that of white and colored, seems to be of very little significance among the wage-earning women of the District, either as regards wage-earning capacity or as regards living conditions.

As regards marital condition, 542 of the 600 women were single, while 58 had been married and were either widowed, divorced, or separated at the time of the investigation. It is interesting to note that 15 of the 58 married women had children dependent on them for support.

In the matter of age there was a wide distribution. None was under 16 years of age, and only 26, or 4 per cent, were between 16 and 18 years, whereas 142, or 24 per cent, were between 18 and 21, and 432, or 72 per cent, were 21 years of age or over. There were 144, or 24 per cent, 30 years old and above. One very interesting case was that of a woman of 75, so crippled with rheumatism that she could not get out without great difficulty, trying to save herself from dependence by doing dressmaking.

Also, these women were not beginners in industry. Not less than 62 per cent had been wage earners for at least five years, and as many as 5 per cent had been wage earners for 20 years or more.

Annual Income.

The lowest income received by any of these workers was $130.50 per year. This was received by a sales girl, age 17, her maximum wage being $4 per week, and 10 weeks being lost through inability to find work. There were only two other girls who had received less than $150 per year. But 274, or 46 per cent of the total, received under $400 per year—approximately $8 per week—and 381, or 64 per cent, received under $500 per year

—approximately $10 per week. Only 35 women, or 6 per cent, received as much as $800 a year—approximately $16 per week.

The following table shows the distribution of the 600 women by annual income and age groups. The annual income here referred to is the total amount of money income received during the year. Gifts of new articles were credited as money income, but no other gifts except actual money were so included. In all cases the earnings from labor constituted the major part of total income, but in a limited number of cases money gifts from parents and relatives, and returns from savings and investments were of considerable importance. (Pages 3-4.)

Age and Annual Income.

Annual Income	Total	Under 18	18 and under 21	21 and under 25	25 and under 30	30 and under 40	40 and over
Under $300	133	21	53	25	9	8	17
$300 and under $400	141	3	53	51	14	13	7
$400 and under $500	107	1	14	33	29	14	16
$500 and under $600	88	1	9	32	28	15	3
$600 and under $700	53	.....	7	15	13	13	5
$700 and under $800	43	.....	3	5	18	11	6
$800 and under $1,100	35	.....	3	6	10	14	2
Total	600	26	142	167	121	88	56

(Page 4.)

Wages and Years of Service.

The present study was not a wage investigation.[1] It was concerned primarily with the cost and manner of living of working women, and here the determining factor is the total amount of annual income, not the daily or weekly wage rate.

Nevertheless the wage rates at which this group of 600 women were working are very significant, and particularly so when studies in relation to the number of

[1] An investigation of hours, earnings, and duration of employment of wage-earning women in the District of Columbia was made in 1913 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The results were published in Bulletin 116.

years at work. That an inexperienced girl or woman should start work at a low wage is not especially important, although the wage of apprentice girls should bear some relation to the cost of living. There is a widespread notion, however, that a woman who lives at home ought to be willing and grateful to work for wages insufficient to support a woman living independently of all family assistance. Aided and abetted by this hoary economic fallacy many parasitic industries and trades have been able to live and even to achieve much prosperity on the subsidies contributed by working women. It ought not to be necessary to point out, that no woman who is mentally competent and who has worked at an occupation long enough to acquire proficiency ought to be required or requested to work for a wage insufficient to enable her to live in reasonable comfort. Industries or occupations, if such there be, which can not live except on the subsidies from family incomes contributed by exploited women and child workers, ought to die—the sooner the better for the nation and the world at large.

It is therefore extremely significant to note that the majority of the women covered by this study were not only working at distressingly low wages, but that a very large proportion of them were women who had been wage earners for many years. Thus of a total of 600, 316, or 53 per cent, were receiving less than $9 per week at the end of the year 1916, and of these 316, 145, or 46 per cent, had been engaged at some gainful work for five years or more. Still more striking is the fact that of 80 women who had been at work for 15 years barely one-third were receiving as much as $12 per week. The detailed data on this point are shown in the following table, which gives the wage rates of women employees classified according to the number of years they had been working for wages. For convenience of comparison all wages and salaries are shown on a weekly basis. In this table the data are for all occupations combined. Data for separate employments are given in Table 2 at the end of this article. (Pages 6-7.)

Weekly wages	Total	Number of women working specified number of years for wages								
		1 and under 2	2 and under 3	3 and under 4	4 and under 5	5 and under 10	10 and under 15	15 and under 20	20 and under 30	30 and under 60
Under $6	89	24	16	13	10	15	3	2	3	3
$6 and under $7	84	9	15	13	11	23	7	5	.....	1
$7 and under $8	63	4	9	6	4	29	6	2	2	1
$8 and under $9	80	10	8	10	9	29	8	3	1	2
$9 and under $10	48	2	1	5	4	23	4	4	2	3
$10 and under $12	104	3	8	3	9	43	22	9	6	1
$12 and under $15	77	1	3	5	4	21	27	12	3	1
$15 and under $20	55	1	2	3	1	24	10	11	2	1
Total	600	54	62	58	52	207	87	48	19	13

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. A Study of the Wages of Women Employed as Cleaners, Maids and Elevator Operators in Office Buildings, Banks and Theatres and as Car Cleaners in the District of Columbia. April and May, 1920.

Pay roll data were collected for a total of 604 women. Of these, 247 were employed as car cleaners by the rail transportation companies. Only two of these car cleaners received less than $18 a week; the majority, 83%, were rated at $21.60 a week. Taking as a standard the wages set by previous conferences these women were receiving more than a living wage. Hence for the purposes of this study they need not be considered further.

The body of this report is therefore limited to an analysis of the wages of 357 women, 310 of whom were employed in office buildings, banks and similar buildings, 261 as cleaners, 30 as elevator operators, 10 as forewomen or head cleaners and 9 as day-time maids or attendants, and 47 of whom were employed in theatres, 9 as maids and 38 as cleaners. (Page 1.)

Summary.

Pay roll data showed that of these 357 women, over one-fourth were paid less than $7 per week, one-half less

than $9 per week and nine-tenths less than $12 per week. In connction with these wage rates it should however be noted at the outset that the great majority of these women did not work the full number of hours common to women in other occupations. Approximately one-third of them worked less than 24 hours per week, one-half less than 36 hours per week and only one-fifth 42 hours or over. Obviously the short workday accounts in a measure for the low wages paid. But even when calculated on an hourly basis the rates are still low. Over one-fourth of the women concerned received less than 25¢ per hour—some being paid as little as 17¢—and two-thirds received less than 35¢ per hour. (Pages 1, 2.)

Table III. Number and Per Cent of Women Employed in Buildings and Theatres Receiving each Classified Hourly Rate, by Occupation.

Per Cent of Women With Hourly Rate of (Cumulative)—

Occupation	No. Investigated	Under 20c.	Under 25c.	Under 30c.	Under 35c.	Under 40c.	Under 45c.	Under 50c.	50c. and Over
Building Cleaners	261	16.1	28.7	38.3	69.3	97.3	97.3	97.3	2.7
Building Head Cleaners	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	30.0	40.0	40.0	60.0
Building Maids	9	66.7	100	100	100	100	100	100	.....
Building Elev. Operators	30	16.7	46.7	50.0	76.7	100	100	100	.....
Theatre Cleaners	38	.....	.....	.....	31.6	73.7	78.3	86.8	13.2
Theatre Maids	9	.....	22.2	22.2	77.8	100	100	100	.....
Total	357	14.8	28.0	35.3	65.0	93.3	93.9	95.0	5.0

(Computed.) (Page 7.)

Conclusion.

From the foregoing analysis of the wages of the 357 women employed as cleaners, maids and elevator operators in office buildings, banks, theatres, art galleries and similar institutions, certain conclusions may be drawn. If we start with the premise that every ordinary position should bring to the employee who holds it a wage at least sufficient to supply the necessities of

life, and, if we take as that minimum wage even the least sum arrived at by cost of living studies and by previous conferences held under the minimum wage law, then it must be concluded from a study of the pay roll records that practically all of the women included in this study, irrespective of occupation, were receiving less than a living wage.

On the other hand, however, it may be contended that an essentially part-time position which normally offers less than a full eight hours of work per day need yield as a minimum merely a wage which bears the same relation to a living wage as the number of hours worked bears to a full working week. On this basis the pay roll records and the estimates of the number of hours worked would show that only two-thirds of these women were receiving less than a living wage. (Page 10.)

Neither of these contentions is entirely sound. It would be more logical to take a position somewhere between these two extremes. For instance, if a woman works only four hours a day she has sufficient time left to make her own clothes, do her own laundry and even her own housekeeping. All this tends to decrease the expenditures necessary to maintain the proper standard of living. In this case, it may reasonably be argued that it actually costs a woman who works four or five hours a day less to live than it does one who works the full 48 hours a week. But this decrease in the cost of living of a woman working part time does not vary directly with the number of hours worked. The point is soon reached when no further reduction in cost can be made without undermining the standard of living. (Pages 10, 11.)

Back of the second contention, namely, that the wage paid should bear the same relation to the living wage as the number of hours worked bears to the full working week, lies the belief that a part time worker can secure other part time work sufficient to make up her full working week. It is no easy task to fit various part-time jobs in one with the other so as to make a consecu-

tive working day of eight hours. Either the working day is too short to yield the required minimum weekly wage, or too long to make for efficiency. Furthermore, it is rare that a worker can go directly from one job to another. Usually more or less time intervenes between the time of leaving one task and of beginning another. If only a few hours elapse, this time is practically wasted. A long period between tasks usually means broken hours of sleep and disorganized home life. Particularly is this true where one of the tasks is performed in the middle of the night. Even if the two or more jobs fitted in one with the other as to time, there would still be the loss of energy, money and time consumed in going from one place of work to the other. These difficulties attending the performance of more than one part-time job a day should be compensated for by a higher hourly rate where the employment offered is for less than the normal number of working hours. (Page 11.)

It should be remembered that two-thirds of the women included in this study would receive less than a living wage even if they secured additional employment sufficient to make up a full working day at similar rates of pay. If, bearing in mind that four-fifths of these women worked less than 42 hours per week, we accept the theory that part-time employment should be paid for at a higher hourly rate, then it must be conceded that considerably more than two-thirds of the women concerned received less than a living wage, the exact proportion depending upon the weight given the various factors considered above—too long or too short a working day, broken shifts, broken hours of rest, disorganized home life. (Pages 11, 12.)

But whether this theory is accepted or not, there can be no question but that a substantial number of the women employed as cleaners, maids, elevator operators in office buildings, banks, theatres and similar institutions in the District of Columbia were receiving less than a living wage. (Page 12.)

Nation-Wide Survey.

Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, No. 265. Industrial Survey in Selected Industries in the United States, 1919. Preliminary Report. May, 1920.

This Bulletin contains a summary report on the wages and hours of labor in 28* industries included in the industrial survey undertaken by the Bureau of Labor Statistics at the request of the War Industries Board. (Page 5.)

In the selection of industries the greatest weight was given to the number of wage earners employed in them. (Page 6.)

In determining which States should be covered in any industry the choice was made on the basis of the importance of the State in the industry, and not on the basis of the importance of the industry in the State.

For each industry in each State a sufficient number of representative establishments was included to insure fairly typical results. (Page 7.)

[Wage earners] who, either because of their youth or inexperience or partial incapacity, were receiving a wage distinctly below the normal; [were not included]. (Page 9.)

The hours and earnings used in computing the tables are in all instances hours actually worked and earnings actually received by individual employees. No establishment was taken unless some way could be discovered of determining the amount of bonus to which the employee became entitled as a result of his labor during the pay-roll period for which his wages were ascertained; and the amount put down as his earnings for the period consists of his wages plus the bonus. (Page 10.)

In many cases the pay rolls did not give [the hours actually worked for each individual], and it was necessary to have recourse to the time cards, and to determine for each employee the total hours worked by him by

*In seven industries, as coal mining, brick making, logging, etc., no women's wages were reported.

adding the hours worked day by day through the pay-roll period.

No establishment was included in the survey unless the management kept for the Bureau by special arrangement a careful day-by-day record of the time worked by each piece-worker during the selected pay-roll period.

In a large proportion of the establishments the schedules were filled out for a single pay-roll period. In a few cases, where the bonus period extended over two or more pay-roll periods, schedules covering the entire bonus period were filled out.

Every effort was made to eliminate so far as possible the disturbing effect of this factor [i. e., changes in the intensity of productive activity] of the situation by scheduling only establishments running full time. . . . (Page 11.)

The figure selected [to present time worked] is one representing the average number of hours per day actually worked by each employee.

The method adopted . . . was to divide the hours worked by each employee by the number of week days, excluding holidays, in the pay-roll period of the establishment in which he was employed. (Page 13.)

[The average earnings per hour were] found by dividing the total earnings of each employee by the number of hours actually worked by him during the pay-roll period. (Page 18.)

The information here presented, summarizing as it does the wages and hours of more than 400,000* wage earners, may be relied upon as furnishing a picture of industrial conditions at the time of the survey which is entirely accurate in its general outlines and reasonably so even in minor details. (Page 19.)

(a) Showing average earnings of women workers throughout the United States in 21 industries.

Industry	No. of States	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Glass	9	1,903	7.3	$0.231	$10.12
Confectionery	19	11,176	7.4	.231	10.25
Furniture	12	915	8.1	.214	10.40
Boxes, paper	10	4,297	7.5	.242	10.89
Chemicals	16	710	7.5	.272	12.24
Overalls	19	6,439	6.7	.305	12.26
Hosiery and underwear	15	13,374	7.6	.286	13.04
Leather	8	1,054	6.9	.317	13.12
Pottery	4	1,115	6.8	.324	13.22
Paper and pulp	14	1,947	8.0	.278	13.34
Typewriters	10	3,433	7.8	.300	14.04
Foundries	11	83	7.1	.333	14.19
Electrical machinery	8	1,618	7.6	.322	14.68
Clothing, men's	9	9,725	7.3	.338	14.80
Cigars	10	11,278	7.6	.326	14.87
Rubber	9	3,420	7.6	.326	14.87
Iron and steel	2	159	6.1	.419	15.34
Silk	7	5,608	7.8	.335	15.68
Machine tools	6	154	7.7	.345	15.94
Clothing, women's	7	6,782	7.4	.368	16.34
Automobiles	7	622	7.8	.380	17.78
Total	32	85,812	7.5	$0.301	$13.54

(Computed.) (Page 38.)

*Only the wages of the 85,812 women are summarized here.

b. Showing the lowest paid occupations in the 21 industries.*

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Boxes, paper					
Turners-in	38	306	7.4	$0.191	$8.48
Laborers	26	221	7.0	.218	9.16
Closers and inspectors	37	338	7.3	.212	9.29
Gluers-off	40	247	7.5	.212	9.54
Strippers and top and bottom paperers	58	733	7.7	.242	11.18
Table workers	73	1,258	7.6	.250	11.40
Scrappers	15	145	7.4	.269	11.94
Stayers up	66	324	7.6	.262	11.95
Coverers	47	272	7.9	.268	12.70
Gluing machine	22	217	7.6	.283	12.90
Chemicals					
Laborers	30	710	7.5	.272	12.24
Cigars					
Stemmers or Strippers, hand	71	2,342	7.4	.201	8.92
Banders, hand	53	370	6.6	.256	10.14
Stemmers or Strippers, machine	44	381	7.4	.234	10.39
Clothing, men's					
Hand sewers, pants	42	440	7.2	.281	12.14
Clothing, Women's: Dresses and Waists					
Cleaners	22	104	7.3	.261	11.43
House dresses					
Operators, general	15	440	7.2	.281	12.14

*Occupations omitted for which the average earnings of less than 100 women were reported.

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Operators, special machine	14	103	7.7	.274	12.66
Confectionery					
Laborers	51	857	7.5	.203	9.14
Dippers, machine	68	1,296	7.3	.220	9.64
Packers	99	5,090	7.3	.224	9.81
Wrappers	62	1,253	7.5	.228	10.26
Candy makers' helpers	31	209	7.8	.230	10.76
Dippers, hand	94	2,386	7.4	.263	11.68
Electrical machinery, Apparatus and Supplies					
Inspectors	12	147	7.7	.279	12.89
Assemblers	22	708	7.8	.294	13.76
Furniture					
Laborers	35	301	8.0	.195	9.36
Sanders hands	36	248	7.9	.207	9.81
Finishers	34	204	8.1	.235	11.42
Machine hands	19	128	8.3	.235	11.70
Glass					
Labor, boy and factory	40	1,207	7.2	.219	9.46
Decorators	11	127	7.7	.246	11.37
Packers	21	478	7.4	.258	11.46
Hosiery and Underwear					
Inspectors, menders, folders	49	2,661	7.4	.267	11.85
Knitters, footers, toppers (hosiery)	21	1,095	7.6	.272	12.40
Pressers	15	188	7.4	.284	12.61
Winders	41	1,198	7.8	.274	12.82

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Loopers	29	1,499	7.3	.296	12.96
Button sewers	26	1,242	7.9	.276	13.08
Seamers	36	1,562	7.6	.287	13.09
Welters	17	334	7.6	.291	13.27
Knitters, web or tube (underwear)	22	295	8.0	.289	13.87
Finishers (underwear)	28	2,715	7.9	.297	14.08
Leather					
Heavy Upper					
Laborers	7	166	7.6	.272	12.40
Light Upper					
Seasoners	7	243	6.5	.284	11.08
Laborers	10	148	7.4	.299	13.28
Overalls					
Examiners	105	334	7.0	.286	12.01
Paper and Pulp					
Rag workers (paper)	18	400	7.7	.272	12.57
Sorters (paper)	22	559	8.0	.275	13.20
Plater girls (paper)	12	285	7.8	.282	13.20
Cutter girls (paper)	49	480	8.1	.276	13.41
Counters (paper)	34	196	8.2	.297	14.61
Pottery					
Laborers	15	681	6.5	.297	11.63
Rubber, footwear					
Laborers	5	669	8.3	.260	12.95
Rubber, mechanical goods and hose					
Laborers	10	499	7.3	.289	12.66
Silk					
Doublers, silk throwing	9	146	7.8	.225	10.53

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Quillers	26	441	7.8	.237	11.09
Reelers	12	116	7.5	.259	11.66
Winders	29	1,059	7.7	.265	12.24
Spinners	9	375	7.5	.275	12.38
Pickers, cloth	24	335	7.5	.298	13.41
Typewriters, Adding Machines and Cash Registers					
Inspectors (parts)	22	572	7.8	.275	12.87
Assemblers and welders (parts)	22	718	8.0	.282	13.54
Drill press hands and operators	22	547	7.7	.296	13.68

(Computed.) (Pages 76-82, 115, 120, 124, 125, 140, 158, 163, 187-191, 208, 211, 237-239, 257, 259, 266-269, 271-273, 337, 343, 422, 440-442, 450, 457, 467, 482, 483, 485, 503, 504, 506.)

c. Showing the marked difference between wage scales in different localities.

(a) In the lowest paid occupations.

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Boxes, paper					
Closers & Inspectors					
Illinois	5	30	8.0	$0.218	$10.46
Massachusetts	4	38	7.6	.267	12.18
Missouri	3	13	8.1	.201	9.77
New Jersey	3	12	7.4	.176	9.81
New York	6	187	7.2	.209	9.03
Ohio	4	17	6.4	.219	8.41
Pennsylvania	4	9	5.8	.176	6.12
Wisconsin	3	13	7.1	.155	6.06
Gluers-off					
Connecticut	2	5	7.2	.215	9.29
Illinois	3	29	8.0	.217	10.41
Massachusetts	5	57	7.5	.211	9.50
Michigan	2	6	7.1	.167	7.11
Missouri	2	6	7.4	.169	7.50
New Jersey	3	14	9.2	.192	10.60
New York	7	57	8.0	.236	11.33
Ohio	5	24	7.0	.237	9.95
Pennsylvania	3	4	8.3	.189	9.41
Wisconsin	3	23	8.1	.185	8.99
Laborers (set-up and folding)					
Illinois	4	17	7.6	.251	11.45
Massachusetts	2	18	6.5	.192	7.49
New Jersey	3	30	6.9	.233	9.64
New York	5	118	7.1	.222	9.46
Ohio	3	14	6.3	.177	6.69
Pennsylvania	2	11	5.9	.176	6.23
Turners-in (set-up)					
Connecticut	4	25	7.5	.194	8.73
Illinois	4	19	8.1	.173	8.41

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Massachusetts	4	37	7.1	.190	8.09
New Jersey.....	3	28	7.6	.179	8.16
New York.....	10	125	7.4	.202	8.97
Ohio	6	40	7.2	.196	8.47
Pennsylvania	3	13	7.1	.153	6.52
Cigars					
Stemmers or Strippers, hand					
Allentown	2	81	7.9	.215	10.19
Baltimore	5	38	7.4	.192	8.52
Binghamton	4	184	7.1	.216	9.20
Boston	2	94	6.5	.294	11.47
Chicago	5	98	7.4	.257	11.41
Cincinnati	3	45	6.3	.169	6.39
Cleveland	4	92	6.6	.244	9.66
Dayton	4	61	7.8	.194	9.08
Detroit	5	153	6.9	.256	10.60
Evansville	2	284	7.6	.151	6.89
Key West	4	157	7.2	.183	7.91
Lancaster	3	12	8.0	.199	9.55
New York.....	11	348	7.9	.233	11.04
Philadelphia	6	354	7.1	.188	8.01
Reading	4	78	7.1	.246	10.48
Tampa	6	258	8.2	.196	9.64
Other cities.....	1	5	9.0	.167	9.02
Confectionery					
Dippers, machine					
California	2	13	7.6	.206	9.39
Georgia	2	14	7.9	.196	9.29
Illinois	5	71	8.1	.211	10.25
Indiana	3	19	7.0	.163	6.85
Iowa	2	7	8.0	.278	13.34
Kentucky	2	37	7.8	.127	5.94
Maryland	3	43	7.6	.171	7.80
Massachusetts ...	6	473	6.7	.257	10.33

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Michigan	2	9	5.2	.191	5.96
Minnesota	4	18	7.5	.181	8.15
Missouri	7	117	7.9	.193	9.15
New York	8	230	7.2	.212	9.16
Ohio	8	75	6.6	.206	8.16
Pennsylvania	4	75	7.7	.210	9.70
Wisconsin	5	52	8.1	.193	9.38
Laborers					
California	3	9	7.2	.202	8.73
Illinois	4	134	8.0	.236	11.33
Indiana	2	10	7.4	.159	7.06
Kentucky	2	20	8.4	.134	6.75
Maryland	2	4	7.8	.171	8.00
Massachusetts	6	244	7.1	.209	8.90
Minnesota	2	3	5.0	.179	5.37
Missouri	5	71	7.9	.214	10.14
New York	5	112	7.8	.201	9.41
Ohio	3	17	6.7	.227	9.13
Oregon	2	13	7.1	.239	10.18
Pennsylvania	4	51	7.4	.215	9.55
Washington	2	11	7.7	.257	11.37
Wisconsin	5	122	7.6	.161	7.34
Packers					
California	9	189	7.0	.215	9.03
Georgia	2	55	8.0	.180	8.64
Illinois	8	681	7.9	.249	11.80
Indiana	3	45	7.5	.163	7.34
Iowa	2	21	6.8	.203	8.28
Kentucky	2	104	7.5	.138	6.21
Maryland	3	227	7.8	.182	8.52
Massachusetts	6	904	7.0	.258	10.84
Michigan	2	54	7.6	.211	9.62
Minnesota	4	128	6.5	.178	6.94
Missouri	7	434	7.3	.200	8.76
New Jersey	2	108	7.0	.207	8.69

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
New York.....	8	775	6.9	.221	9.15
Ohio	8	302	6.7	.217	8.72
Oregon	2	38	7.6	.283	12.90
Pennsylvania	12	560	7.4	.222	9.86
Tennessee	2	65	8.4	.163	8.22
Washington	4	56	7.3	.296	12.96
Wisconsin	7	213	8.2	.204	10.04
Wrappers					
California	6	142	7.3	.212	9.29
Georgia	2	22	8.3	.195	9.71
Illinois	3	64	7.6	.231	10.53
Indiana	3	37	7.9	.158	7.49
Iowa	2	15	8.2	.193	9.50
Massachusetts ...	4	267	7.3	.258	11.30
Michigan	2	8	8.1	.189	9.19
Minnesota	3	26	7.6	.207	9.44
Missouri	6	69	7.7	.222	10.26
New York.....	5	183	7.3	.212	12.79
Ohio	4	16	7.0	.209	8.78
Pennsylvania	8	230	7.2	.241	10.41
Tennessee	2	15	8.5	.187	9.54
Wisconsin	6	79	8.5	.193	9.84
Furniture Laborers					
Illinois	4	9	8.1	.245	11.91
Indiana	3	24	9.1	.183	9.99
Massachusetts ...	2	8	7.9	.198	9.39
Michigan	4	46	8.1	.226	11.47
Missouri	2	10	7.5	.195	8.78
New York	2	12	8.6	.223	11.51
Pennsylvania ...	6	47	8.1	.213	10.35
Tennessee	2	11	8.2	.166	8.17
Wisconsin	3	33	7.8	.155	7.25

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Sanders, hand					
Illinois	3	9	8.1	.266	12.93
Indiana	3	30	8.3	.158	7.87
Massachusetts	2	5	8.9	.218	11.64
Michigan	4	22	8.5	.245	12.50
New York	4	20	7.3	.210	9.20
Ohio	3	12	7.5	.230	10.35
Pennsylvania	6	63	7.8	.223	10.44
Tennessee	2	29	7.2	.157	6.78
Wisconsin	2	17	8.4	.176	8.87
Glass					
Labor, boy and factory					
Indiana	7	257	7.9	.207	9.81
New Jersey	2	50	7.0	.277	11.63
New York	2	15	8.7	.231	12.06
Ohio	4	205	6.9	.204	8.45
Pennsylvania	4	216	8.1	.199	9.67
West Virginia	3	73	6.5	.206	8.03
Silk					
Doublers, silk throwing					
Massachusetts	2	7	6.6	.248	9.82
New Jersey	4	33	9.0	.284	15.34
Pennsylvania	3	106	7.5	.205	9.23

(Computed.) (Pages 76, 78, 79, 82, 124, 189, 191, 238, 239, 258, 482.)

(b) In occupations in which the average hourly earnings were between $0.280-299.

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Boxes, paper					
Gluing Machine					
Connecticut	2	15	7.2	$0.278	$12.01
Illinois	2	24	8.1	.303	14.73
Massachusetts ...	2	14	6.2	.348	12.95
Missouri	3	5	8.2	.232	11.41
New Jersey.....	3	19	7.2	.224	9.68
New York.....	2	74	7.9	.341	16.16
Ohio	7	60	7.4	.214	9.50
Clothing, men's					
Hand Sewers, pants					
Baltimore	3	41	6.4	.405	15.55
Boston	6	19	7.2	.288	12.44
Buffalo	3	17	7.4	.229	10.17
Chicago	4	111	7.2	.286	12.36
Cincinnati	7	45	7.5	.228	10.26
Indianapolis	2	44	6.6	.240	9.50
New York.....	7	35	7.5	.316	14.22
Philadelphia	2	20	7.0	.225	9.45
Rochester	5	70	7.8	.317	14.84
St. Louis.....	2	35	6.6	.194	7.23
Electrical machinery, apparatus and supplies					
Assemblers					
Connecticut	4	157	8.2	.283	13.92
Indiana	2	38	7.4	.256	11.37
Massachusetts ...	3	88	7.6	.416	18.97
New York.....	5	133	7.8	.270	12.64
Ohio	2	21	7.6	.378	14.36

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Hoisery and Underwear					
Finishers (underwear)					
Connecticut	3	88	8.3	.248	12.35
Massachusetts ...	2	515	7.6	.348	15.87
New Hampshire..	2	109	7.9	.283	13.41
New York	3	164	8.0	.280	13.44
North Carolina...	2	146	9.1	.316	17.25
Ohio	2	101	7.4	.267	11.85
Tennessee	3	237	8.5	.218	11.11
Virginia	2	113	8.2	.233	11.46
Wisconsin	2	124	7.3	.264	11.56
Knitters, web or tube (underwear)					
Connecticut	3	27	8.2	.244	12.00
Massachusetts ...	2	41	7.6	.350	15.96
New Hampshire..	2	10	8.8	.270	14.26
New York	2	6	8.6	.333	17.18
Ohio	2	10	8.3	.239	11.90
Wisconsin	2	24	8.8	.316	16.68
Loopers					
Connecticut	3	68	6.4	.294	11.29
Indiana	2	121	7.7	.228	10.99
Massachusetts ...	2	369	5.9	.361	12.78
New Hampshire..	2	100	7.7	.344	16.58
North Carolina...	2	39	5.9	.241	8.53
Ohio	2	15	6.9	.255	10.56
Pennsylvania	3	237	8.1	.301	14.63
Tennessee	2	104	7.5	.231	10.40
Virginia	2	56	8.9	.310	16.55
Wisconsin	2	108	8.1	.289	14.05
Pressers					
Connecticut	2	2	8.3	.217	10.81
Massachusetts ...	2	71	7.3	.342	14.98

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Seamers					
Connecticut	3	30	7.8	.253	11.84
Indiana	2	71	7.5	.288	12.96
Massachusetts	2	287	7.7	.319	14.74
Michigan	2	71	8.5	.242	12.34
New Hampshire	3	54	6.9	.272	11.26
New York	3	135	8.2	.276	13.58
North Carolina	2	23	5.8	.220	7.66
Ohio	2	47	6.1	.269	9.85
Pennsylvania	2	97	8.3	.305	15.19
Tennessee	2	81	8.1	.206	10.01
Virginia	2	29	7.8	.244	11.42
Wisconsin	4	77	7.3	.298	13.05
Welters					
Massachusetts	2	154	7.1	.330	14.06
Illinois	2	32	7.6	.270	12.31
Pennsylvania	2	47	8.1	.243	11.81
Leather; light upper					
Laborers, all departments					
Delaware	2	12	6.6	.333	13.19
New Jersey	3	55	6.7	.269	10.81
Pennsylvania	3	31	8.4	.297	14.97
Seasoners					
Delaware	2	104	5.5	.267	8.81
New Jersey	2	94	7.1	.319	13.59
Pennsylvania	2	24	7.6	.302	13.77
Overalls					
Examiners					
California	4	24	7.8	.304	14.23
Georgia	4	12	7.4	.232	10.76
Illinois	6	22	6.8	.280	11.42
Indiana	9	31	7.3	.259	11.34
Iowa	8	16	7.7	.290	13.98

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Maryland	3	24	6.3	.227	8.58
Massachusetts	4	4	7.2	.312	13.48
Michigan	3	27	6.2	.334	12.42
Minnesota	5	8	7.8	.248	11.61
Missouri	6	16	6.6	.306	12.12
New Jersey	5	19	5.9	.309	10.94
New York	7	15	6.7	.324	13.02
Ohio	8	26	6.9	.268	11.10
Pennsylvania	2	7	6.9	.244	10.10
Tennessee	5	11	7.5	.272	12.24
Texas	6	11	7.2	.268	11.58
Wisconsin	5	5	6.5	.266	10.37
Paper and pulp					
Counters (paper)					
Maine	3	17	8.3	.304	15.14
Massachusetts	7	16	8.1	.335	16.28
Michigan	2	13	8.1	.258	12.54
New Jersey	2	8	9.0	.259	13.99
New Hampshire	2	7	8.5	.291	14.84
Ohio	2	13	8.2	.249	12.25
Pennsylvania	5	65	7.8	.324	15.81
Wisconsin	4	15	8.7	.268	13.99
Plater Girls (paper)					
Massachusetts	7	204	7.8	.288	13.48
Pennsylvania	2	39	8.0	.234	11.23
Pottery					
Laborers					
New York	2	162	7.1	.252	10.74
New Jersey	4	78	7.0	.298	12.52
West Virginia	4	189	6.4	.313	12.02
Ohio	5	252	6.1	.313	11.46
Silk					
Pickers, cloth					
Connecticut	2	30	6.6	.302	11.96
Massachusetts	2	74	7.5	.431	19.40

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
New Jersey.....	5	87	7.6	.279	12.72
New York.....	3	19	8.0	.261	12.53
Pennsylvania	4	57	7.2	.247	10.67
Rhode Island.....	3	29	7.6	.215	9.80
Typewriters, adding machines and cash registers					
Assemblers (part) and welders					
Connecticut	3	205	8.1	.311	15.11
Indiana	2	36	7.9	.290	13.75
Michigan	2	64	7.4	.293	13.01
New York.....	3	85	8.4	.328	16.53
Ohio	2	52	7.7	.323	14.92
Illinois	3	97	8.9	.249	13.30
Pennsylvania	2	65	6.0	.186	6.70
Drill-Press hands and operators					
Connecticut	2	57	7.8	.328	15.35
Indiana	2	14	7.2	.301	14.09
New York.....	3	116	7.9	.307	13.26
Ohio	2	103	7.8	.329	15.40
Illinois	3	53	8.9	.277	14.79
Pennsylvania	3	67	6.3	.218	8.24

(Computed.) (Pages 79, 140, 208, 267, 269, 271-273, 342, 343, 421, 440, 441, 450, 482, 503, 504.)

d. Showing that the level of wages in occupations with the highest average earnings is very low in certain localities.

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Cigars					
Bunch makers, hand (all)	43	1,670	7.8	$0.388	$18.16
Evansville	2	323	8.5	.270	13.77
Key West	2	24	8.0	.217	10.42
Rollers, hand (all)	44	2,964	7.5	.352	15.84
Evansville	2	659	8.4	.233	11.74
Unnamed city	1	64	7.7	.282	13.03
Rollers, suction (all)	21	1,658	7.7	.357	16.49
Dayton	2	151	7.1	.309	13.16
Clothing, men's					
Basters (hand), coats (all)	56	913	7.3	.356	15.59
Cincinnati	9	51	7.4	.269	11.94
Philadelphia	6	65	7.2	.297	12.83
Hand sewers, coats (all)	7	2,907	7.3	.334	14.63
Buffalo	5	70	7.5	.283	12.74
Cincinnati	10	214	7.4	.244	10.83
Indianapolis	2	116	7.6	.243	11.08
Philadelphia	10	187	7.5	.281	12.65
St. Louis	3	13	7.9	.256	12.13
Operators, coats (all)	60	2,086	7.3	.361	15.81
Cincinnati	10	208	7.4	.255	11.32
St. Louis	3	124	7.7	.264	12.20
Operators, pants (all)	52	1,432	7.3	.341	14.94
Buffalo	4	49	7.2	.253	10.93

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Cincinnati	11	159	7.1	.247	10.52
St. Louis	5	171	7.1	.291	12.40
Operators, vests (all)	37	544	7.3	.350	15.33
Buffalo	4	14	7.8	.233	10.90
Cincinnati	7	63	7.9	.210	9.95
Clothing, Women's: Dresses and Waists					
Drapers (all)	28	188	7.7	.470	21.71
St. Louis	3	15	8.4	.247	12.45
Finishers (all)	50	412	7.2	.345	14.90
Cleveland	6	61	7.2	.294	12.70
Philadelphia	8	30	7.2	.275	11.88
St. Louis	4	43	7.3	.199	8.72
Operators, general (all)	54	1,354	7.2	.473	20.43
St. Louis	2	43	7.6	.269	12.27
Operators, special machine (all)	38	306	7.3	.312	13.67
Chicago	5	35	7.5	.284	12.78
Cleveland	5	113	7.2	.257	11.10
St. Louis	5	43	8.3	.214	10.66
Pressers (all)	26	128	7.2	.372	16.07
Chicago	3	9	8.1	.288	14.00
Cleveland	2	42	6.7	.272	10.93
St. Louis	2	10	7.8	.205	9.59
Electrical Machinery					
Coil winders (all)	22	232	7.5	.337	15.17
Connecticut	2	17	8.8	.274	14.47
Indiana	3	15	1.7	.285	13.17
Ohio	2	8	7.4	.274	12.17

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Connectors and Insulators (all)	17	157	7.6	.335	15.28
Connecticut	2	10	8.2	.274	13.48
New Jersey	2	24	7.3	.206	9.02
Hosiery and Underwear					
Buttonhole makers (underwear) (all).	24	203	7.7	.317	14.65
Connecticut	3	7	8.3	.256	12.75
New Hampshire..	2	11	8.6	.275	14.19
Ohio	2	12	7.5	.264	11.88
Tennessee	2	15	7.6	.208	9.48
Cutters, hand (underwear) (all)	22	586	7.3	.313	13.71
Connecticut	3	10	8.6	.239	12.33
Ohio	2	15	6.8	.256	10.44
Tennessee	2	30	8.0	.220	10.56
Virginia	2	5	7.0	.235	9.87
Overalls					
Operators (all)	128	6,060	6.6	.306	12.12
Indiana	9	545	6.7	.258	10.37
North Carolina ..	2	171	6.8	.262	10.69
Ohio	2	62	8.5	.214	10.91
Tennessee	2	55	7.0	.214	8.99
Pottery					
Transferers (all) ..	14	372	7.2	.342	14.77
New York	2	109	7.7	.30	13.86
Silk					
Twisters in (all)...	9	53	7.6	.366	16.69
Pennsylvania	3	22	7.3	.277	12.13
Warpers (all).....	22	530	8.1	.362	17.59
New York.....	3	20	8.8	.278	14.68
Pennsylvania	4	110	8.1	.301	14.63

Occupation	No. of Establishments	No. of Employees	Average hours worked per week day	Average earnings per hour worked	Computed average earnings per week if 6 days were worked
Weavers, Broad silk (all)	24	2,189	8.0	.398	19.10
Pennsylvania	4	464	8.2	.278	13.68
Virginia	2	54	7.8	.307	14.37
Typewriters, adding machines and cash registers					
Assemblers, final and sectional (all)	21	337	7.9	.317	15.03
Illinois	3	49	8.9	.264	14.10
Pennsylvania	3	41	6.1	.230	8.42
Milling machine (all)	19	196	7.9	.338	16.02
Indiana	2	19	7.6	.271	12.03
Illinois	3	25	8.8	.288	15.21
Pennsylvania	2	15	6.8	.239	12.62
Punch-press (all)	13	274	8.0	.308	14.78
Illinois	2	38	9.1	.261	14.25
Pennsylvania	2	12	7.2	.266	11.49

(Computed.) (Pages 121, 123, 136, 139, 141, 159, 160, 161, 209, 265, 423, 451, 484, 485, 503, 508.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. Wages and Hours of Hotel and Restaurant Employees. September, 1919.

The survey includes 153 hotels and 258 restaurants. (Page 190.)

In the hotel and restaurant industry the daily rate of wages bears a fairly close relation to the actual earnings for each day worked, because of the comparatively small amount of overtime paid for in addition to the regular wage, and because of the prevalence of full-time work. In order to present all data in one table the weekly and monthly rates have been reduced to daily rates calculated as follows: Monthly rates of wages were divided by 30 and weekly rates by 6 or 7, according as the employee was paid on a 6 or 7 day basis. (Pages 194-195.)

Rate of wages per day for hotel and restaurant employees by occupation, room and meals.

Compensation Other Than Wages	Checkers		Cleaners		Cooks		Dishwashers		Helps' Hall Waiter	
	No.	Average Rate of Wages Per Day	No.	Average Rate of Wages Per Day	No.	Average Rate of Wages Per Day	No.	Average Rate of Wages Per Day	No.	Average Rate of Wages Per Day
Room and 3 meals	28	$1.54	258	$ .89	10	$1.52	109	$1.00	39	$1.00
3 meals	336	1.87	180	1.18	278	2.16	1,311	1.28	201	1.25
2 meals	57	1.88	161	.92	61	2.37	243	1.34	.....	.....
1 meal	3	1.27	114	1.25	.....	.....	49	.87	.....	.....
Nothing	3	2.58	439	1.39	.....	.....	12	1.46	.....	.....

	Kitchen Help		Linen Room Employees		Maids		Pantry and Counter Helpers		Waitresses	
Room and 3 meals	110	$1.11	242	$1.06	1,722	$0.84	153	$1.14	48	$1.09
3 meals	878	1.56	138	1.33	448	1.10	1,180	1.55	2,263	1.46
2 meals	116	1.34	9	1.47	65	1.11	331	1.59	824	1.40
1 meal	3	1.50	25	1.57	202	1.45	12	1.22	174	.87
Nothing	.....	.....	128	1.60	1,611	1.34	1	.25	34	1.30

(Page 197.)

The most striking feature of the tables is the low average money wage received in the majority of occupa-

tions. This indicates the need for a scientific study of the advisability of paying a straight money wage in this industry, and of the value to the employee of meals and lodging tendered in lieu of wages. Such a study would afford a basis for comparing the earnings of these employees with their cost of living, and with the wages paid persons engaged in occupations in other industries which require a similar degree of skill. (Page 196.)

Alabama.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Hours, Wages, and Working Conditions of Women in the Industries in Alabama. Preliminary Memorandum. October, 1922.

Numbers of Women Employed in Alabama Industries.

According to the United States census in 1920 there were 223,876 women wage earners in Alabama. A large proportion of that number were domestic servants, laundresses, and farm laborers. After these groups the three which employed the greatest number of women were manufacturing and mechanical industries, retail stores and laundries. In manufacturing and mechanical industries more than half of the women were engaged in the manufacture of textiles. Therefore, we are chiefly concerned with conditions surrounding women in textile mills, in stores, and in power laundries.

Table I shows the number of plants visited in the survey, and the distribution of the women employed therein through the various industries by race. 60.8 per cent of the women scheduled worked in textile mills, 18.7 per cent in retail stores, and 8.5 per cent in laundries. An overwhelming majority of the textile workers, 92.9 per cent, were white; and of the 7.6 per cent who were negroes the majority did cleaning work in the mills. 85.1 per cent of the women in power laundries were negroes who worked chiefly on flat work machines, at hand and machine pressing, and occasionally on extractors. (Page 1.)

Hours.

The hours of work for women in Alabama are extremely uneven. The upper and lower limits are widely variable quantities. Whether there will be work four, five or six days a week is uncertain; consequently earnings cannot be figured upon in advance; and when there is steady work the majority of the women put in a ten hour day five days a week, and five hours on Saturdays. (Page 7.)

Wages.

For the present it is practicable to give the figures only in summary form for all of the women for whom figures were obtained in each industry, during a working week in January, 1922, and for 20 per cent of these women whose years' earnings also are shown. In selecting the week for which pay roll records were taken, attempt was made to secure figures for a recent week which was representative of the usual working hours of the firm.

Throughout the entire country the period for which these records of earnings were secured was an abnormal one during which there was extensive unemployment and part time employment. In Alabama the situation seemed particularly acute as the closing of the furnaces in Birmingham had resulted in unusually great depression in all lines of industry. For this reason the wage figures given here must be carefully studied and especial attention given to the correlation of earnings and time worked.

Unfortunately it is not practicable to include here the statistical tables which contain the basic figures for this summary of wages. All of these tables will be included and discussed in the complete report. (Page 14.)

Earnings for full time work.

As the figures just discussed seem to show that there is not a common standard of hours or days of work, it is impossible to draw definitely a line of demarcation

between the figures which represent payment for under-time and those which include payment for overtime work. Without a study of individual establishments and in some cases of separate departments, it cannot be estimated accurately whether wages earned during a certain period were payment for normal or more than normal hours of work.

There is, however, a very generally accepted standard of what a normal working week should be and of what "full time" should consist. In view of the fact that the 44 or 48 hour week is generally recognized as an adequate standard of hours of work, it does not seem unfair to the industries of the state to estimate that all women who worked 48 hours or more during the week should be considered to be practically full time workers. Applying the same standard for the women whose hours were not reported, it seems equally fair to estimate that if they worked on 5 or more days, they probably put in practically full time as the usual daily hours in Alabama industries were 10 which would make a 50 hour week for women who worked five days. The figures for the women who did not work full time on these five days would be more than offset by those for the women who worked on 5½ and 6 days and whose hours amounted to 55 or 60. On this basis it is important to know the earnings for the women who worked what we estimate to be practically full time (48 hours or more or on 5 days or more) during the week investigated.

The median earnings for all the women who worked 48 hours or more or on 5 or more days were $10.40.

The rank of the individual industries in this regard was very much the same as their rank in relation to the earnings of all women irrespective of length of time worked. Arranged in descending scale they stand as follows:

Industry.	Number of white women.	Median earnings.
General mercantile	668	$12.65
Laundries	36	12.35
Miscellaneous manufacturing	64	12.00
Food products	36	10.65
Yard goods	804	10.25
Garment	17	9.90
Yarn and twine	428	9.40
Hosiery	206	8.75
5-and-10-cent stores	166	8.35
	2,425	

For all the women who worked the full time hours the most usual earnings were from $7 to $12, more than two-thirds of the women having earned such wages. In general mercantile stores, in the manufacture of yard goods and of yarn and twine there were a number of women who earned over $15 for the practically full week's work, but in no other industry was there an appreciable number of women whose full-time earnings amounted to more than $15. (Pages 17-18.)

Week's earnings.

The actual earnings of 4,868 white women during the week for which records were taken varied all the way from less than $1 to more than $40. The two extremes represent of course unusual cases which have no significance. The largest groups of women (from 200 to 500) were found in the classification of those earning from $4 to $13. In nearly every industry the wage groups between these limits contained the largest numbers of women, and it is from this massing that the prevailing standards must be judged. One-half of the 4,868 women earned less than $8.80 during the week for which records were secured. In the different industries the earnings of the women varied considerably, the median for each industry being as follows:

Industry.	Number of white women.	Median earnings.
Printing and publishing	29	$17.30
General mercantile	780	12.45
Laundries	72	11.00
Garment manufacturing	359	9.95
Food products manufacturing	65	9.10
Yard goods manufacturing	1,729	8.70
5-and-10-cent stores	194	8.05
Miscellaneous manufacturing	137	7.85
Yarn and twine manufacturing	832	7.60
Hosiery manufacturing	671	6.85
	4,868	

In each industry listed half of the women earned more and half less than the amounts stated, and, although these sums include in some instances payment for less than full time and so do not give an entirely accurate picture of the wage standards of the industries, they do portray the problems which face the women wage earners during a period in which a certain amount of undertime must be allowed for. (Pages 14-15.)

Earnings by time worked.

The figures just quoted show in a general way the status of the different industries and the actual amounts which a large number of women had for their living expenses during a given week. But they do not take into account the extremely important matter of the number of hours of work which were required to earn the amounts stated. Obviously, the sum of eight or nine dollars representing a week's earnings means one thing if it involves 50 or 55 hours of work and quite another when only 25 or 30 hours has been the length of the working week. Unfortunately, it is not always possible to secure from an establishment records which show definitely the number of hours which have been worked by each woman whose pay is recorded. Sometimes it is only possible to discover the number of days on which she worked; sometimes neither the number of days nor hours

are given. For all cases where it was possible, hour records were secured and where these failed the record was taken of the number of days on which work was done.

The following statement shows the median earnings of the women who worked each specified length of time:

Hours worked.	Number of white women.	Median earnings.
Under 30	265	$3.70
30 and under 44	390	6.40
44 and under 48	303	8.25
48 and under 50	127	9.80
50 and under 55	250	9.35
55	650	10.00
Over 55 and under 60	94	10.70
60 hours and over	168	10.70
	2,247	

Days on which work was done.	Number of white women.	Median earnings.
Less than 3	105	$2.20
3	62	4.45
3½	27	5.65
4	49	5.85
4½	88	7.35
5	114	7.65
5½	235	10.35
6	793	12.00
	1,473	

It is obvious from these statements which show figures for 3,720 (91.7 per cent) of the women included in the survey, that a large number of them worked very short hours during the week investigated. Their earnings therefore cannot be considered indicative of standards in the State, although they probably represent very serious problems for the individual earners.

That increases in hours of work do not result in a proportionate increase of earnings is evident from the figures given here. Earnings were very little higher for

women who worked 55 and 60 hours than they were for those who worked 48 or 50 hours. This fact is particularly striking as the women for whom actual hours of work were recorded, were, in the main, time workers who were paid by the length of time worked rather than by the amount of work done. That there was not a proportionate increase in earnings with additional time worked for this group can only mean that there is no standard length of working week in the State, but rather that individual establishments have varying standards so that although a woman does not get a full week's wage until she has worked 55 hours in one plant, in another, she gets her full wage for 50 and in another for 48 hours of work.

The most usual number of hours of work during the week under consideration seems to have been 55, for more than one-fourth of the women were reported as working 55 hours and half of this group earned less than $10.

For the women whose time worked was recorded in days, there was a more direct relationship between time worked and earnings. However, although the median of earnings for 5 days was an increase of more than 100 per cent over the median for four days, it was only $12.00, which means that 396 women who worked on 6 days earned less than $12, while 396 earned more than that amount. (Pages 14-17.)

Arkansas.

*U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 26. Women in Arkansas Industries. 1923.**

According to the most recent census figures, the State of Arkansas has a total population of 1,752,204, and of this number 36.2 per cent are engaged in gainful occupations.[1] Exclusive of children under 10 years of age, who are not possible workers, nearly one-half (48.7 per cent) of the remaining population are gainfully employed. By far the largest number of women workers

*Copied from proof sheets.

[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census. Preliminary occupation statistics—Arkansas; 1920. News release, August 26, 1921.

were engaged in agriculture as farmers on general farms and as farm laborers, either working out or on home farms.[5] The second largest number were employed in domestic and personal service as servants, waitresses, and laundresses. These two groups contain 74.2 per cent, practically three-fourths, of the women workers of the State. In contrast to the large number of workers on farms and in domestic and personal service is the small number of those engaged in manufacturing and in stores. At present there are 2,604 manufacturing establishments in the State,[6] and 1,517 of these (58.3 per cent) employ only from one to five people.

Scope and Method of Investigation.

This survey was made in February and March, 1922, a period of considerable economic depression throughout the State which was due both to the general business depression existing everywhere at that time and to certain local conditions.

In the 189 establishments for which information was secured, there were employed at the time of the survey 2,636 white women and 481 negro women, a total of 3,117. The fact that Arkansas is not primarily an industrial State, but ranks thirty-sixth among the States in the value of manufactured products,[7] is emphasized by the figures in this table. Only 761 white women were employed in manufacturing establishments, and these women were scattered through 54 plants. Negro women were employed in manufacturing to an even less extent than were white women, only 71 of 481 negro women being found in manufacturing establishments. This small number of both white and negro women engaged in manufacture was without doubt partly due to depressed economic conditions, for several establishments reported fewer employees than formerly and in some instances plants were temporarily closed.

[5] U. S. Bureau of the Census. Principal occupations in Arkansas; 1920. News release, December 29, 1921.
[6] U. S. Bureau of the Census. Census of manufacturers; 1914, v. 1, p. 60, tab. 4.
[7] Monthly Labor Review, v. 14, No. 3, March, 1922, p. 75.

Stores, including both general mercantile and 5-and-10-cent stores, employed the largest number of white women of any group, and their employees comprised more than one-third (36.9 per cent) of the entire number of white women included in the survey. Telephone exchanges, with 444 women, ranked second in importance so far as numbers are concerned. Of those engaged in manufacturing, the largest number of white women were employed in garment making and the largest number of negro women on wood products.

Negro women were found in greatest numbers in restaurant and hotel service and in laundries, both industries akin to domestic service and requiring but little additional training.

In laundries white and negro women were generally employed in the same establishments but usually on different work, the white women being chiefly markers, checkers, mangle operators, starchers, and menders, and the negro women hand ironers and steam-press operators.

In hotels and restaurants white women were more frequently found as waitresses and negro women as chambermaids and kitchen help, but this grouping was not invariable and in some establishments work was apportioned regardless of color, white and negro women working together as chambermaids or as kitchen help.

Table 12.—Week's Earnings, by Industry.

Week's earnings	Number of women earning each specified amount in—															
	All industries[1]		The manufacture of—							Printing and publishing	General mercantile	5-and-10-cent stores	Laundries	
			Candy	Drugs	Garments	Mattresses, tents, and awnings	Wood products		Miscellaneous manufacturing					
	White	Negro	White[2]	White	White	White	White	Negro	White[3]	White	White[3]	White[3]	White	Negro
Under $1	2	2					1	2	2					
$1 and under $2	15	6			4		3	6	5		2		1	
$2 and under $3	18	9			2	1	4	7	3		6	1	1	
$3 and under $4	19	9	1		2		2	9	6		6	1	1	
$4 and under $5	30	12	4		6	2	6	11	7		3	2		1
$5 and under $6	49	23	1		19	1	3	18	3		6	6	10	3
$6 and under $7	111	14	16	2	31	3	24	5	5	1	16	5	8	8
$7 and under $8	104	46	8	3	15	7	13	4	9		29	18	2	37
$8 and under $9	142	31	8	1	22	5	29	2	12	1	21	19	24	28
$9 and under $10	163	83	8		23	9	11	1	21		22	34	25	80
$10 and under $11	188	45	7		16	10	18		14	2	28	15	78	40
$11 and under $12	88	8	6		11	4	7		7	2	36	5	10	7
$12 and under $13	130	2	3	1	7	5	15		10	11	61	5	12	1
$13 and under $14	116	1	1		24	3	5		10	3	52	16	2	
$14 and under $15	81		2	2	18	2			6	3	24	4	10	
$15 and under $16	137	3	1		12	2	2		5	7	95	4	9	2
$16 and under $17	50		1	1	13				2	10	29		3	
$17 and under $18	71		1	1	20				1	8	30		1	
$18 and under $19	57	2			11	1	1	1	1	4	38	1		1
$19 and under $20	22				11	2					9			
$20 and under $21	74				6	2				1	61	1	3	
$21 and under $22	12				4	1					7			
$22 and under $23	16				2						14			
$23 and under $24	15				5						10			
$24 and under $25	4				2						2			
$25 and under $30	37				5						31		1	
$30 and under $35	18				2					1	1		1	
$35 and under $40	10				1						9			
$40 and over	4									1	3			
Total	1,793	296	68	11	294	60	144	66	129	55	663	137	202	208
Median earnings	$11.60	$8.85	$8.50	(3)	$11.65	$10.20	$8.55	$4.80	$9.60	$15.65	$15.15	$9.50	$10.35	$0.35

[1] Exclusive of telephones, reported on a half-monthly basis, and hotels and restaurants, omitted because of the custom of giving meals.
[2] Negroes, 2.
[3] Negroes, 16.

(Condensed.)

The figures given in this table relate to the earnings of all of the women included in the investigation, irrespective of the number of hours they worked during the week for which figures were secured. Some of these women worked the entire week, others only a part of it. Whatever the hours worked, however, the amounts earned represented the actual amounts the women in question had to spend during the week. If these figures are compared with those from three other States[*] where similar surveys were made by the Women's Bureau during the past year (1921), we find that Arkansas ranks second in wages earned by its white women workers.

	Median earnings.
Georgia	$12.20
Arkansas	11.60
Kentucky (preliminary figures)	11.05
South Carolina (preliminary figures)	9.55

The earnings of the white women in Arkansas varied from less than $1 to $40 and over, but the great mass of women, 58.1 per cent, were in the groups earning from $6 to $14. In several of the industries this massing of the women does not occur around the same wage groups. In wood products and candy manufacture more than one-half of the white women, 59 per cent and 55.9 per cent, respectively, had earnings under $9, while in printing and general mercantile establishments more than one-half, 63.6 per cent and 57 per cent, respectively, earned $14 and over. Few women were found in any industry who earned $20 and over, but of those the majority were in two industries, general mercantile and garment manufacturing, where 23.2 and 9.2 per cent, respectively, of the women employees earned $20 or more.

The following summary gives the median earnings of the white women, one-half receiving more and one-half less than these amounts in the industries specified:

[*] U. S. Dept. of Labor, Women's Bureau, Women in Georgia industries, Bul. 22, 1922.

	Number of white women.	Median earnings.
Candy	68	$8.50
Garments	294	11.65
Mattresses, tents, and awnings	60	10.20
Printing and publishing	55	15.65
Food products	144	8.55
Miscellaneous	129	9.60
General mercantile	693	15.15
5-and-10-cent stores	137	9.50
Laundries	202	10.35
All industries	1,793	11.60

Earnings of telephone operators.

The earnings of telephone operators included in this survey are for a half month's period. The scheduled number of days for this period is 13, except in the case of 5 girls who had a schedule of 14 days.

For the 444 operators in telephone exchanges who reported earnings and days on which work was done are shown in the following summary of Table X in the appendix:

Number of women.	Time worked.	Median earnings.
14	On less than 8 days	$11.65
176	On 8 and less than 13 days	25.60
254	On 13 and 14 days	29.95

From this summary it is apparent that more than one-half of the women worked a full half month and that 3.2 per cent worked less than 8 days of their time. Median earnings for the full-time workers were $29.95, which median was $1.90 higher than that for all the women, regardless of time worked. In a continuous industry, such as the telephone, there is considerable overtime as well as undertime. This was clearly shown by the number of girls in the 14-day group. Only 5 girls had regular scheduled days of 14 in this period, and yet 30 operators were found working on 14 days. The majority of operators who worked on Sundays, in the evening, or at night, as well as those working overtime, received extra com-

pensation. Table XI in the appendix shows that 120 operators, a little over one-fourth of the total number, received this extra pay, the greatest number of them, 33, having had their earnings increased by from $2 to $3, but 29 received a surplus of from $3 to $4 and 19 from $4 to $5.

The effect of both lost time and extra compensation was shown by the facts that fewer women had rates of less than $20 than actually earned less than $20, and more women earned $30 and over than had rates of $30 and over.

The following summary of Table XII in the appendix shows the distribution of women by their rates and earnings:

	Women.
Rates less than $20	10
Earnings less than $20	43
Rates $20 and less than $30	283
Earnings $20 and less than $30	235
Rates $30 and over	151
Earnings $30 and over	166

Colorado.

Colorado Minimum Wage Commission. Report of Recent Survey of Wages Paid Adult Women Employees in Colorado. 1921.

Weekly Wages of Adult Woman Employees.

Class of work.	Number of reports.	Total employees.	Employees receiving, per week—Under $12. Number.	Under $12. Per cent.	Under $15. Number.	Under $15. Per cent.
Laundries ...	31	796	251	31.5	555	69.7
Mercantile ..	61	1,739	317	18.2	964	55.4
Public housekeeping	87	890	65	7.3	359	40.3
Miscellaneous	31	897	127	14.2	267	29.8
Total	210	4,322	760	17.6	2,145	49.6

(Percentage computed.)

Connecticut.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 9. Home Work in Bridgeport, Connecticut. December, 1919.

Weekly earnings from home work, by class of work performed, Bridgeport, Conn., 1919.

Weekly earnings.	Number of families receiving specified weekly earnings.
Less than $1	2
$1 and less than $2	1
$2 and less than $3	10
$3 and less than $4	21
$4 and less than $5	22
$5 and less than $6	13
$6 and less than $7	8
$7 and less than $8	5
$8 and less than $9	4
$9 and less than $10	2
$10 and less than $11	6
$11 and less than $12	..
$12 and less than $13	5
$13 and more	1
Total	100

(Page 12.)

As the table shows, the median earnings were between $4 and $5 for a week's work with only 31 of the group of 100 reporting earnings of $6 or more. (Page 13.)

Summary of Facts.

(*d*) The earnings from home work are very low, however, and constitute merely a supplementary income in spite of the fact that several members of the household often take part in the work. This seems to be due to two main causes, (1) low rates of pay and (2) the small output of an unsupervised process and the general in-

efficiency of the entire home-work system, requiring, as it does, that the workers shall take time to call for the goods at the factory and deliver them after they are completed, while also the worker is constantly interrupted by home duties and lacks the stimulus of a well-organized factory department to make possible effective production. (Page 9.)

Widespread recognition of the close connection between low wages and home work has led to many recommendations for minimum wage laws, both to reduce the amount of home work and to raise the rate of pay for that which still continues.

In 1908 a special committee was appointed in England to report to the House of Commons on means of remedying existing abuses in trades in which home work was prevalent. In its report* this committee stated:

No proposals which fail to increase the income of these people can have any appreciable effect in ameliorating their condition. Improved sanitary conditions are important, and necessary; greater personal and domestic cleanliness in many cases is desirable; but the poverty, the miserably inadequate income of so many of the home workers is the great difficulty of the situation. With an increase in their earnings many of the other undesirable conditions which intensify and in turn are aggravated by the ever-present burden of grinding poverty would be very appreciably modified and improved. * * * Your committee are of the opinion that, unless Parliament steps in and gives them the protection and support which legislation alone can supply, the prospects of any real and substantial improvement in their position and condition being brought about are very small and remote. * * * Upon the question of the general policy of Parliament fixing or providing for the fixing of a minimum rate of payment for work, below which it should be illegal to employ people, your committee are of the opinion that it is quite as legitimate to establish by legislation a minimum standard of remuneration as it is to establish

*Great Britain, House of Commons, Report from the Select Committee on Home Work, 1908. (Pages 23-24.)

such a standard of sanitation, cleanliness, ventilation, air space, and hours of work. * * * It is doubtful whether there is any more important condition of individual and general well-being than the possibility of obtaining an income sufficient to enable those who earn it to secure, at any rate, the necessaries of life. If a trade will not yield such an income to average industrious workers engaged in it, it is a parasite industry, and it is contrary to the general well-being that it should continue. Experience, however, teaches that the usual result of legislation of the nature referred to is not to kill the industry but to reform it.**

During the same year the British Government appointed a commission to investigate the workings of the wages boards and industrial conciliation and arbitration acts in Australia and New Zealand. The wage rates established in those countries applied to home as well as factory workers, so the report on this subject is significant. In speaking of conditions in Victoria after the establishment of the wages boards, Mr. Aves, the commissioner, said:

There is also a very widely spread belief that the boards have been instrumental, some say in abolishing, and others in modifying the evils of "sweating," and, from the complex motives, there is in Victoria a great preponderance of opinion amongst all classes in favour of the retention of the boards.**

Georgia.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 22. Women in Georgia Industries. January, 1922.

The periods covered by this survey of industrial conditions for women in Georgia extended from May 28 to July 13, 1920, and from February 15 to April 15, 1921. The time covered was one of transition. In the spring of 1920, industry and business throughout the United

**Great Britain House of Commons, Report from the Select Committee on Home Work, 1908. (Pages 23-24.)

States were booming. . . However, from June, and in some instances from July, a steady decrease was observed in the numbers employed. . . . This reduction in the working force was accompanied by a decrease in weekly earnings. The decrease was rapid during November and December, and by the last of December weekly earnings were 30 per cent lower than in June. (Page 1.)

Decreases in the cost of living occurred more slowly than the wage decreases. For 32 cities throughout the United States the decrease was 16.1 per cent from June to December, 1920.[4] The two Georgia cities for which records were obtained, Atlanta and Savannah, showed considerably less of a decrease in the cost of living between these two periods than the average throughout the country. Atlanta had a decrease of 8.2 per cent and Savannah one of 10.7 per cent. If this is significant of the State as a whole, it is plain that the decrease in earnings created an especially serious condition in Georgia. When weekly earnings have decreased 30 per cent and the cost of living about 10 per cent, there must be considerable difficulty in adjusting the two. (Pages 1-2.) Throughout the country more decreases in wages were reported for the textile industry from July 1, 1920, to March 31, 1921, than for any other of the 395 industries included in the figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The importance to the workers of Georgia of this tremendous decline in the textile industries, both in the numbers employed and in the earnings of those still working, is evident from the fact that Georgia ranks third among the cotton-producing States in the number of spindles and looms in its mills.[5] . . .

By these methods employees are drawn from the farms and hills, and native Americans fill the southern mills. This is in rather striking contrast to the New England mills where, in 1905, 61.3 per cent were of foreign birth.[7] In the southern mills at the same time no foreign-

[4] Changes in cost of living in the United States. Monthly Labor Review, v. 12, No. 2, February, 1921, p. 52-61.
[5] National Association of Cotton Mill Manufacturers. Standard cotton mill practice and equipment. Boston, 1921, p. 96-97.
[7] U. S. Department of Commerce and Labor. Report on condition of woman and child wage earners in the United States, v. 1: Cotton textile industry. Washington, 1910, p. 108, 120. (61st Cong., 2d sess., S. Doc. 645.)

born workers were found, and but 0.3 per cent of the workers had foreign-born parents. Among the workers who reported their nativity in the surveys just completed, 0.4 per cent were of foreign birth. [13 out of 3,186.] (Page 2.)

Two full weeks were selected for this pay-roll record, one early in 1920 and the other early in 1921." (Page 5.)

The working week of almost two-thirds (65.1 per cent) of the women reported in this survey was 55 hours and over, while an excessively long week of 60 hours and more was scheduled for over one-quarter (27.2 per cent). Equally startling are the numbers of women who worked long daily hours. One-half (51.3 per cent) had a work day of 10 hours and over, and 14.4 per cent of 11 hours and over. (Page 6.)

Summary.

Extent of surveys.

Number of cities and towns included, 16.

Number of establishments visited, 131.

Number of women and girls employed in these establishments, 9,900. (Page 7.)

Wages.

Wage data for 102 plants[12] showed:

Weekly—

Median earnings for white women were $12.20, for Negro women $6.20.

Highest earnings for white women were in cigar manufacturing, with a median of $15.90.

Highest earnings for Negro women were in food manufacturing, with a median of $10.35.

Lowest earnings for white women were in miscellaneous manufacturing, with a median of

[11] In a number of instances it was necessary to take the second week in the latter part of 1920, as no full week had been worked in 1921.

[12] Wages for workers in Atlanta are recorded in Part III.

$9.15, and 5-and-10-cent stores, with a median of $9.25.
Lowest earnings for Negro women were in garment manufacturing, with a median of $3.90.

Yearly—

Median earnings for white women were $748 and for Negro women $413.
Highest earnings for white women were in cigar manufacturing, with a median of $1,000.
Highest earnings for Negro women were in food manufacturing, with a median of $600.
Lowest earnings for white women were in laundries, with a median between $450 and $500.
Lowest earnings for Negro women were in laundries, with a median of just below $350. (Pages 7-8.)

The workers.

The number of foreign-born was 13 in a total of 3,186 women reporting.

The ages of the women fell in three groups: Slightly less than one-third of those reporting (30.4 per cent) were under 20 years, slightly more than one-third (34.7 per cent) were 20 and under 30, and slightly more (35 per cent) were 30 and over.

Women who were or had been married comprised 50.2 per cent of the 3,132 women reporting.

The women who lived at home comprised 85.7 per cent of the 2,919 replying to this question. (Page 8.)

Wages.

Wage data for 26 plants showed:

Weekly—

Median earnings for white women were $13.05, and for Negro women $7.15.
Highest earnings for white women were in department stores, with median earnings of $16.05.

Highest earnings for Negro women were in box manufacturing, with a median of about $13.
Lowest earnings for white women were in candy manufacturing, with median earnings of $11.
Lowest earnings for Negro women were in laundries, with median earnings of $6.95.

Yearly—

Median earnings for white women were $721, and for Negro women $384.[14]
Highest earnings for white women were in department stores, with median earnings of $888.
Lowest earnings for white women were in 5-and-10-cent stores, with median earnings of $546.
The 26 Negro women with 52-week records in laundries had a median of $382. (Page 9.)

These medians or middle points may be taken as fair indexes of earnings in the various industries. Cigar making had the highest earnings and showed a median of $15.90. This is $3.70 above the median of $12.20 for all industries, and $6.75 and $6.65 above the lowest medians, which occur in miscellaneous manufacturing and the 5-and-10-cent stores. The proportion of white women who earned less than $8 a week is nearly one-fifth (19.2 per cent) of all those engaged in industry.

If we compare these figures with those of Kansas and Rhode Island—other States where surveys were made at about the same time—we find approximately one-fifth of the women in Kansas receiving less than $9 and one-fifth of those in Rhode Island receiving less than $12.50. A greater proportion of Georgia workers, therefore, earned under $8 than in either Kansas or Rhode Island. Laundries and miscellaneous manufacturing had the greatest proportion of white women earning less than $8, laundry workers showing 42.5 per cent and miscellaneous manufacturing 42.9 per cent of the women with earnings in this group. Of the women engaged in the manufacture of

[14] No Negro women reported yearly earnings in stores and but one in factories.

knit goods 28.1 per cent and of those in food manufacturing 32.3 per cent earned less than $8 a week.

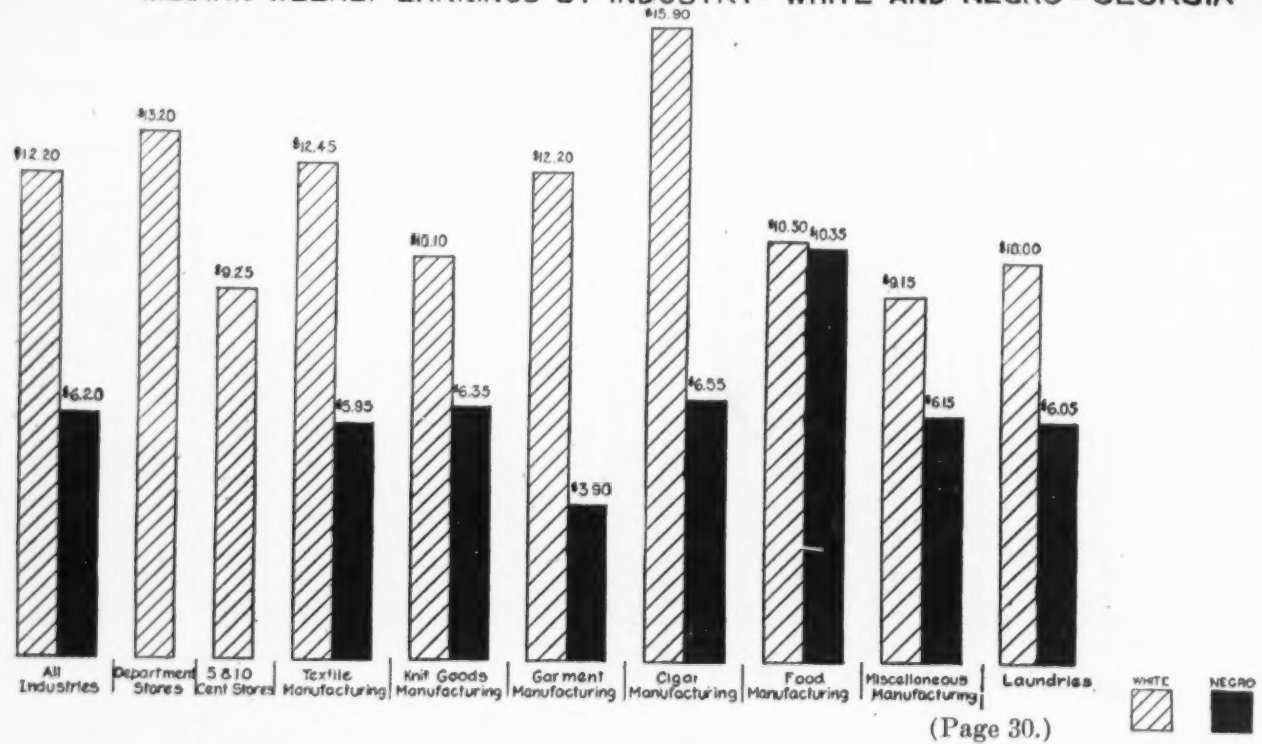
The Negro Worker.

Median earnings of Negro women were considerably lower than those of white women. The median for Negro workers in all industries was $6.20, while the highest median for any Negro group was $10.35 for workers in the manufacture of food products. In many industries the occupations of these women are not of the same character as those of white women and therefore their earnings are not comparable, but in knit goods and garment manufacturing some plants had white and others had Negro women engaged on the same processes. The difference between their earnings was most marked in garment making, where the median earnings were for white workers $12.20 and for Negro workers $3.90. Most of these earnings were based on piecework and indicate a considerable discrimination against Negro women. In the plant where Negro workers were employed in manufacturing garments the rate was lower than that formerly paid to white workers on the same processes, and in one plant making knit goods white workers had been replaced by Negro women at a lower rate, although the manager stated that the work of the Negro women was more satisfactory. White and Negro workers had median earnings of almost the same amounts in food-products manufacturing. This was a low-paid industry for the white worker, due largely to the inclusion of the confectionery industry which paid a lower wage. The wage of Negro workers in food manufacturing compares favorably with that of white workers, as the Negro workers were employed in large numbers in a sugar refinery where their earnings were unusually high. In laundries the wage varied considerably for the two races, but the white and Negro women were not engaged in the same operations, white women usually doing the marking and checking while the other processes were performed by Negro workers. (Pages 31-32.)

On the whole, when the same work was done by white and Negro workers a lower wage usually was paid to the

Negro women. If the pay was based on time work, it was explained that the Negro worker was slower and less steady in attendance, factors which were not inquired into in this investigation.

There is constant danger of the substitution at a reduced wage of Negro for white workers. In one establishment where Negro women had taken the place of white, the manager stated that several years ago he had all white girls—several hundred—but gradually he had introduced Negro women, first in one department, then another, until at the present time there were but five white women left. The report on the plant reads: "The Negro girls receive a lower rate than the white, but produce about as much and do not complain at having to sweep around their own machines."


MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS BY INDUSTRY- WHITE AND NEGRO - GEORGIA
$12.20
$6.20
$13.20
$9.25
$12.45
$5.95
$10.10
$6.35
$12.20
$3.90
$15.90
$6.55
$10.30
$10.35
$9.15
$6.15
$10.00
$6.05
All Industries
Department Stores
5 & 10 Cent Stores
Textile Manufacturing
Knit Goods Manufacturing
Garment Manufacturing
Cigar Manufacturing
Food Manufacturing
Miscellaneous Manufacturing
Laundries
WHITE
NEGRO

(Page 30.)

The danger is not that the Negro women will be able to do the work better than the white women, but that they will work for wages below the minimum accepted by the white workers. Even in plants where the wage was on a piece basis the rates were lower for Negro than for white women workers. The fact that most wages still rest on the commodity basis of buying work in the cheapest market makes the industrial competition of these two groups of workers with different standards of living a grave social and economic problem. If the introduction of the Negro worker at lower rates continues, there is a menace to the white worker not only of losing her job, but of lowered pay and poorer living conditions. The census of 1910 places the number of Negro women 10 years of age and over, gainfully employed, at 2,013,981, and of these only 0.8 per cent were engaged in manufacturing and mercantile pursuits." The potential number of workers who may be drafted into industry with but little training and driven by economic need is therefore large. This condition presents a dangerous possibility of lowered wages to white workers as well as an exploitation of the ignorance and economic necessity of the Negro. (Pages 31-32.)

Table VII.—Number of women with actual weekly earnings as specified, by industry—Georgia. Late Pay-Roll Figures.

Weekly earnings.	All industries.		Department stores.		5-and-10-cent stores.		Textile manufacturing.		Knit-goods manufacturing.		Garment manufacturing.		Cigar manufacturing.		Food manufacturing.		Miscellaneous manufacturing.		Laundries.	
	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.
Under $2	78	55	4	.....	7	.....	46	15	2	8	14	4	1	1	.....	1	4	20	.....	6
$2 and under $3	65	51	2	.....	3	.....	47	16	3	3	4	4	.....	3	2	2	4	19	.....	4
$3 and under $4	85	112	1	.....	6	1	52	22	4	13	15	10	3	3	.....	.....	4	41	.....	22
$4 and under $5	103	198	3	.....	1	.....	69	54	7	12	9	5	.....	6	4	2	9	82	1	37
$5 and under $6	162	193	5	1	6	.....	115	16	9	14	12	7	.....	15	6	4	6	69	3	67
$6 and under $7	235	252	8	2	12	.....	163	43	20	15	15	2	4	9	6	1	13	101	4	79
$7 and under $8	270	164	6	3	12	1	169	27	18	12	27	1	3	9	12	.....	14	84	9	27
$8 and under $9	368	87	32	2	41	.....	241	11	12	10	21	.....	7	7	6	9	7	25	1	23
$9 and under $10	379	76	24	1	34	.....	257	17	17	8	22	1	5	7	6	13	12	22	2	7
$10 and under $11	449	46	55	1	35	.....	273	13	22	5	26	.....	12	4	9	11	16	6	1	6
$11 and under $12	325	23	31	.....	11	1	230	4	8	6	24	.....	6	1	7	3	7	6	1	2
$12 and under $13	371	27	53	.....	15	.....	218	7	22	2	32	.....	6	.....	8	12	11	4	6	2
$13 and under $14	364	10	24	.....	4	.....	275	.....	18	1	19	.....	7	1	9	3	6	5	2	.....
$14 and under $15	226	9	15	.....	.....	.....	163	.....	12	.....	17	.....	7	.....	6	8	5	1	1	.....
$15 and under $16	415	3	58	.....	4	.....	299	.....	6	.....	17	.....	18	.....	6	1	5	2	2	.....
$16 and under $17	233	4	15	.....	.....	.....	177	.....	11	.....	19	.....	10	.....	1	2	.....	2	.....	.....
$17 and under $18	208	2	15	.....	1	.....	153	.....	9	2	17	.....	11	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$18 and under $19	182	.....	21	.....	1	.....	120	.....	8	.....	15	.....	13	.....	1	.....	1	.....	2	.....
$19 and under $20	142	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	110	.....	1	.....	16	.....	8	.....	1	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
$20 and under $21	119	.....	22	.....	.....	.....	67	.....	4	.....	17	.....	4	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
$21 and under $22	72	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	36	.....	4	.....	5	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$22 and under $23	76	.....	12	.....	.....	.....	47	.....	2	.....	8	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
$23 and under $24	61	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	42	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$24 and under $25	53	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	34	.....	1	.....	6	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
$25 and over	146	.....	27	.....	.....	.....	94	.....	4	.....	9	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
Total	5,186	1,312	468	10	193	3	3,507	245	224	111	390	34	164	66	93	72	128	489	40	282
Median earnings	$12.20	$6.20	$13.20	(1)	$9.25	(1)	$12.45	$5.95	$10.10	$6.35	$12.20	$3.90	$15.90	$6.55	$10.50	$10.35	$9.15	$6.15	$10.00	$6.05

[1] Not computed, owing to small number involved.

(Page 73.)

Table VII.—Number of women with actual weekly earnings as specified, by industry—Georgia.—Continued. Early Pay-Roll Figures.

Weekly earnings.	All industries.		Department stores.		5-and-10-cent stores.		Textile manufacturing.		Knit-goods manufacturing.		Garment manufacturing.		Cigar manufacturing.		Food manufacturing.		Miscellaneous manufacturing.		Laundries.	
	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.
Under $2	97	58	2	.....	2	.....	62	8	5	15	13	2	3	.....	4	2	4	20	2	11
$2 and under $3	104	57	5	.....	7	.....	63	5	6	6	16	3	2	.....	1	2	3	23	1	18
$3 and under $4	110	60	3	.....	5	.....	65	8	5	8	23	10	5	.....	2	.....	2	20	.....	14
$4 and under $5	110	111	6	.....	7	.....	73	9	8	17	10	6	5	.....	.....	1	1	24	.....	54
$5 and under $6	161	184	17	.....	10	.....	88	11	10	15	22	6	5	.....	3	4	3	52	3	96
$6 and under $7	200	225	5	.....	21	.....	109	19	18	16	30	2	9	.....	1	3	2	97	5	88
$7 and under $8	237	110	10	3	34	3	110	21	23	16	28	3	10	.....	13	9	5	21	4	34
$8 and under $9	281	85	41	1	61	1	120	38	14	11	22	1	5	.....	9	9	7	8	2	16
$9 and under $10	301	133	26	2	49	.....	151	83	23	5	21	1	10	.....	16	11	3	12	2	19
$10 and under $11	375	71	59	1	27	1	194	44	27	3	31	.....	17	.....	2	14	13	2	5	6
$11 and under $12	294	17	31	.....	8	.....	192	11	29	5	16	.....	6	.....	3	1	8	.....	1	.....
$12 and under $13	376	23	59	1	12	.....	226	11	21	4	29	.....	7	.....	4	4	11	.....	7	3
$13 and under $14	348	12	23	1	3	.....	273	11	18	.....	18	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	1	.....
$14 and under $15	295	11	17	.....	2	.....	233	3	16	1	16	.....	5	.....	.....	7	6	.....	.....	.....
$15 and under $16	289	3	45	.....	2	.....	200	1	12	.....	16	.....	4	.....	.....	2	5	.....	5	.....
$16 and under $17	311	9	9	.....	.....	.....	274	3	7	.....	15	.....	3	.....	.....	6	1	.....	2	.....
$17 and under $18	246	.....	11	.....	1	.....	204	.....	7	.....	17	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2	.....
$18 and under $19	219	1	20	.....	.....	.....	176	.....	2	.....	14	.....	3	.....	.....	1	3	.....	1	.....
$19 and under $20	164	1	4	.....	1	.....	140	.....	1	.....	12	.....	5	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....
$20 and under $21	132	.....	16	.....	.....	.....	97	.....	2	.....	10	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....
$21 and under $22	107	.....	5	.....	.....	.....	90	.....	1	.....	9	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
$22 and under $23	125	.....	9	.....	.....	.....	108	.....	2	.....	3	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$23 and under $24	76	.....	15	.....	.....	.....	54	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....
$24 and under $25	81	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	70	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$25 and over	213	.....	18	.....	.....	.....	161	.....	1	.....	22	.....	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....
Total	5,252	1,171	460	9	252	5	3,533	286	258	122	425	34	131	.....	58	77	88	279	47	359
Median earnings	$12.95	$6.50	$12.40	(1)	$8.65	(1)	$14.15	$9.30	$10.65	$6.00	$10.90	$4.35	$10.70	.....	$8.55	$9.75	$11.15	$6.00	$10.90	$5.85

[1] Not computed, owing to small number involved.

(Page 74.)

Table IX.—Weekly Earnings, by Hours Actually Worked—Georgia.
Late Pay-Roll Figures.

Weekly earnings.	Number of women reporting.		Number of women who worked—																	
			Under 24 hours.		24 and under 33 hours.		33 and under 42 hours.		42 and under 48 hours.		48 and under 54 hours.		54 and under 57 hours.		57 and under 60 hours.		60 and under 63 hours.		63 hours and over.	
	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.	White.	Negro.
Under $2	41	41	41	37	.....	3	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$2 and under $3	46	36	44	16	1	9	.....	5	1	2	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$3 and under $4	43	78	29	8	13	19	1	18	.....	15	.....	17	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$4 and under $5	60	161	29	.....	14	16	12	28	2	23	3	53	.....	11	.....	3	.....	27	.....	.....
$5 and under $6	103	144	26	1	23	4	31	22	8	31	8	52	7	30	.....	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
$6 and under $7	151	192	11	1	28	.....	35	11	23	29	16	70	34	65	1	2	3	12	.....	2
$7 and under $8	165	124	3	.....	24	.....	35	5	55	36	17	45	13	22	5	1	13	15	.....	.....
$8 and under $9	253	52	2	.....	16	.....	59	3	36	1	52	24	76	18	3	2	8	4	1	.....
$9 and under $10	260	47	3	.....	21	.....	31	.....	42	4	49	11	99	6	2	4	13	16	.....	6
$10 and under $11	293	31	1	.....	6	.....	43	.....	37	.....	72	3	106	6	2	2	25	11	1	9
$11 and under $12	205	11	.....	.....	5	.....	28	.....	33	1	46	2	78	4	4	.....	11	4	.....	.....
$12 and under $13	228	18	1	.....	5	.....	8	.....	35	.....	57	2	90	1	4	9	15	6	4	.....
$13 and under $14	241	3	1	.....	3	.....	16	.....	42	.....	54	.....	66	2	.....	1	56	.....	3	.....
$14 and under $15	139	7	.....	.....	1	.....	13	.....	26	.....	38	.....	42	.....	1	.....	17	.....	1	7
$15 and under $16	298	1	.....	.....	2	.....	7	.....	17	.....	47	.....	157	.....	3	.....	62	.....	1	1
$16 and under $17	140	1	1	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	7	.....	25	.....	47	.....	3	.....	48	.....	1	1
$17 and under $18	130	2	2	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	13	.....	17	.....	46	2	1	.....	45	.....	1	.....
$18 and under $19	109	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	7	.....	27	.....	41	.....	.....	.....	29	.....	.....	.....
$19 and under $20	86	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3	.....	5	.....	17	.....	47	.....	.....	.....	14	.....	.....	.....
$20 and under $21	62	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	11	.....	12	.....	17	.....	4	.....	16	.....	1	.....
$21 and under $22	45	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	3	.....	6	.....	25	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	2	.....
$22 and under $23	46	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	5	.....	15	.....	17	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	1	.....
$23 and under $24	31	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	.....	8	.....	11	.....	.....	.....	8	.....	.....	.....
$24 and under $25	34	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	4	.....	5	.....	14	.....	1	.....	7	.....	1	.....
$25 and over	92	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	4	.....	12	.....	54	.....	2	.....	18	.....	1	.....
Total	3,299	949	195	63	162	51	346	93	420	142	603	283	1,096	168	36	28	422	95	19	26
Median earnings	$12.15	$6.10	$3.45	$1.70	$7.10	$3.70	$9.00	$4.80	$11.20	$6.00	$12.65	$6.20	$13.55	$6.65	$12.25	$9.50	$15.80	$7.55	$14.50	$10.55

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Table IX.—Weekly Earnings, By Hours Actually Worked—Georgia—Continued.
Early Pay-Roll Figures.

Under $2	50	43	50	40	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$2 and under $3	63	48	62	30	1	9	.....	7	.....	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$3 and under $4	65	49	56	5	8	19	1	8	.....	10	.....	7	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$4 and under $5	62	86	44	3	9	7	7	24	2	16	.....	7	.....	10	.....	17	.....	2	.....	.....
$5 and under $6	97	144	43	.....	21	2	17	37	8	35	5	28	3	21	.....	18	.....	3	.....	.....
$6 and under $7	118	160	23	.....	38	1	29	8	12	28	10	48	1	59	4	10	1	5	.....	1
$7 and under $8	131	69	12	.....	32	1	23	8	25	13	17	20	22	18	.....	4	.....	5	.....	.....
$8 and under $9	173	55	6	.....	20	.....	34	2	21	5	23	19	66	16	.....	1	3	12	.....	.....
$9 and under $10	199	109	2	.....	20	.....	41	.....	33	9	28	7	74	49	.....	6	1	36	.....	2
$10 and under $11	217	59	2	.....	14	.....	41	.....	30	3	42	13	63	13	1	2	10	13	5	15
$11 and under $12	174	12	1	.....	7	.....	36	.....	28	.....	41	1	48	7	3	.....	3	2	7	2
$12 and under $13	259	5	.....	.....	8	.....	23	.....	46	1	65	2	85	.....	7	4	22	8	3	2
$13 and under $14	232	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	16	.....	42	.....	36	.....	107	9	2	.....	20	.....	4	.....
$14 and under $15	188	10	.....	.....	.....	.....	11	.....	27	.....	36	.....	64	1	3	.....	46	2	1	7
$15 and under $16	186	2	.....	.....	1	.....	10	.....	20	.....	34	.....	82	.....	8	.....	25	.....	6	2
$16 and under $17	208	9	1	.....	.....	.....	7	.....	12	.....	26	.....	92	.....	1	.....	67	3	2	6
$17 and under $18	165	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	9	.....	21	.....	19	.....	87	.....	.....	.....	26	.....	2	.....
$18 and under $19	127	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	12	.....	20	.....	51	.....	4	.....	28	.....	10	1
$19 and under $20	91	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	.....	14	.....	49	.....	3	.....	17	.....	2	1
$20 and under $21	68	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	7	.....	7	.....	31	.....	5	.....	14	.....	3	.....
$21 and under $22	63	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	6	.....	29	.....	1	.....	22	.....	3	.....
$22 and under $23	82	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	3	.....	9	.....	59	.....	1	.....	7	.....	2	.....
$23 and under $24	30	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	3	.....	3	.....	17	.....	.....	.....	5	.....	1	.....
$24 and under $25	56	.....	1	.....	1	.....	2	.....	3	.....	.....	.....	30	.....	.....	.....	17	.....	2	.....
$25 and over	112	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	6	.....	6	.....	58	.....	2	.....	32	.....	7	.....
Total	3,216	883	303	78	187	42	312	94	378	122	447	152	1,118	203	45	62	366	91	60	39
Median earnings	$13.00	$6.45	$3.70	$1.95	$7.50	$3.45	$10.10	$5.20	$12.45	$5.95	$12.90	$6.70	$15.30	$7.65	$15.30	$5.80	$16.80	$9.50	$18.00	$11.75

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Illinois and Missouri.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Women in the Candy Industry in Chicago and St. Louis. July, 1922.

In 1920 wages in general had reached the highest peak ever known in this country, as a result of the stimulus of war-time production and of the labor shortage. By February, 1921, however, wages were in an extremely unstable state, showing a downward trend and a barometric relation to the industrial depression. (Page 23.)

Unemployment was flooding the market with surplus labor. "Benefits" were fast changing into hardships. Wages of candy workers were dwindling considerably. Not only had definite cuts in rates averaging as a rule from 10 to 20 per cent caused a reduction in many cases but in many others curtailed factory schedules—an abridgment to 3 or 4 working days a week—were responsible for an even greater shrinkage in earnings. Piece workers were being handicapped in some instances by long profitless intervals when they waited for work, slow in coming because of lessened production. Another factor contributing to flabby pay envelopes was the discontinuance of attendance and production bonuses. Piece workers who formerly had been able to earn $20 to $30 or more a week were obtaining at the time of the investigation not more than one-half of these amounts and even less. (Pages 23-24.)

Week's earnings.

Even in a normal year wide variations in the weekly wages of women workers in the candy industry are to be expected, because of many modifying factors, such as the seasons of the year, the occupations of the women, the time and piece work system, the hours actually worked, employment in different establishments, the length of time in the trade, and even less obvious influences like the section of the United States where industrial establishments are located, and the economic conditions existing

in the country. Fluctuations are found in the earnings of an individual worker week by week in the year and also in the earnings of a number of women for any one week in the year. An analysis of the earnings of a large group of women for one week is possible from the following table, which gives the number of women in the various occupations who received certain classified amonnts: (Page 24.)

Table 6.—Week's earnings, by occupation[1]—late pay-roll period.

Week's Earnings	All women reported	Number of women earning each specified amount					
		Fore-women	Dippers	Machine operators	Packers and wrappers	Other occupations reported	Occupation not reported
Under $1	3	.....	.....	.....	2	1	.....
$1 and under $2	13	.....	.....	3	6	4	.....
$2 and under $3	40	.....	5	4	25	6	.....
$3 and under $4	23	.....	1	3	15	4	.....
$4 and under $5	18	.....	.....	.....	16	1	1
$5 and under $6	48	.....	7	10	24	6	1
$6 and under $7	33	.....	4	3	18	8	.....
$7 and under $8	41	.....	7	4	24	5	1
$8 and under $9	84	1	11	11	55	6	.....
$9 and under $10	92	.....	10	11	58	11	2
$10 and under $11	71	.....	10	6	44	11	.....
$11 and under $12	97	.....	9	16	64	7	1
$12 and under $13	140	.....	12	34	73	20	1
$13 and under $14	93	.....	9	15	57	12	.....
$14 and under $15	180	.....	16	35	94	34	1
$15 and under $16	178	.....	17	42	87	32	.....
$16 and under $17	138	1	20	42	58	17	.....
$17 and under $18	117	2	21	21	55	16	2
$18 and under $19	84	3	26	12	32	9	2
$19 and under $20	71	1	23	5	34	8	.....
$20 and under $21	64	5	18	3	27	9	2
$21 and under $22	30	2	15	4	8	1	.....
$22 and under $23	40	3	13	3	17	4	.....
$23 and under $24	23	2	9	2	10	.....	.....
$24 and under $25	23	5	9	1	5	3	.....
$25 and under $30	56	19	13	2	20	2	.....
$30 and under $35	21	9	5	.....	6	1	.....
$35 and under $40	4	3	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
$40 and over	7	3	4	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	1,832	59	294	292	935	238	14
Median earnings	$14.65	$26.20	$17.45	$15.75	$13.75	$14.50	[2]
St. Louis							
Under $1	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....
$1 and under $2	21	.....	.....	4	11	6	.....
$2 and under $3	4	.....	.....	1	3	.....	.....
$3 and under $4	5	.....	1	.....	3	1	.....
$4 and under $5	6	.....	.....	2	3	1	.....
$5 and under $6	5	.....	1	.....	.....	4	.....
$6 and under $7	17	.....	4	2	8	3	.....
$7 and under $8	11	.....	2	1	7	1	.....
$8 and under $9	43	.....	1	10	29	3	.....
$9 and under $10	47	.....	5	10	20	12	.....
$10 and under $11	85	.....	9	16	47	13	.....
$11 and under $12	48	.....	12	6	26	4	.....
$12 and under $13	102	.....	23	17	37	25	.....
$13 and under $14	20	1	5	.....	11	3	.....
$14 and under $15	31	1	8	7	12	3	.....
$15 and under $16	29	1	8	1	18	1	.....
$16 and under $17	30	3	9	3	11	4	.....
$17 and under $18	15	2	4	2	5	2	.....
$18 and under $19	21	2	10	.....	7	2	.....
$19 and under $20	8	1	1	1	4	1	.....
$20 and under $21	11	5	2	1	3	.....	.....
$21 and under $22	2	.....	.....	.....	1	1	.....
$22 and under $23	8	4	3	.....	1	.....	.....
$23 and under $24	3	.....	2	1	.....	.....	.....
$24 and under $25	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$25 and under $30	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$30 and under $35	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$35 and under $40	2	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$40 and over	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total	579	25	110	85	267	92	.....
Median earnings	$11.90	$20.30	$12.85	$10.80	$11.10	$11.00	.....

[1]Night workers not included. [2]Not computed, owing to small number involved.

(Page 25.)

This table shows the actual earnings during a current week in 1921—for the most part in the latter half of February[3]—for 579 women in 18 candy factories in St. Louis, and 1,832 women in 31 candy establishments in Chicago; that is, for a total of 2,411 women employed in 49 plants. It has already been pointed out that this season, preparatory to Easter, is normally one of increased activity in candy manufacturing, although secondary in importance to the fall trade, but that the production for Easter in 1921 was slackened below normal on account of the industrial depression. Earnings in many cases were reduced because of the great amount of lost time.

The median earnings—irrespective of any qualifications—of all women in St. Louis are $11.95, and of all women in Chicago $14.65; that is, in each case one-half of the workers received more and one-half less than this amount. The difference of $2.70 between the medians of the two cities indicates that the industry in Chicago was based for some reason on a higher wage scale than that prevailing in St. Louis, an indication that is crystallized into a fact by the figures in the ensuing discussion.

It is of interest to compare with the Chicago and St. Louis figures those obtained in the survey of the candy industry in Philadelphia in 1919. The median earnings of 1,246 women included in that investigation were only $10.30.[4] Apart from forewomen only 2.7 per cent of the women in St. Louis for whom wage data were gathered earned $20 or more a week, as contrasted with 12.2 per cent of the Chicago women and 4.9 per cent of the Philadelphia women earning such an amount. If $15 a week be taken as a measure—the approximate amount estimated by various minimum wage boards in the last few years as necessary for a living wage—it will be found that over three-fourths of the women included in St. Louis (77.2 per cent) earned less than this amount, as compared with 53.3 per cent in Chicago. The Philadelphia figures, taken for a period when the cost of living was somewhat less, show that four-fifths of the women surveyed (31.5 per

[3] A pay roll in March, 1921, was taken for four firms in Chicago.
[4] U. S. Department of Labor. Woman in Industry Service. Wages of candy makers in Philadelphia in 1919. Bulletin 4, 1919, p. 17.

cent) received less than $15 a week. Furthermore, if $10 a week be used as a line of demarcation, 27.8 per cent in St. Louis, 21.6 per cent in Chicago, and 45.3 per cent in Philadelphia failed to receive such a wage. The great difference here between the figures for Philadelphia on the one hand, and those for Chicago and St. Louis on the other, would make it appear that with the increase in cost of living, there was of necessity a rise in the lowest wage rates in the candy industry. Nevertheless, the proportion of women in Chicago and St. Louis who received inadequate earnings was sufficiently large to be of significance. (Page 26.)

Kansas.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 17. Women's Wages in Kansas. May, 1921.

This survey of wages paid to women in the industries of Kansas was made at the request of, and in cooperation with, the Industrial Welfare Commission of that State.

These records were taken for individual workers for the total period of their employment with the firm during the year beginning in June, 1919, and ending in June, 1920.

This period probably covers as high wage rates as have ever been paid in the country. (Page 7.)

Undoubtedly, then, the wage rates during the period for which figures were taken in the present survey can be considered unusually high, as there is no reason to suppose that Kansas did not share in the general movement toward increased wages which is indicated in the foregoing figures. (Page 8.)

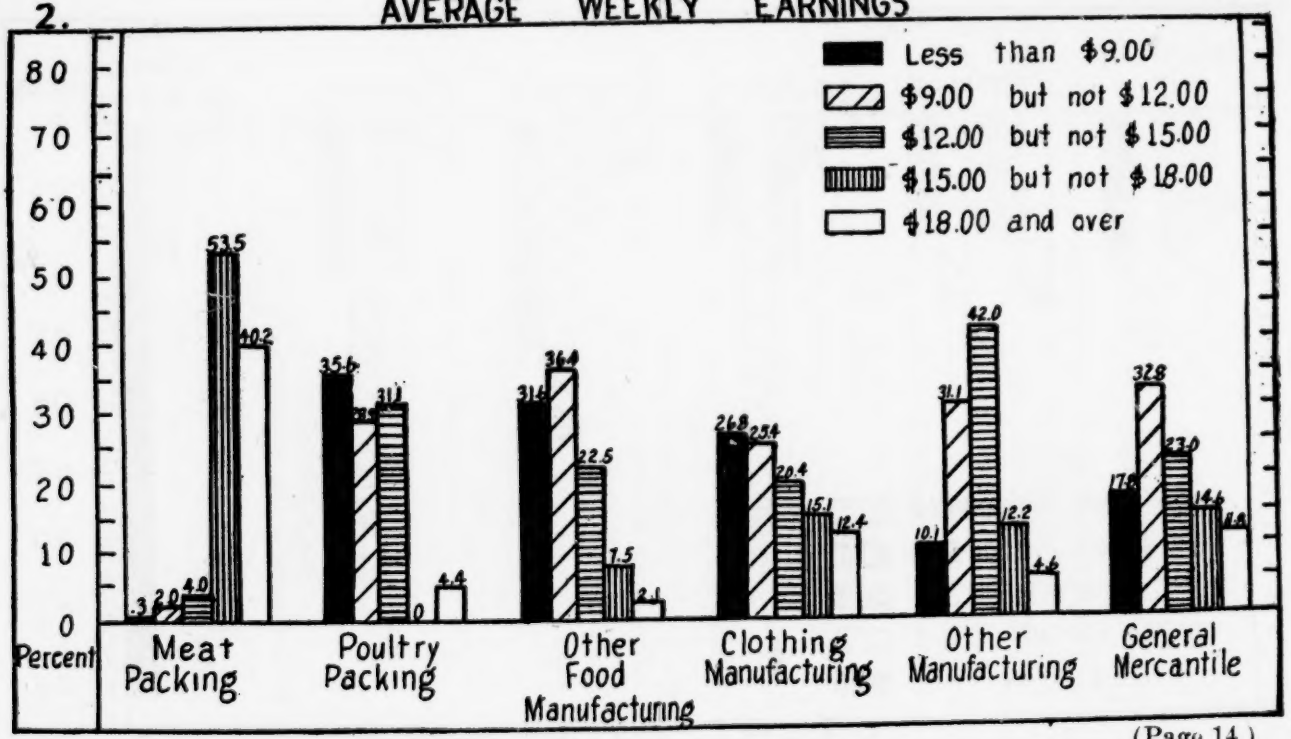
[This survey] covered 7,288 women, or more than one-fourth of the number listed in similar industrial groups in the 1910 census. (Page 10.)

The wages reported in this survey, therefore, may be considered representative of conditions in Kansas at their very best. They were taken at a time of high wage

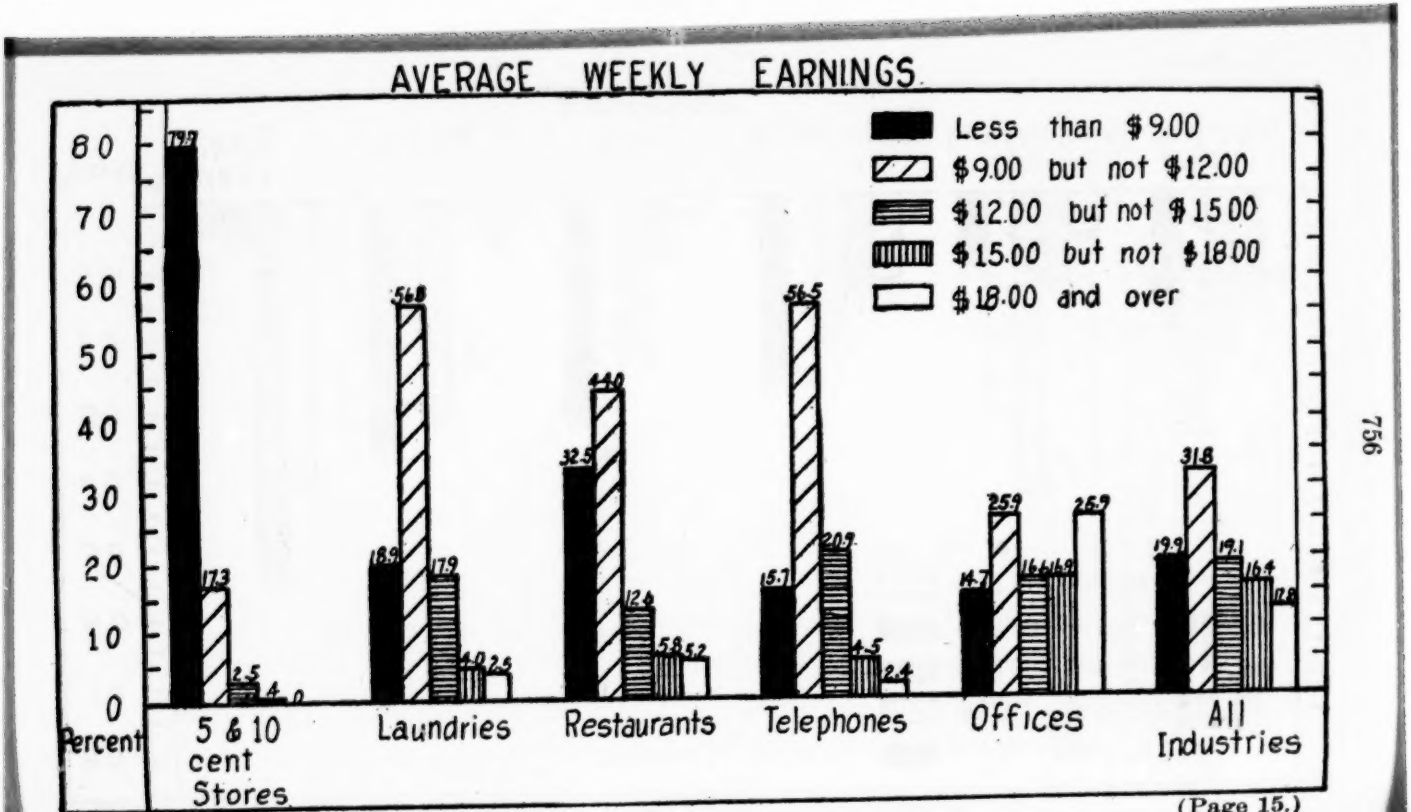
rates and steady employment, and schedules which might be considered unrepresentative were carefully eliminated.

. . . these [wage] conditions are probably the best that have ever existed in the State. The peak has been reached and passed and a survey taken now would probably show a standard of wages for women even less satisfactory than that which existed between June, 1919, and June, 1920. (Page 13.)

2.


AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS
Less than $9.00
$9.00 but not $12.00
$12.00 but not $15.00
$15.00 but not $18.00
$18.00 and over
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Percent
.3
2.0
4.0
53.5
40.2
35.6
28.9
31.1
0
4.4
31.6
36.4
22.5
7.5
2.4
26.8
25.4
20.4
15.1
12.4
10.1
31.1
42.0
12.2
4.6
17.8
32.8
23.0
14.4
8.8
Meat Packing
Poultry Packing
Other Food Manufacturing
Clothing Manufacturing
Other Manufacturing
General Mercantile

(Page 14.)


AVERAGE WEEKLY EARNINGS
Less than $9.00
$9.00 but not $12.00
$12.00 but not $15.00
$15.00 but not $18.00
$18.00 and over
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Percent
79.7
17.3
2.5
4
0
18.9
56.8
17.9
4.0
2.5
32.5
44.0
12.6
5.8
5.2
15.7
56.5
20.5
4.5
2.4
14.7
25.9
16.6
16.9
26.9
19.9
31.8
19.1
16.4
11.8
5 & 10 cent Stores
Laundries
Restaurants
Telephones
Offices
All Industries

Summary of wage figures.

The alarming number of women who have, at this time of highest compensation, been receiving far less than a living wage should challenge the attention of every citizen of the State.

Weekly earnings:

Less than $9 a week was earned by—

19.3 per cent of the women in all industries.[1]
79.7 per cent of the women in 5-and-10-cent stores.
35.5 per cent of the women in poultry packing.
32.5 per cent of the women in restaurants.
31.6 per cent of the women in miscellaneous food manufacturing.
26.8 per cent of the women in clothing manufacturing.
18.9 per cent of the women in laundries.
17.8 per cent of the women in general mercantile.
15.7 per cent of the women in telephones.
14.7 per cent of the women in offices.
10.1 per cent of the women in miscellaneous manufacturing.
0.3 per cent of the women in meat packing.

Less than $12 a week was earned by—

50.6 per cent of the women in all industries.[1]
97.0 per cent of the women in 5-and-10-cent stores.
76.4 per cent of the women in restaurants.
75.6 per cent of the women in laundries.
72.3 per cent of the women in telephones.
67.9 per cent of the women in miscellaneous food manufacturing.
64.4 per cent of the women in poultry packing.
52.2 per cent of the women in clothing manufacturing.
50.6 per cent of the women in general mercantile.

[1] Exclusive of restaurants; not combined with other industries because of the custom of giving meals.

41.2 per cent of the women in miscellaneous manufacturing.
40.6 per cent of the women in offices.
2.3 per cent of the women in meat packing.

Less than $15 a week was earned by—

70.0 per cent of the women in all industries.'
99.6 per cent of the women in 5-and-10-cent stores.
95.6 per cent of the women in poultry packing.
93.5 per cent of the women in laundries.
93.2 per cent of the women in telephones.
90.4 per cent of the women in miscellaneous food manufacturing.
89.0 per cent of the women in restaurants.
83.2 per cent of the women in miscellaneous manufacturing.
73.6 per cent of the women in general mercantile.
72.6 per cent of the women in clothing manufacturing.
57.2 per cent of the women in offices.
6.3 per cent of the women in meat packing.

Less than $18 a week was earned by—

86.9 per cent of the women in all industries.'
100.0 per cent of the women in 5-and-10-cent stores.
97.9 per cent of the women in miscellaneous food manufacturing.
97.6 per cent of the women in telephones.
97.5 per cent of the women in laundries.
95.6 per cent of the women in poultry packing.
95.4 per cent of the women in miscellaneous manufacturing.
94.8 per cent of the women in restaurants.
88.2 per cent of the women in general mercantile.
87.6 per cent of the women in clothing manufacturing.
74.1 per cent of the women in offices.
59.8 per cent of the women in meat packing.

Annual earnings:

Less than $600 a year was earned by 28.6 per cent of the women in all industries.
$600 to $900 was earned by 42.2 per cent of the women in all industries.
$900 or more was earned by 29.2 per cent of the women in all industries.

(Pages 16-17.)

The earnings in the different industries varied considerably from a median of $17.50 in meat-packing establishments to $8.10 in 5-and-10-cent stores. Arranged in descending scale the industries investigated rank as follows:

	Median earnings.
Meat packing	$17.50
Offices	13.55
Miscellaneous manufacturing	12.70
General mercantile	11.95
Clothing manufacturing	11.75
Telephone	10.80
Poultry packing	10.70
Laundries	10.50
Restaurants	10.30
Miscellaneous food manufacturing	10.15
5-and-10-cent stores	8.10

(Page 25.)

Even the low standard of $11 a week which has been established by the Kansas minimum-wage awards is far from accepted in the industries of the State. The appalling size—nearly one-fifth of all the women included in the survey—of the group receiving less than $9 a week, and the fact that more than one-half of the women were receiving less than $12 a week, disclose a very serious situation for the women workers of the State. (Page 17.) There are no estimates available of the cost of living in Kansas, but it does not seem probable that it can be so

much lower than in other States as to justify the payment of less than $9 a week to one-fifth and less than $12 a week to more than one-half of the women in the industries of the State. (Pages 18-19.)

No industry can thrive at the expense of its employees, and no community can afford to permit such exploitation of its women workers. Pitiful economies which were resorted to in stretching an $8 or a $10 wage to cover even the chief necessities of life frequently were reported to the investigators during the course of this survey. One woman could not afford to pay for a room, so used that of her brother who worked at night and was only at home in the daytime, when she was away. Another, who was making an average weekly wage of $8.80, sewed for other people at night and on Sundays in order to make enough to pay for her own clothes.

Instances such as these can be multiplied many times, and still the whole story would not be told, for many of these women had dependents and on their meager wages must support not only themselves but others. The question of dependency is treated in another section of this report (pp. 53-79), but it must not be forgotten whenever wages for women are discussed, as it is now a thoroughly authenticated fact that women are more often than not the breadwinners for others besides themselves.

It would be a natural reaction to credit a low wage rate to the presence of a large number of foreigners among the group whose wages are being considered, while knowledge that a majority of the group were native-born Americans might very conceivably lead to the expectation of a higher wage rate. (Page 19.)

Nativity.

This table shows that the women in the Kansas industries are Americans, the product of American schools and with American standards of life. It shows that 91.1 per cent of those included in the survey were native-born white, while about 5 per cent were colored. Only 3.7 per cent were foreign born, a striking contrast to conditions

in some of the industrial centers where one must speak a foreign language to be understood in the workshop. This is especially true in the garment trades throughout the country, but in the Kansas clothing factories the female employees were 97 per cent American born.

Age.

A very young and therefore inexperienced group of workers, or an older than average group with the lessened ability which is so likely to accompany long years of work and increasing age, might very legitimately be considered the cause of a comparatively low wage rate. (Page 20.)

The contention that the women workers are generally young girls who will work a few years and then drop out of industry permanently is not substantiated by the figures in this table. Nearly one-half of the women were mature, being 25 years of age or over. There were more than twice as many women in the industries surveyed in Kansas who were over 20 years as there were less than 20 years of age, and there were almost the same number 30 years of age and over (1,817) as there were under 20 years of age (1,832). It was surprising to find 32.3 per cent of the women 30 years old or over and 44.8 per cent 25 years or over. Generally speaking, then, it was a group of mature women who earned the wages reported in the following pages. (Page 21.)

They (the wage-earners represented in this survey) are a large group of mature American-born women working in representative industries in all parts of the State. These women are the backbone of the communities in which they live. Their standards and well-being definitely affect the well-being of the State, for it is largely the women who translate a dollars-and-cents wage into standards of life and homes, and healthy, educated children.

Are the industries of the State handling their women labor in such a way as to make these women in industry a definite asset or are they exploiting them for a temporary profit to the industry but a permanent loss to the community? (Page 22.)

Conclusion.

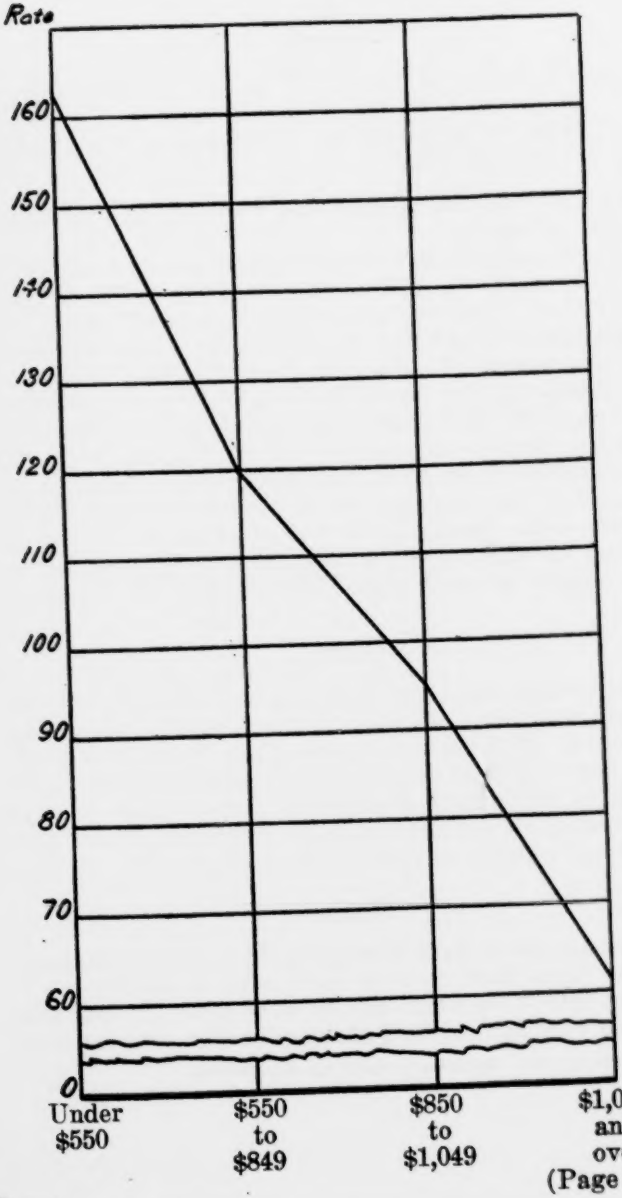
Annual earnings, weekly earnings, hourly earnings, all point to the same thing—the insufficient wage paid to the women in industry of Kansas. The next section of this report will make the case even more complete, when it shows what the responsibilities are which these women are struggling to meet. The story will be finished with the accounts of how many persons these women must support; of how many houses they must pay the rent; how many sick husbands, mothers, mothers-in-law, and other relatives, must be cared for as well as supported; and how many children are going to get a chance at a good education and start in life because of the efforts of their mothers and sisters. (Page 51.)

The main facts regarding the women in the industries of Kansas have been presented. There can be no denial that the wages of more than one-half of them are less than sufficient to maintain a satisfactory standard of life for one person. Indeed, nearly one-half of the women whose wages were reported in the survey were earning less than the $11 a week which has been set as a minimum for the manufacturing industries by the Kansas Industrial Commission. Besides their own support, moreover, many of these women have been shown to be carrying additional burdens in the form of complete or partial dependents or complete or partial responsibility for the maintenance of the family.

In the industries of Kansas these responsibilities, and the large share taken by women in upholding the standards of family life, have been ignored. This report shows the woman wage earner to be in many instances the responsible head of the family, and in many more instances an important contributor to the maintenance of others. If the cost of living is to be the basis of a minimum wage for women these facts must be taken into consideration. When this is done a more adequate standard can be assured which will not only protect the women from exploitation but will also make possible in the State a standard of living more in keeping with American ideals. (Page 82.)

Diagram I.

Combined Infant Mortality Rates for 8 Cities, According to Fathers' Earnings.



(Page 15.)

Kentucky.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Hours, Wages and Working Conditions for Women in Industry in Kentucky. Preliminary Report. December 19, 1921.

This survey was made during October and November [1917]. (Page 1.)

The Census of 1920 reports 69,345 persons gainfully employed in the industries of Kentucky.[1] It is not yet stated what percentage of these persons were women, but estimating on a basis of the same proportion of women as was found in the group of those gainfully employed in industry in 1914 (13.5 per cent) there are probably between 9,000 and 10,000 women in this group. Omitting from the total of this survey the women who were employed in stores, laundries, and telephone exchanges—not included in the classification of "all industries" in the Census—there remain 7,751 women employed in the industries surveyed, a very fair proportion of the estimated total number of these women according to the Census of 1920.

Hours.

Scheduled hours for more than one-fourth of the women (26.2 per cent) were 10 a day, and for more than one-fourth (28.7 per cent) more than 54 hours a week. Such hours as these are a decided menace not only to the health of the women themselves, but to their efficient employment in ondustry, and the well-being of the community of which they form a part. (Page 3.)

Wages.

The figures on weekly wages paid to women throughout the State show an even more serious condition.

One-half of the white women were receiving less than $11.05 a week and one-half of the colored women less than

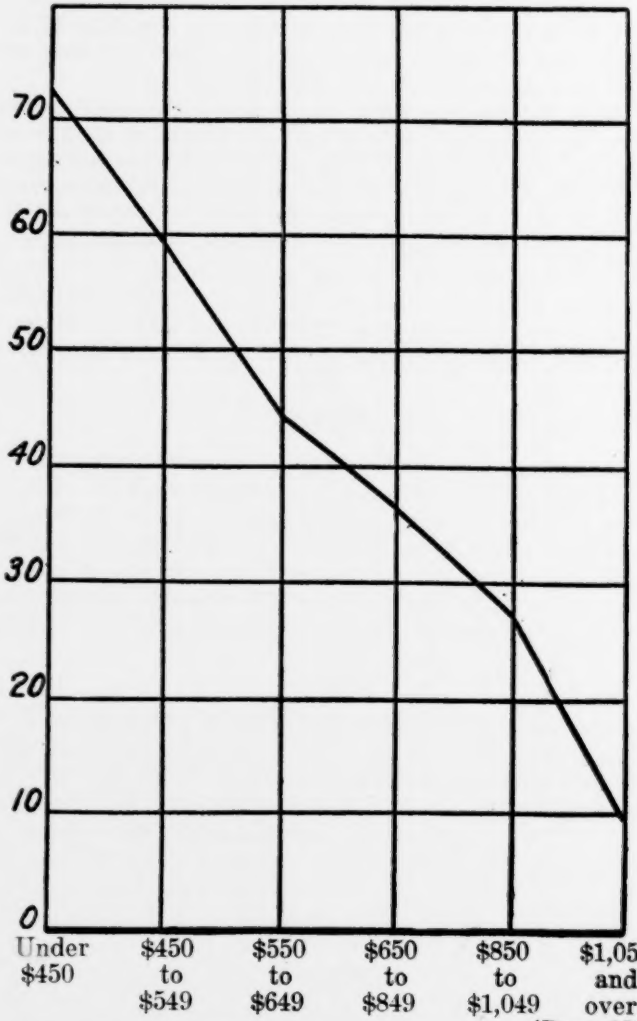
[1]Census of 1920. Preliminary report on manufactures.

$8.30. Even in those industries which ranked highest in the weekly earnings, large numbers of the women were receiving less than a living wage; as in the telephone exchanges, where half the women received than $14.30, and in the manufacture of metal goods, where half received less than $14.05. At the other end of the scale were the establishments manufacturing wooden boxes, where one-half of the white women earned less than $7.50 a week, and the 5-and-10-cent stores, where one-half of the white women earned less than $8.75.

Wages of colored women were on an even lower scale. In the three groups where they are employed in sufficient numbers to justify the drawing of conclusions as to wages —laundries and the manufacture of food and tobacco— half of them received less than $8.10 in laundries, $9.05 in food manufacturing, and $8.35 in tobacco manufacturing.

Diagram II.

Per Cent of Mothers Gainfully Employed in Manchester, N. H., During Year Following Baby's Birth When Fathers Earned Specified Amounts.



(Page 17.)

The results of such extensive underpayment of large groups of women—lowering the standard of living below the level not only of comfort but of health itself, and eliminating all chance of saving or provision for the future can not be too strongly emphasized. This form of exploitation of women for the benefit of industry—but at the expense of the community and of human life and happiness—is contrary to all standards, economic as well as social. The provision of an adequate wage is the first step toward the elevation of women in industry to a plane where due recognition is given the value of their work in the industrial world and of their health, vitality, and happiness in the community as a whole; and it seems to be a step which has not yet been taken in many of the industries of Kentucky. (Page 4.)

In selecting the week for which payroll records were taken, attempt was made to secure figures for a recent week which was representative of the usual working hours of the firm. (Page 9.)

Table 4.—Actual and Median Earnings of White Women, by Industry.

Weekly Earnings	Number of White Women Earning Each Specified Amount in the Manufacture of																	
	All Industries	Boxes, Paper	Boxes, Wooden	Clothing	Cordage	Food	Furniture	Metal Goods	Printing & Pub'g	Shoes	Textile and Knit'g	Tobacco, Cigars	Tobacco, Other	Misc.	General Mercantile	5-and-10c. Stores	Laundries	Telephones
Under $1....	40	3	..	3	..	7	..	..	..	4	1	3	13	2	1	..	1	2
$1 and under $2....	107	5	5	20	10	16	1	..	1	3	6	8	19	2	2	3	2	4
2 and under 3....	98	..	4	13	4	7	2	1	..	6	3	17	33	..	2	3	..	3
3 and under 4....	109	4	1	13	5	19	..	..	..	8	9	11	24	4	5	3	2	1
4 and under 5....	173	6	7	30	10	17	4	4	1	15	3	12	33	8	10	5	7	1
5 and under 6....	237	3	28	36	9	31	3	4	1	12	20	29	25	4	11	8	4	9
6 and under 7....	420	4	12	34	18	49	8	5	2	26	16	105	53	10	45	19	9	5
7 and under 8....	520	11	27	53	40	38	3	8	7	50	37	55	47	17	58	25	22	22
8 and under 9....	624	24	12	74	38	66	6	17	6	58	36	40	60	19	61	57	38	12
9 and under 10....	760	15	19	77	63	79	9	21	8	51	41	54	89	42	83	27	57	25
10 and under 11....	814	16	18	79	74	53	10	16	4	61	28	67	141	29	89	21	70	38
11 and under 12....	715	7	2	76	55	43	12	17	9	30	46	61	192	29	51	12	51	22
12 and under 13....	620	4	3	70	55	43	5	31	2	45	31	55	63	36	83	9	51	34
13 and under 14....	467	3	1	62	29	38	3	31	5	26	20	48	33	21	33	7	16	91
14 and under 15....	417	3	1	49	29	19	5	34	10	30	13	55	35	13	38	6	9	68
15 and under 16....	412	6	1	70	18	12	4	27	8	36	12	35	29	26	50	6	15	57
16 and under 17....	275	2	1	50	7	9	1	17	4	21	4	41	28	10	27	..	11	42
17 and under 18....	201	1	..	42	11	4	..	22	3	12	3	19	13	5	25	1	2	38
18 and under 19....	194	1	..	42	2	2	..	19	7	8	4	25	12	16	25	1	3	27
19 and under 20....	123	..	..	37	5	..	..	8	1	10	6	8	8	3	7	..	4	26
20 and under 21....	138	..	..	38	2	1	2	12	..	7	10	12	11	4	14	..	4	21
21 and under 22....	71	1	..	24	1	..	..	..	..	9	3	6	2	1	9	..	1	14
22 and under 23....	63	..	..	21	..	..	..	3	1	10	7	5	1	1	9	..	2	3
23 and under 24....	46	..	..	6	..	..	..	8	1	5	10	2	2	1	4	..	2	5
24 and under 25....	29	..	..	16	..	..	..	2	..	..	..	1	..	..	2	2	..	
25 and under 30....	110	1	..	55	..	..	..	4	1	6	2	3	2	..	29	..	3	4
30 and under 35....	37	..	..	10	..	..	..	1	1	2	2	2	..	1	17	..	1	..
35 and over.....	20	..	..	7	..	..	..	..	1	..	..	1	..	..	9	..	..	2
Total.....	7840	120	142	1107	485	553	78	312	84	551	373	780	968	304	799	215	387	582
Median Earnings.....	$11.05	$9.00	$7.50	$12.65	$10.60	$9.35	$10.30	$14.05	$13.20	$10.70	$10.50	$10.85	$10.60	$11.50	$11.65	$8.75	$10.75	$14.30

According to the figures given in this table the earnings of the women ranged all the way from less than $1 to $60 for the week's work. Those two extremes represent, of course, unusual cases which indicate nothing significant. It is significant, however, to find the massing of the women in groups of from five to eight hundred in the wage groups ranging from $7 to $12. In nearly every industry it is these wage groups that contain the large numbers of women, and it is from these groups that the prevailing standards of earnings may be judged.

In some industries the massing comes a little higher up the scale, and in some a little lower, but in most cases the variation is not very great. The following figures give the median weekly earnings of white women in each industry:

All industries	$11.05
Telephones	14.30
Metal goods	14.05
Printing and publishing	13.20
Clothing	12.65
General mercantile	11.65
Miscellaneous manufacturing	11.50
Tobacco, cigars	10.85
Laundries	10.75
Shoes	10.70
Tobacco, other than cigars	10.60
Cordage	10.60
Textiles and knit goods	10.50
Furniture	10.30
Food	9.35
Boxes, paper	9.00
5-and-10-cent stores	8.75
Boxes, wooden	7.50

Median earnings of $11.05 in all industries means that one-half of the white women in the industries of Kentucky earned less than $11.05 a week.

In the industry which employed the greatest number of white women, the manufacture of clothing, half of the

women received weekly earnings of less than $12.65 and of the next largest industrial group of women, 968 in the manufacture of tobacco, half received less than $10.60.

By any standard whatever, such earnings as these can not be considered adequate.

The Women's Bureau has conducted investigations similar to this one in three other States in very different sections of the country, and in no one of them were wages found to be as low as in Kentucky. In Kansas the median weekly earnings for women were $11.80, in Georgia $12.20, and in Rhode Island $16.85. Beside these figures the $11.05 median wage of Kentucky seems particularly striking as an instance of the condition with which the women wage earners of the State are confronted. Individual industries which show such figures as $7.50 and $8.75 as the rate below which one-half the women employees are earning, may perhaps be considered isolated instances of underpayment—deplorable it is true, but not necessarily representative of the conditions throughout the State. But when the combined industries, the so-called "well paid" together with the poorly paid, show a median rate as low as $11.05; when, grouping all of the wages, high and low, half of the women are found to earn less than $11.05; a challenge for action is laid down before the people of the community.

The wages of the colored women were even more insufficient than those of the white. Of the 1,253 colored women for whom figures were secured, half received less than $8.30 a week. The greatest number of these women (1,117) were employed in the tobacco industry, where half of them received less than $8.35. A fairly large group (77) were in laundries, where half of them received less than $8.10 a week. The rest of the colored women were scattered through the different industries in such small numbers that general wage figures can not be quoted for them. Except for 18 women in the tobacco industry, in only one case did the earnings of colored women exceed $15.00 a week. (Pages 11-12.)

The figures[x] in the accompanying table do not include all of the records which were presented in Table 4 of the memorandum, because for a large number of women records of hours actually worked were not available. Most of the women for whom such records could not be secured were piece workers, although some were time workers who worked in firms where no record of hours was kept. Between 35 and 40 per cent of the women employed in all industries were reported to be always or occasionally piece workers. Of those for whom hours were recorded approximately 9 per cent were piece workers. That the elimination of so many piece workers from the table giving hours and earnings should result in median earnings of $10.70, which is 35 cents less than the median of the earnings of all workers, indicates that the earnings of the piece workers were somewhat higher than those of the time workers. For this reason the higher median of earnings, $11.05, computed from the more inclusive table would seem to be the more representative figure. It is unfortunate that both earnings and hours could be secured for only so small a proportion of the piece workers, but the fact that when the earnings of all piece workers were included the median was only 35 cents higher makes their omission of little importance. (Page 1.)

This table shows without doubt that even for the women who had worked what might be called a full week —48 hours or more—the median earnings ranged only from $11 to $12.60. In fact it would seem, from the similarity in the median earnings of the women who worked hours ranging from 48 to 60, that beyond certain limits an increased number of hours worked does not result in a corresponding increase in earnings.

The following figures of the median earnings of the women in certain hour groups illustrate this condition, and show, in addition, that a large proportion of the women included in the investigation actually worked what might be considered a full, or practically full, week.

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x From "Supplementary Figures on Earnings of Women in Kentucky Industries" attached to the Preliminary Report.

Hours Worked	Per Cent of Women	Median Earning
42 and under 44	3.36	$10.50
44	1.97	14.00
Over 44 and under 48	12.76	10.55
48	9.89	12.60
Over 48 and under 50	7.30	12.05
50	16.44	11.00
Over 50 and under 54	13.45	11.70
54	3.23	12.10
Over 54 and under 60	11.43	11.35
60	1.86	11.15

In one case the median was as high as $14, but this was for only 108 women, 1.97 per cent of the total number for whom information was secured.

A median between $12 and $13 was found for three groups, those who had worked 48 hours (9.89 per cent), over 48 and under 50 hours (7.30 per cent), and 54 hours (3.23 per cent).

In all, 63.7 per cent of the women for whom complete data were secured worked 48 hours or over, and of these women one-half earned less than $11.55 during the week under discussion. Among the women who worked 48 hours or over there were 693, or 19.9 per cent, who earned less than $9. This means that *practically one-fifth of the women who worked 48 hours or more received less than $9.* At the other extreme were 16.7 per cent, or one-sixth, who earned $16 or more, 8.4 per cent who earned $19 or more, and 3.3 per cent who earned $25 or more. These figures show that even among those who worked what might be called a full week, 48 hours or more, the same thing is true that was found in the table giving figures of the earnings of all women. The massing of the women comes in those groups whose earnings were from $6 to $15, a slightly wider range than was indicated in the table giving only earnings but not different to any significant extent.

As it is seldom the case in any industry that every employee, without exception, works as much as 48 hours

in any one week, the median earnings of $11.05 which was found for all the women, irrespective of time lost, when compared with the median of $11.55 for women who had worked practically a full week, may be considered to be a fair representation of the opportunities open to women in industry in the State of Kentucky. (Page 56.)

Louisiana.

Louisiana. Department of Commissioner of Labor and Industrial Statistics. Tenth Biennial Report. 1919-1920.

The places inspected included offices of attorneys, dentists, doctors, insurance agents, shipping boards and similar places of employment. Department, dry goods, drug, shoe, grocery and other stores were visited. Box, candy, cigar, coffee, cotton and other factories were inspected. Cafes, hotels and restaurants were also included; hence it can be seen the inspection was of a general nature. In the places visited, 10,877 women workers were employed. Of the entire number, only 637, or scarcely six per cent of the whole, were receiving in excess of $17.00 per week, and by taking the earnings of all being paid more than this amount, we found the general average to be $21.97 per week. However, in our efforts to arrive at a general weekly average of the entire 10,877, the 637 receiving in excess of $17.00 per week, were not included for two reasons. First, ordinarily all such workers were either at the head of some department, or expert workers, or of the official or clerical force, and not commonly termed "workers," nor recognized as such among the employees. Second, to include this class of employees, would establish a general average out of just proportion, and not only be misleading, but absurdly untrue. To arrive at what we deemed a fair general average, we included all earnings from $4.00 to and including $17.00 per week, and we find it to be $8.01. These figures are based on statistics, some of which were gathered twelve months ago, while others were secured as late as the last month of 1919. The con-

tentions are now set forth that wages have been increased since that time until now the general average is practically $9.10 per week, but this office does not vouch for the correctness of same.

Of the 10,877 inspected, as before stated, 637 were being paid in excess of $17.00 per week; 2,930 received from $7.50 to $17.00 per week; 4,469 received from $6.50 and not to exceed $6.95 per week, while 2,841 were receiving less than $6.50 per week, in a few instances as low as $3.50, but in arriving at a general average, none were included at a less wage than $4.00 per week. (Pages 21-22.)

To establish a contention doubting the authenticity of certain statements that had been made, the Commissioner took the statistics furnished by seven large employing interests in one of the busy commercial centers, and in whose places work was given 1,318 women, which showed their wages to be as follows:

4 receiving less than $4.00 per week.
60 receiving $4.00 to $4.50 per week.
212 receiving $5.00 to $5.50 per week.
298 receiving $6.00 to $6.50 per week.
285 receiving $7.00 to $7.50 per week.
315 receiving $8.00 to $8.50 per week.
144 receiving $9.00 to $9.50 per week.

The general average of the above is $7.23 per week, and it is only fair to assume this is a fair average and generally in accord with the prevailing wage throughout the State, in similar occupations, and among those being paid the rates included above, that is, from $4.00 to $9.50 per week. (Page 22.)

Where wages are so low as to deny the worker the actual necessities of life, such a condition is not only a menace to health, but a sad reflection on the employers and the state as well. The Commissioner, for the sake of argument, is willing to admit that the present average is $9.10, as claimed. How far will this paltry sum go toward providing a home, paying rent, supplying groceries and other necessities for the household? And

statistics show the majority of women workers are the main support of the family. The reply is so easy any school child can answer. Other than to say, where wages are so low the workers are underfed, and denied reasonable comforts and deprived of every recreation, and whose work becomes a monotonous grind for lack of peace of mind, all such are simply eking out an existence, a dissatisfied employee, and often a poor investment, even though ofttimes reluctantly so admitted, this very serious condition is agreeably left to the thoughtful consideration of the law-making bodies for some solution. (Pages 22-23.)

Massachusetts.

Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission. Sixth Annual Report, 1918. January, 1919.

Rates of payment for women employed in cotton textile industry in Massachusetts.

(Based on pay-roll records, for 55 establishments, January to June, 1915, and January to June, 1917)

Year	Number and Cumulative Per cent. of Women with Weekly Rates of—														Mass. Wage Boards' Contemporaneous Minimum Cost of Living Budgets
	Under $4	$4 and under $5	$5 and under $6	$6 and under $7	$7 and under $8	$8 and under $9	$9 and under $10	$10 and under $11	$11 and under $12	$12 and under $13	$13 and under $14	$14 and under $15	$15 and over	No. Investigated	
1915 Number	48	339	957	1,879	1,614	1,626	833	461	183	26	4	....	3	7,973	$8.77 (Laundry)[1]
Cumulative per cent.	.6	4.8	16.8	40.4	60.6	81	91.4	97.2	99.5	99.8	99.9	99.9	.1	.. .	March, 1915
1917 Number	6	20	105	317	554	1,526	1,643	1,170	1,322	1,375	651	467	435	9,591	$10.00 (Men's Clothing)[2] July, 1917
Cumulative per cent.	1	3	1.4	4.7	10.5	26.4	43.5	55.7	69.5	83.8	90.6	95.5	4.5	....	$10.45 (Men's Furnishing)[3] Oct., 1917

(Computed from pages 13 and 14.)

[1]Third Annual Report Massachusetts, Minimum Wage Commission, 1915, p. 11.
[2]Statement and Decree Concerning the Wages of Women in Men's Clothing and Railroad Factories in Massachusetts (page 2).
[3]Statement and Decree Concerning the Wages of Women Employed in the Manufacture of Men's Furnishings (page 2).

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 17. Wages of Women in Hotels and Restaurants. September, 1918.

From 65 restaurants a complete transcript of the payroll record was taken for each woman employed during the fifty-two week period preceding the beginning of the investigation. These wage data concern 2,816 women. In addition, wage information for one week in the year was taken from 19 restaurants open all the year round, and from 3 open only in summer. (Pages 13-14.)

Rates of Payment. The wage situation in hotels and restaurants is complicated by the fact that payment in other forms of compensation, such as meals and lodging, is made in addition to a money wage. 1,453, or almost two-thirds (60.3 per cent.) of the 2,411 women employed in hotels open all the year round, were furnished with lodging and three meals a day. The second largest group, consisting of 824 women, or one-third (34.2 per cent.) of the total number employed, received three meals but no lodging. As might be expected, the proportion of those receiving lodging in addition to wages is largest in the housekeeping department, that is, among the housekeepers, linen-room girls, chambermaids, and cleaners. Over three-fourths (78.7 per cent.) of the women employed in the housekeeping department were found to "room in," while only about one-third (35.8 per cent.) of the dining-room employees had lodgings furnished. Very few dishwashers, cashiers, checkers, or waitresses received lodging in addition to pay.

Hotel employees who are provided with room and board are also relieved of the expense of car fares to and from their work, yet there remain necessary expenditures for clothing (including aprons and uniforms), laundry, doctor, and dentist, church, recreation, vacation, and other incidentals. According to the estimates of the various wage boards established by the Commission,

these expenses would average about $3.50 a week.* This estimate, however, makes no allowance for time lost through illness, unpaid vacations, unemployment, and shifting from job to job, all of which tend to cut down actual earnings. Since, as shown by the tables relating to annual earnings and fluctuation of employment, work in hotels is markedly unsteady, an additional amount of at least 50 cents a week would be required to cover the expenses of the probable average period of involuntary unemployment. This amount would, of course, not cover the expenses of any serious illness or abnormal period of unemployment, but would merely insure workers of a sum sufficient to cover their living costs during two or three weeks of vacation, illness, or lack of work. Workers who were given both board and lodging should therefore have received in addition a money wage of not less than $4 a week. It was found, however, that 29.0 per cent. of this group received less than this amount. This number included three-fifths (60.3 per cent.) of the waitresses, nearly two-fifths (38.9 per cent.) of the chambermaids and kitchen girls, about one-third (31.7 per cent.) of the cleaners, and 33.3 per cent. of the parlor maids. (Pages 16-17.)

For girls who were given three meals a day but no lodging, a money wage of at least $7 a week would have been required to cover the minimum cost of decent living, since the cost of a heated room and car fare to and from work would have meant an additional expense of about $3 a week. Yet it was found that 85.4 per cent. of the workers in this group received less than that amount. This number included all of the parlor maids and cleaners, over 95 per cent. of the waitresses, kitchen girls, and chambermaids, and a considerable proportion of the workers in other occupations.

In general, it was found, as might be expected, that wages were highest in the most skilled and responsible occupations, such as those of head waitress, cashier, cook,

*The average of the minimum cost of living budgets of the various wage boards, exclusive of the allowance for room and board, and for carfare in excess of 10 cents a week, amounts to exactly $3.51.

and housekeeper. The lowest wages, on the other hand, prevailed chiefly in occupations in which wages were customarily augmented by tips, as in the case of waitresses and chambermaids. An exception, however, is found in the case of kitchen girls, cleaners, and waitresses in help's hall, who, although also among the lowest paid of hotel employees, seldom receive any tips. (Pages 17-18.)

Money wages were considerably lower in the summer hotels, where two-thirds (67.7 per cent.) of the employees were paid less than $4 a week as compared with only one-fifth (19.3 per cent.) of the total number in the all-year hotels. A possible reason for the larger proportion of low-paid employees in summer hotels is that they are more generally expected to augment their wages by tips. Both this explanation does not account for the low wages of many workers, such as dishwashers and kitchen girls, who are not in a position to receive any tips. (Page 19.)

As shown by the following table, which summarizes the facts regarding rates of wages paid in hotels and in restaurants, workers in restaurants not only received a considerably higher money wage, as would be expected from the fact that in hotels living is more generally provided in addition to wages, but also a higher actual wage. This fact is brought out by a comparison between the wages paid to workers who received three meals but no lodging in restaurants and in hotels open all through the year. (Pages 20-21.)

It is difficult to estimate accurately the value of meals received. In some restaurants workers were furnished with twenty-one meals a week, while in others, run on a six-day basis, they received only eighteen meals. The estimates given by employers of the value of meals ranged from $3 to $5.25 per week for three meals a day. Many employers were unable to place a cash value upon meals, and several explained that their figures were low because they had not been revised since food prices had increased. The frequent change in shifts also makes the money value of meals a variable figure. The situation is further complicated by the amount and quality of the food received. The State Board of Labor and Indus-

tries* received many complaints from hotel employees about the inadequacy and poor quality of the food served to them, and several of the restaurant workers interviewed by agents of the Commission reported that they found it necessary to supplement the meals furnished them by purchases of food outside the restaurant. (Pages 23-24.)

The Question of Tips.—In the effort to ascertain to what extent and how adequately money wages were augmented by tips, agents of the Commission secured personal interviews with 219 representative restaurant workers living in and around Boston.

It is important to note in any consideration of this question, that only a part of the women employed in restaurants, namely, those who wait upon the patrons, forming approximately 50 per cent of the total number, have any opportunity of receiving tips. Furthermore, in a number of Boston restaurants patrons do not give tips, either because they are requested not to do so or because the patronage of the establishment is of such a type that the practice is not usual. Out of the 128 waitresses and counter girls visited in this investigation, 37 girls did not receive anything at all in tips, for one or the other of the above reasons. Eighty-five reported that they received fees averaging from 25 cents to $15 a week. Eleven of this number, however, stated that the tips which they received did not amount to as much as $1 a week, and only one-half of those reporting fees received over $3 a week from this source.

In general, workers receiving tips stated that they would not like to have the custom abolished, yet those working in restaurants where patrons are requested not to tip seemed to appreciate the rule, by giving them a feeling of self-respect and a definite knowledge of what they could depend upon each week. In most cases women prefer an adequate money wage to the uncertainty of fees. Waitresses were emphatic in declaring that their returns from this source had diminished markedly since the beginning of the war. This is probably because of a

*Fourth annual report of the State Board of Labor & Industries, pp. 30, 31.

tendency on the part of patrons to reduce the increased cost of food by cutting down on tips. The common supposition that waitresses can afford to accept low wages because they receive large tips is disproved by the results of this inquiry. (Page 28.)

Expense of Uniforms and Laundry.—The expense of aprons and uniforms is also a question that deserves especial consideration in the study of the wage situation among hotel and restaurant employees. A special style of aprons is required of waitresses in the majority of establishments. A few restaurants supply their workers with them. For those who must buy them, the expense depends upon the style. If tea aprons are worn the outlay may be less than $1 a year; if large white aprons are required the cost is nearer $3 or $4. White waists and black skirts usually figure also in a waitress's clothing budget. At least one restaurant included in the investigation required a complete uniform, the yearly cost of which was reported as ranging from $7.20 to $11.25. Waitresses in most cases find rubber heels also an essential, and require from three to six pairs a year.

The laundering of aprons or uniforms is an expense which must be met weekly by the restaurant worker. A few restaurants pay for the laundering of aprons for dining-room employees; of the girls visited 78, or about one-third, reported some laundry done for them by the establishment. Many girls who wash their own clothes send out their aprons in order that they may be done well enough to suit the management. Those who reported this expense separately gave figures ranging from 16 cents to $1 a week, depending upon the style of uniforms or aprons worn. (Pages 28-29.)

Rates of payment for women employed in hotels and restaurants.*

Type of Establishment and Compensation Received in Addition to Wages	Percent. of Workers with Weekly Rates of—							
	Under $3	Under $4	Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	$9 and over
Hotels Open All Year Round								
Lodging provided—								
Three meals	...	29.0	72.1	87.1	90.5	92.1	93.9	6.1
No meals	...	....	.....	18.2	18.2	18.2	100.0	.....
Number of meals variable or not specified	...	....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	100.0
No lodging provided—								
Three meals	1.6	5.3	58.9	71.8	85.4	88.6	91.1	8.9
Two meals	...	....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.....
One meal	...	....	.....	.....	33.3	100.0	100.0	.....
No meals	...	....	.....	45.8	47.9	58.3	81.3	18.7
Number of meals variable or not specified	...	....	.....	30.8	73.1	80.8	90.4	9.6
Total	.5	19.3	64.4	79.5	87.2	89.7	92.7	7.3
Summer Hotels								
Lodging provided—								
Three meals	.3	68.3	82.6	90.2	92.5	94.7	95.8	4.2
No lodging provided—								
Three meals	...	52.0	68.0	96.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	.....
Total	.2	67.7	82.2	90.4	92.8	94.9	95.9	4.1
Restaurants								
Three meals	...	.4	2.9	18.8	52.7	86.8	91.2	8.8
Two meals	.1	1.8	6.0	23.1	50.3	68.9	78.7	21.3
One meal	4.0	44.0	65.3	84.3	90.6	95.1	98.1	1.9
No meals	.3	13.6	17.2	23.6	27.2	27.6	29.7	70.3
Number of meals variable or not specified	...	9.5	9.5	28.6	66.7	81.0	81.0	19.0
Total	.8	9.6	15.9	31.6	56.1	77.5	82.8	17.2

(Page 22)

*Official Massachusetts Retail Millinery Wage Board contemporaneous minimum cost of living budget $11.64.

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. Report for the year ending November 30, 1920.

Wages of Women employed by firms manufacturing Druggists' Preparations, Compounds and Proprietary Medicines.

An inquiry into the wages paid to women employed in establishments manufacturing druggists' preparations, compounds and proprietary medicines was made by the Commission in the Spring of 1920. The field work for

this investigation was conducted in April. The time covered by the study is the three-month period, January through March, 1920. Agents of the Commission visited 50 establishments representing 10 localities. Pay-roll records for women employees for the three months specified were secured from 33 firms. Individual wage records were secured for 2,180 women employed by these firms. Of this number 1,485 records were available for tabulating average weekly earnings. (Page 11.)

The concerns engaged in this business are, for the most part, comparatively small, the majority employing less than 20 women. The scope of the industry is represented by such products as patent medicines for the cure or mitigation of disease, patent compounds not intended for medical use, perfumery and cosmetics.

The work performed by women in these establishments is mainly unskilled or semi-skilled. The majority are employed in filling, labeling and packing. In the smaller concerns there is little division of labor, the women changing from one process to another as need arises. The prevailing method of payment is by the week, 95 per cent of the entire number of women for whom records were used being on time rates. A few of the more skilled workers are on piece rates. These include the women with the highest earnings.

Of the 1,485 women for whom wage data were available, 88.6 per cent had actual earnings below $15 a week, and 68.5 per cent less than $12 a week. In the case of the adult women, 93.1 per cent were scheduled to receive less than $15 a week for full-time employment, and 21 per cent less than $12 a week. Since the majority of the workers are on time rates, the information secured regarding rates gives a fair idea of wage conditions in the occupation. For the majority of the women, both rates and earnings are below the minimum found by the wage boards in session during the past year as representing the necessary cost of living.

The first half of the year was characterized by a continued increase in the cost of living. (Page 11-12.)

Wages of Women employed in Establishments manufacturing Stationery Goods and Envelopes.

A study of the wages of women employed in the manufacture of stationery goods, envelopes and miscellaneous paper products was made by the Commission in May following the completion of the field work in the study of druggists' compounds and proprietary medicines. This investigation covered 11 cities, and included visits to 36 establishments. Payroll records for women employees for the three-month period, February through April, 1920, were secured from 26 firms and for 2,851 individuals. Of these records, 2,256 were available for tabulation.

The establishments included in the study manufacture commercial paper, letter heads, tablets, pads, notebooks, stationery, tissue paper, filing equipment, greeting and colored post cards, calendars, crayons and envelopes. Women comprise nearly two-thirds of the working force in the industry. A considerable part of the work performed by women is represented by machine tending and bench work. Approximately two-fifths of the women employed are machine operators. Some of the processes involve considerable skill; others are semi-skilled mechanical operations. There is consequently marked contrast in the earnings of the different groups of workers.

Over one-half of the women are on piece rates. These include a majority of the machine operators, and represent the highest paid workers. From the tabulation of the wage returns it appears that 23.5 per cent of the women have earnings of $18 and over a week. On the other hand, 55.5 per cent have earnings below $15 a week, and 27.4 per cent earnings below $12 a week. Of the 1,158 women for whom rates were available, 64.2 per cent are scheduled to receive less than $15 a week, and 11.3 per cent less than $12 a week. The contrast between these workers and the skilled employees is marked. Of the 976 piece-rate workers, only 21.5 per cent have potential earnings for full-time employment below $15 a week. In connection with the figures, however, it should be remembered that they represent not actual earnings, but possible

earnings under the most favorable conditions. (Pages 12-13.)

Minnesota.

Women in Industry in Minnesota in 1918. Field Investigation Carried on by Women in Industry Committee, Council of National Defence and Minnesota Bureau of Women and Children. 1920.

A careful analysis of the data presented in the present report warrants the following conclusions:

1. Seventeen thousand four hundred and fifty-nine women workers out of a total of 51,361 or 34.05 per cent received less than a minimum subsistence wage and 19,244 or 37.49 per cent of these 51,361 wage earners received a "minimum subsistence" wage.

6. While we cannot draw any positive conclusions as to the rate of increase in wages that had taken place during the war, it is clear that a disproportionate number of women were receiving a wage below the minimum of subsistence and that these low wages were frequently needed to assist in the support of the family of the wage earner. (Page 35.)

As there has been no recent census of women in industry, it is impossible to estimate with any degree of accuracy the proportion of the women wage earners represented in this inquiry out of the total number of women wage earners in the state of Minnesota at the time of the investigation. (Page 6.)

Table II. Showing occupational classes according to weekly wages of women workers.

Number Earning Specified Wages by Industry.

Weekly Wages Earned	Total Number of Women	Industry				
		Manufacturing	Mercantile	Telegraph and Telephone	Service	All other Industries
Under $3..	109	15	31	1	51	11
3..	169	28	45	14	54	28
4..	414	33	102	19	217	43
5..	1,309	112	258	48	748	143
6..	2,016	472	567	84	712	181
7..	2,211	755	556	139	610	151
8..	4,640	2,013	1,089	322	859	357
9..	6,591	2,790	2,166	632	670	333
10..	6,437	2,511	1,944	620	550	812
11..	3,271	1,371	727	539	181	453
12..	4,253	1,775	1,369	146	243	720
13..	2,758	973	712	206	172	695
14..	2,525	962	641	75	314	533
15..	3,553	1,085	1,027	86	223	1,132
16..	1,574	597	346	61	48	522
17..	1,135	433	260	25	32	385
18..	1,884	579	447	29	70	759
19..	954	199	171	30	47	507
20..	1,193	271	320	21	39	542
21..	626	110	74	14	25	403
22..	429	70	56	5	6	292
23..	496	87	90	6	15	298
24..	148	26	24	2	7	89
25..	783	84	167	2	109	421
Over 25..	698	109	107	5	56	421
No wage given..	1,185	350	312	36	190	297
	51,361	17,810	13,608	3,167	6,248	10,528

If we may venture a classification of the wage groups represented in the present investigation as indicated by the above table, we would suggest the following group-

ing as indicative of the relation between the wage and the standard of living possible within these wage groups:

Wage Group.	Economic Class.
Below $10.00 per week.	Below subsistence line.
$10.00-$14.00 per week.	Minimum subsistence.
$15.00-$19.00 per week.	Normal subsistence.
$20.00 and over.	Normal standard.

(Page 7).

Analysis shows that out of a total of 17,459 wage earners receiving less than $10 a week, the largest proportion are found in the manufacturing industries, with the mercantile employes next in importance. The remarkable fact, however, shown by this table, is that 34.05 per cent of all the women wage earners considered in this investigation received less than a minimum subsistence wage. With over a third of the wage earners studied receiving less than a subsistence wage, the effects of the war upon wages are not nearly as obvious as it has been claimed.

When we consider the minimum subsistence group of wage earners, we find that they include 19,244 or 37.49 per cent of the total number of women wage earners considered. In other words, 71.54 per cent, or very close to three-fifths of 51,361 wage earners considered, received sufficient wages for only a bare existence or less. The largest proportion of the wage earners receiving wages for a minimum subsistence is found in manufacturing industries. The workers included in the wage group designated as of normal standard include 4,373 or 8.53 per cent of the workers included in this study. This constitutes only one-twelfth of the half hundred thousand wage earners considered, most of whom were employed in industries outside of manufacturing or mercantile establishments. The classification we have attempted is perhaps out of proportion with the ordinary wages of pre-war times. It must be recognized that living costs have increased from 50 per cent to 55 per cent during the period preceding the war in 1914 and June, 1918.

This reduces the purchasing value of a $9.00 weekly wage to $6.00, and of a $14.00 weekly wage to $9.33, if we admit the increase in the necessities of life to have been only 50 per cent, and not 55 per cent. It should be remembered also that the lower the wage the greater the proportion spent for food; and the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics found upon investigation that between the midsummer of 1914, and June, 1918, the cost of 16 essential articles of food increased 62 per cent. (Pages 8-9).

Unskilled Labor.

[Analysis] shows a distribution of wage groups with 202 or 55.2 per cent of the 366 women wage earners receiving less than the subsistence wage, and 122 or 33.3 per cent with a minimum subsistence wage. In other words, 88.5 per cent of the women in the unskilled industries were receiving less than a wage sufficient for normal subsistence; and of this number, 240 or 74.1 per cent of the wage earners considered were over 26 years of age, while 99 or 30.5 per cent were between 26 and 35 years of age, or the age of highest productivity. (Page 14.)

Machine Operators.

As in the case of most women workers studied, there seems to be a disproportionate number of wage earners receiving less than $10.00 per week, as there were 689 women workers at this wage out of a total of 2,540 or 27.1 per cent. When we consider those receiving a subsistence wage of between $10.00 and $14.00 per week, we find that they constitute 1,156 or 45.5 per cent of the total machine operators studied. In other words, almost three-fourths of the total operators considered in this study received only a minimum subsistence wage or less, while only 103 or 3.9 per cent received a living wage or more. Of these workers only 752 or 29.9 per cent were less than 22 years of age. This would seem to indicate that among the operators as among many of the other workers, those who might be presumed to be only par-

tially dependent upon their own earnings because of their age, were not nearly as numerous as might be presumed. The figures of dependency discussed elsewhere only strengthen the accuracy of this contention, and verify the general conclusion regarding the unwarranted belief that much of the industrial wage of women workers is merely used to piece out incomes, but is not depended upon for full individual maintenance. (Page 17.)

Seamstresses and Sewing.

Of the total of 521 women wage earners engaged in this class of work, 128 or 24.6 per cent received less than a subsistence wage, while 319 or 61.2 per cent received a mere subsistence wage of between $10.00 and $14.00 a week. In all, more than 85 per cent of this class of wage earners received a mere subsistence wage or less. In the case of this group of workers, as in all others considered, there is no evidence of a large proportion of young girls working for pin money. (Pages 17-18).

Printers and Pressers.

While it is evident that only a comparatively small number of this class of wage earners (85 or 25.6 per cent) receive less than a living wage, the vast majority of them (223 or 67.1 per cent) receive a subsistence wage only. Considering the extent of the organization of this trade, and the skill and experience required, it seems that little advance has been made in the wages when 92.7 per cent of the workers receive a mere subsistence wage or less. (Page 18.)

Packers.

[Analysis] shows a very unusual number of young wage earners, as 278 or 65.6 per cent were less than 22 years of age, while the wages were commensurately low with 170 or 40.4 per cent receiving less than a subsistence wage and 187 or 44.1 per cent receiving only a mere subsistence wage. It is interesting to compare in this connection the wages of printers and pressers with wages of

packers which represent a comparatively unskilled occupation. In the case of the former we find a larger proportion of workers receiving a subsistence wage, but in the case of the packers the proportion of those receiving above the subsistence wage is 15.5 per cent as compared with the printers and pressers with only 7.3 per cent receiving more than a mere subsistence wage. When to this fact we add the greater maturity of the printers and pressers, we notice that skill has not been a very potent factor in determining wages, and that some means of standardizing is essential. (Pages 18-19.)

Saleswomen.

When we consider the distribution of wages in the above table, we find that 479 or 39.0 per cent of the wage earners in this occupation receive less than a subsistence wage, while 523 or 43.4 per cent of this group of wage earners received a mere living wage. We find, however, in this group of workers a reasonable proportion of workers receiving above a living wage to the extent of 56 or 4.5 per cent. It is also evident from the above table that age counts as a factor in the increase of wages.

Office Assistants.

It is clear from [analysis] that the wages of these workers are considerably above the average so far discovered, as only 243 or 12.7 per cent received less than a subsistence wage, while 347 or 18.1 per cent received $20.00 a week or more, which is a normal living wage under war conditions of prices. Even in this group, however, there were 1,050 wage earners or more than half of the total studied receiving a minimum subsistence wage or less. (Page 20.)

Stenographers.

[Analysis] shows several rather striking facts. The age distribution shows a constantly increasing number of workers with advancing age up to 35, while the num-

ber of those under 18 is negligible. The proportion of those receiving less than a subsistence wage was only 157 or 4.7 per cent, which is less than in any group of wage earners so far considered, while the proportion of those receiving over and above a mere subsistence wage was 2,155 or 65.5 per cent, the largest proportion so far found in any group of workers considered. The fact that only 32 out of the 157 stenographers receiving less than $10.00 a week were over 22 years of age, would seem to indicate that skill and experience play a rather important part in determining the wage in this class of work which, like the office assistants, represents a semi-professional group. (Pages 20-21.)

Bookkeepers.

[Analysis] shows that among the bookkeepers there were practically no workers receiving less than a subsistence wage, although there were 317 or 26.6 per cent of the bookkeepers receiving between $10.00 and $14.00 a week or a mere subsistence wage. It is interesting to note that 880 or 64 per cent of the workers considered were of the ages of highest productivity, as they range between 22 and 45 years of age. In point of wages, 517 or 43.5 per cent of these workers received a minimum living wage as compared with 1,392 or 42.3 per cent of the stenographers classed in the same group. When, however, we consider the bookkeepers receiving $25.00 a week or more, we find that they constitute 103 or 8.7 per cent of the total as compared with 157 or 4.8 per cent of the stenographers classed in the same group. While in the case of the bookkeepers, the proportion of those receiving less than a minimum subsistence wage was less than half the proportion of those receiving $25.00 a week or more, in the case of the stenographers the proportion of these two wage groups was equal. (Page 21.)

Telephone Operators.

It is evident from [analysis] that out of a total of 534 telephone operators 98 or 18.3 per cent received less

than a minimum subsistence wage, while 321 or 60.1 per cent received merely a subsistence wage. In other words, four-fifths of the telephone operators considered in this investigation were receiving wages which would cover the cost of mere subsistence or less. Of those receiving at the time of the investigation more than $14.00 a week, 82 out of a total of 115 were 22 years of age or more. The number of those receiving less than a minimum subsistence wage was four times greater than the number of those receiving a living wage.

General Office Help.

The wages received by the office helpers show a wide range of distribution. Those receiving less than a minimum subsistence wage numbered 342 or 19.0 per cent of the total, while those receiving a living wage or more numbered 200 or 11.1 per cent. The largest proportion was found, however, among those receiving a minimum subsistence wage. This group consisted of 901 wage earners or 50.2 per cent of the total. With seven-tenths of the wage earners in this group receiving a mere subsistence wage or less, the standard of remuneration can hardly be considered high, although it must be admitted that a large proportion of those employed in this field were comparatively young women. (Page 22.)

Cashiers.

While in the case of office helpers 71 per cent were under 26 years of age, the cashiers showed 216 or 58.4 per cent of the same age groups. On the other hand, the office helpers received less than a minimum subsistence wage in only 19 per cent of the cases, while the cashiers received such a low wage in 92 or 24.9 per cent of the cases. On the other hand, those receiving a living wage or more numbered 71 or 19.1 per cent as compared with 11.1 per cent in this wage group among the office helpers. On the whole, the majority of these workers still remain in the wage groups which permit of only minimum subsistence or less.

Foreladies.

It is surprising to find that despite the experience required in the performance of the duties of forelady (forewoman) 304 or 54.6 per cent were under 26 years of age. The wages of this group of workers vary only slightly from the other group, as 77 or 13.8 per cent received less than a minimum subsistence wage, and 212 or 38 per cent received a mere subsistence wage. In other words, more than half of this group of supposed experienced and skilled workers received a bare subsistence wage or less. Just what the duties of these workers are we were unable to ascertain from the data gathered. It is evident, however, that in a considerable number of instances the work is of such character as to command a fair wage, since 117 or 21 per cent of these wage earners received a living wage or more. (Page 23.)

Factory Workers.

[Analysis] shows that 1,387 or 58.9 per cent of this type of workers were less than 22 years of age, while there was a comparatively small number of these workers above 35 years of age. The wage distribution, however, is indicative of a very serious condition, with 1,108 or 43.8 per cent of the workers receiving less than a subsistence wage, and 1,122 or 40.4 per cent receiving a mere subsistence wage. Only 28 or 1.1 per cent received a normal wage which allows of a proper standard.

The discussion of the wage and age distribution among workers in specific occupations would seem to show that wages have remained during the war so low as to permit of little improvement in the standard of living; and that the majority of the workers are compelled to struggle with the problems of mere subsistence; and that only in comparatively few instances, and particularly in the semi-professional occupations, have wages reached a point where a normal living can be secured on the wage received. (Pages 23-24.)

Missouri.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Hours and Wages of Women in Industry in Missouri. Preliminary Report. 1922.

In the 160 establishments for which information was secured there were employed at the time of the investigation 15,363 white and 1,537 negro women, a total of 16,900. These women were distributed through many different industries, and the following table gives the details of their industrial classification. (Page 4.)

According to this table the largest numbers of white women were employed in the manufacture of men's shirts and overalls (16.2 per cent) and shoes (15.2 per cent) and in the general mercantile industry (17.7 per cent). By far the greatest number of negro women were employed in manufacturing food products (53.0 per cent) and a large majority of these were in the nut shelling establishments of St. Louis.

Negro women did not figure prominently in any industries except the manufacture of food products, tobacco, bags, and laundries. (Page 5.)

In selecting the week for which pay-roll records were taken, however, attempt was made to secure figures for a recent week which was representative of the usual working hours of the firm so that the undertime represented would not be excessive.

This was not difficult, as managers and superintendents repeatedly stated that the period of depression was passing and that they were again operating on normal schedules. On this basis, the pages following give a statement of the earnings of the women of Missouri during a representative working week during April or May, 1922.

Earnings, by Industry and Locality.

From the foregoing table it is apparent that during the week studied one-half of the women in all industries

in the State earned more than $12.65 and one-half earned less. The medians by industries for the State range from $15.90 for electrical workers to $9.80 in 5-and-10-cent stores.

The figures for the various localities in the State show that the earnings were highest in St. Louis, with a median for all industries of $13.50; a slightly smaller figure ($13.35) was found in Kansas City, while the median for other places in the State ($10.40) was far below the standard for the two largest cities.

Among the 15 industrial groups the medians vary somewhat in St. Louis and Kansas City, and occasionally there are surprising vagaries in specific industry groups in the different localities. The highest figure—a median of $17.75—occurs in the Kansas City shirts and overalls manufacturing group, whereas a median of $8.85 occurs in this same industry group in "other places" in the State, including over one-third of the 4,404 women working in these smaller cities and towns. The median of earnings in paper products manufacturing in "other places" is higher than in the same industry for the total State. Median earnings are higher in Kansas City than in St. Louis in the manufacture of candy, shirts and overalls, and millinery, and in laundries. (Page 11.)

Earnings of Full-time Workers.

In the foregoing table has been shown the relationship between hours worked and earnings for the entire group of women studied in each community. But it has not yet been shown how the different industries reward their full-time workers, and these figures afford perhaps the most significant gauge for the standing of an industry in regard to wages. The requirements of the industry should have much to do with the amount of money paid to full-time workers, but detailed figures indicate that this is not always the case, and that fluctuations in earnings in different industries can be traced not to difference in the requirements of the work, but to local con-

ditions, the standards of individual employers, or to standards which the employes themselves have been able to require.

The following table 6 shows the median earnings of a selected group—those for whom it was reported that they had worked 48 hours or over, or on 5 days or more, a total of 8,816 in the State, 57.4 per cent of all women included in the survey. The figures on median earnings which are found in this table are based on detailed figures which have been compiled and which are so voluminous that it is impossible to include them in this short memorandum.

TABLE 6.—Median week's earnings of women reported as having worked 48 hours or more or on 5 days or more, by industry and by locality.

A. Women Reported as Having Worked 48 Hours or More.

Industry	State		St. Louis		Kansas City		Other places	
	Number of women reported	Median earnings	Number of women reported	Median earnings	Number of women reported	Median earnings	Number of women reported	Median earnings
Manufacturing:								
Bags	254	$12.60	134	$12.70	120	$12.50	.....	.....
Candy	81	12.90	38	12.90	40	12.65	3	(1)
Clothing, men's—								
Shirts and overalls	102	15.15	95	15.65	.....	.....	7	(1)
Suits	42	14.35	42	14.35	.....	.....	.....	.....
Drugs	201	11.95	201	11.95	.....	.....	.....	.....
Electric products	211	17.00	211	17.00	.....	.....	.....	.....
Food products	159	12.80	145	13.00	.....	.....	14	(1)
Millinery	78	17.35	78	17.35	.....	.....	.....	.....
Paper products	520	13.30	101	13.50	180	12.40	239	$13.75
Shoes	1,037	13.60	311	15.45	.....	.....	726	12.85
Tobacco	526	15.55	526	15.55	.....	.....	.....	.....
Miscellaneous	185	14.05	32	14.25	136	14.00	17	13.50
Laundries	174	11.45	68	12.00	14	(1)	92	10.25
Total	3,570	13.90	1,982	14.70	490	13.25	1,098	12.75

B. Women Reported as Having Worked on 5 Days or More.

Manufacturing:								
Candy	340	$13.70	.....	.....	213	$13.55	127	$14.10
Clothing, men's—								
Shirts and overalls	428	10.10	22	$12.60	7	(1)	399	9.85
Suits	1	(1)	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	(1)
Drugs	51	14.05	51	14.05	.....	.....	.....	.....
Food products	238	11.85	209	12.00	.....	.....	29	9.75
Millinery	486	14.95	342	14.25	144	15.35	.....	.....
Shoes	208	17.90	167	19.60	.....	.....	41	13.40
Tobacco	26	16.40	26	16.40	.....	.....	.....	.....
Miscellaneous	123	13.30	74	14.20	.....	.....	49	10.15
General mercantile	2,564	14.70	1,839	14.80	(2)	(2)	471	12.60
5- and 10-cent stores	396	10.00	206	10.50	111	9.90	79	8.60
Laundries	385	13.00	147	14.45	121	12.90	117	10.70
Total	5,246	13.60	3,133	14.40	800	13.85	1,313	11.45

[1] Not computed, owing to small number involved.
[2] Included in total but not shown here because only one firm is represented.

(Pages 12-13)

This table shows that considerably more than one-half of the women for whom figures were secured worked practically full time during the week under consideration, and that the earnings of one-half of these full-time workers were less than $13.60 or $13.90.

The lowest median for women who worked 48 hours or more was $11.45 in laundries; the manufacture of drugs, bags, food products, and candy ranked in the next lowest group, with medians ranging from $11.95 to $12.90; and the highest paid group, with median earnings of $17 and $17.35, were employed in the manufacture of electrical products and millinery. For women who worked on 5 days or more the lowest medians were in 5-and-10-cent stores ($10) and the manufacture of shirts and overalls ($10.10). Women manufacturing food products received a median of $11.85. The highest medians were in the manufacture of shoes ($17.90) and tobacco ($16.40). The other industries occupied a middle ground, with median earnings around $13 or $14.

In the three localities the differences in earnings for the women who worked 48 hours or more are not striking, except in the manufacture of shoes, in which industry the women had median earnings $2.60 less in "other places" than in St. Louis. The earnings of the women who worked five days or more, however, showed considerable divergence between St. Louis and "other places," the median earnings in St. Louis being greater by $2.75 in the manufacture of shirts and overalls, by $2.25 in the manufacture of food products, by $6.20 in the manufacture of shoes, by $4.05 in miscellaneous manufacturing, by $2.20 in general stores, by $1.90 in 5-and-10-cent stores, and by $3.75 in laundries. (Page 14.)

The higher median week's earnings of the piece workers contrasted with the earnings of time workers in most of the specific industries bears out the prevalent idea that piece work pays better than time work, although the median week's earnings for all piece workers in all industries averages only 5 cents more than for the time workers and only 10 cents more than for all women included in the survey in the "all industry" group.

It is surprising that the median week's earnings are lower for piece than for time work in both subdivisions of men's clothing and in miscellaneous manufacturing, which includes firms all of which belong to the needle trades. The low earnings for these piece workers are in part attributable to standards in locality, for 1,208 of them were employed in shirt and overall factories in "other places" in the State where their median week's earnings were about $8. However, 155 of the time workers in the same industry and geographic group had median earnings of $12. (Page 15.)

New York.

State of New York. Department of Labor. Special Bulletin. Weekly Earnings of Women in Five Industries (Paper Boxes, Shirts and Collars, Confectionery, Cigars and Tobacco, and Mercantile Establishments.) 1919.

The tabulated returns cover 623 establishments and 61,160 women, including 417 factories with 32,881 women and 206 mercantile establishments with 28,279 women. As nearly as can be estimated about 60 per cent of the women in those four industries are here represented, including about the same percentage for paper boxes and for shirts and collars, with about 67 per cent for confectionery and 57 per cent for cigars, etc. (Page 3.)

Up-state the reports were all for the week ended November 23, 1918, or for the payroll nearest thereto. In New York City the reports were for different weeks in the period from December 11, 1918, to January 10, 1919. (Pages 1-2.)

Girls under sixteen, as being likely to be learners or beginners, were left out of all the tables. (Page 2.)

Earnings	Percentage of Women who Received the Specified Earnings: Paper boxes	Shirts, collars	Confectionery	Cigars, etc.
Less than $ 6.....	8	11	17	5
" " $ 8.....	18	23	28	9
" " $10.....	36	38	51	17
" " $12.....	59	58	72	32
" " $14.....	77	72	85	46
$14 or over.....	23	28	15	54
$20 " "	2	5	2	21

(Page 3.)

The New York Factory Investigating Commission made an investigation of the wages of women in 1913 and 1914, the results of which were reported in Volumes 2 and 3 of its Fourth Report. In that investigation, among other data, earnings for a single week were secured for four of the five industries covered in the present investigation and for weeks in November or December, 1913, or January, 1914, in the case of New York City firms, and in May or June, 1914, for up-state firms. This makes very nearly a five-year period between the returns of the two investigations, thus affording evidence as to the increase in earnings in that time. (Page 5.)

There is no means of knowing to what extent the returns represent the same firms for both dates, but to the extent that the returns in each investigation are typical for their respective periods, and there is every reason to believe that they are, they are fairly comparable.

Using here the median* earnings for comparative purposes the very considerable rise in women's earnings during the five years may be seen in the following comparison:

Factory Industries:	Grade Containing Median Earnings 1913-1914	1918-19
Paper boxes	$6.50-$6.99	$11.00-$11.49
Shirts and collars.....	6.50- 6.99	11.00- 11.49
Confectionery	5.50- 5.99	9.50- 9.99
Mercantile establishments...	7.00- 7.49	11.50- 11.99

*The median earnings are those at that point in the scale of different earnings received such that 50 per cent. of the workers receive those earnings or less, or, vice versa, 50 per cent. receive those earnings or more. (Page 6.)

In the present instance the exact median earnings are not known, but only the grade in which they fall. However, the grade is narrow enough so that the median is apparent to within less than 50 cents of the actual. Under these conditions it is permissible for the purpose of a rough measure of the rise in the medium to take the middle point of the grade as representing the median earnings. That would be to take in the case of paper boxes, for example, $6.75 as the median for 1913-14 and $11.25 for 1918-19. On that basis it would appear that the median earnings of women has increased during the last five years 67 per cent in paper box factories and in shirt and collar factories, 70 per cent in candy factories and 62 per cent in mercantile establishments.

Report Submitted Relative to the Telephone Industry in New York State to His Excellency, The Governor of the State of New York. Prepared by The Bureau of Women in Industry. 1920.

In conference between officials of the Telephone Company and the Chief of the Bureau of Women in Industry, the week ending December 13, 1919, was decided upon as a typical period of time in which to study the pay-roll and the hours of the operating force. The hour and wage discussions which are considered in this report cover only this week. The labor turnover, however, is taken on a yearly basis for the year 1919, and in other parts of the report, wherever possible, records for the entire year are used. (Page 10.)

In the table showing the actual earnings of the operators, which include overtime earnings, it will be seen that the highest group was in the Manhattan Division, where 538 operators' earnings were from $18.00 to $19.00. In the Manhattan Division (Schedule I), beginning at $9.00, the schedule shows a gradual increase up to the 538 group and a decrease after the 538 group is reached. For Brooklyn and lower Bronx (Schedule II), the highest earning peak was reached by the $16.00 to $17.00 group, 329 operators receiving this amount. In Schedule

III, including lower Bronx, part of Westchester and Long Island, the highest earning peak was reached by the $16.00 to $17.00 group, where 105 operators received this amount. Under Schedule IV, including the larger up-state cities, the highest earning peak was reached by 289 operators who came under the $15.00 to $16.00 group. Under Schedule V, including such places as Binghamton, Dunkirk and Elmira, the highest earning group is reached also in the $15.00 to $16.00, 95 operators receiving this amount. Under Schedule VI, including the smaller cities, 56 received $16.00 to $17.00, which was the highest earning peak.

Based on a grand total of $10,731 operators—which figure excluded 188 operators whose earnings were unknown and 1,407 operators whose earnings could not be considered typical as absence made their earnings below the basic wage—the earnings fell like this:

336 received under $12.00.
1,983 received between $12.00 and $15.00.
2,997 received between $15.00 and $18.00.
2,485 received between $18.00 and $21.00.
1,976 received between $21.00 and $25.00.

After the $25.00 mark is reached, there is a gradual decline, only 110 persons on the operating force earning as high as $30.00 per week.

The Telephone Company by the increase in wages removed the weakest spot in its employment policy. There is no doubt in the mind of the Bureau of Women in Industry that the low wage rates and consequent low earning capacity of the operators had much to do during the year 1919 with the Company's high labor turnover resulting in inefficient service. (Page 37.)

The Bureau of Women in Industry, however, believes that the Telephone Company has not gone so far as it should on wage increase and other increases will be necessary if it hopes to retain a permanent, well-organized, well-disciplined force. (Page 38.)

New York. Department of Labor. Division of Women in Industry. Special Bulletin. The Employment of Women in 5 and 10 Cent Stores. September, 1921.

Seventeen cities were included in this study in addition to New York City and Brooklyn. These were divided into three schedules on a basis of population. New York City and Brooklyn were classed as the First Schedule. The up-state cities were carefully chosen as regards size and location and were divided into two schedules: those having a population of over 50,000 made up a Second Schedule, and those having a population of less than 50,000, a Third Schedule. Eight cities were included in the Second Schedule and nine in the Third.

A total of 70 stores was covered in these cities. Sixty were stores under chain management. Eight chains were represented, and 10 stores were independent enterprises. Thirty per cent of the stores and 46 per cent of the workers were in New York City and Brooklyn. Every effort was made to secure a representative group of stores, so that all chains operating in New York State would be represented. Small stores and large stores, situated in the business sections of cities and in suburbs and small towns, were included.

The study was supposedly limited to "5 and 10 cent stores" or those of similar character. This meant that an occasional small store calling itself a "3, 9 and 19 cent store," or "50 cent to $1.00 store," or "5 cents to $1.00 store," was included, but the problems in all were essentially the same. As a matter of fact, in many cases "5 and 10 cent store" proved only a good-will name. Merchandise up to $15 and $20, and sometimes more, was found for sale. Actual earnings and wage rates were secured by copying payrolls for a normal week. . . . These payroll periods fell between January 29th and March 12th. One-half were for the same week, that ending March 5, 1921. (Page 7.)

Seasonal Tendencies.

The 5 and 10 cent store is perhaps the store which suffers least in times of business depression. In fact, the business of the 5 and 10 cent store in certain localities is apt to show a decided increase in "hard times," due to the fact that people patronize the stores at that time who never think of doing so when times are prosperous. The combined value of sales in five of the large chains shows an increase in 1920 over the previous year of a little over $50,000,000; and it is significant that in February, 1921, the time when the country was supposedly in the throes of business depression, one chain declared a special dividend on common stock in addition to its regular dividend.

In December, 1920, the biggest month in the history of one chain, the sales amounted to $21,521,798, whereas the average sales for the eleven months preceding had amounted to approximately $10,850,000 each month. January and February seem to be poor business months from the sales records, but the Easter trade marks a rising point again, and the summer months are apparently as profitable as the spring and fall. (Page 11.)

A very few stores gave a discount on merchandise sold to their employes. One chain and several independent stores made a 10 per cent discount to employes, but the largest chains made no difference in prices to their workers. (Page 17.)

Hours and Wages.

The relationship of hours worked to the wages paid indicates that the best wages were in the stores with the shortest hours, and where the hours were longest the workers were paid less. (Page 37.)

Policies as to wage payment in the independent stores depend entirely upon the attitude of the individual owners. In the chain stores the local managers are instructed that they must keep their payroll figures within certain percentage limits in relation to their sales. This

is fairly carefully supervised, and if the payroll figures form too large a percentage of sales, the manager is subject to reprimand and to being told that he must immediately reduce his labor cost. The largest chains consider 8 to 10 per cent normal figures, although some chains allow 12 and 14 per cent.

Many of the managers complained that it was impossible to keep within the low percentages set for labor cost, and that this regulation prevented them from encouraging their girls with frequent increases or from getting girls who were interested in their work and anxious to make good. (Page 39.)

Of the total group of full time women workers, *exactly one-half received less than $13.49. Fifty-five and twelve hundredths per cent were receiving less than $14 a week, two-thirds received less than $15, and 99.09 per cent less than $30.*

There was a decided wage drop in each schedule for both men and women. The smaller the city apparently the lower the wage, although strange variations were found due to individual policies of local managers. In New York City and Brooklyn half the women received less than $14.92, and the largest single group of women received a wage between $12 and $13. In the up-state cities of over 50,000, half the women received less than $12.40, and the largest single group received approximately 50 cents lower than the corresponding group in the First Schedule. In the smaller up-state cities, half were being paid less than $10.30, and the largest single group received a little less than this amount. (Pages 45-46.)

Wage Rates of Full Time Saleswomen.

Of the full time women whose wage rates were analyzed, 1,298 were sales clerks receiving a flat wage. The wages for this group ran decidedly lower than for the total group of women, as the 216 clerical workers and floorwomen pulled the wage rates up. *The largest group of saleswomen received $12.56. and half received less than $12.91.* (Page 47.)

10. Wage Rates of Saleswomen and of Floor and Clerical Workers

Weekly Wage Rate	Schedule I						Schedule II						Schedule III						Total					
	Sales			Floor and Clerical*			Sales			Floor and Clerical			Sales			Floor and Clerical			Sales			Floor and Clerical		
	Number	Per cent	Cumulative per cent	Cumulative per cent	Per cent	Number	Number	Per cent	Cumulative per cent	Cumulative per cent	Per cent	Number	Number	Per cent	Cumulative per cent	Cumulative per cent	Per cent	Number	Number	Per cent	Cumulative per cent	Cumulative per cent	Per cent	Number
$6 to $6.99													3	1.77	1.77				3	.23	.23			
$7 to $7.99													1	.59	2.36	4.00	4.00	1	1	.08	.31	.46	.46	1
$8 to $8.99	2	.30	.30				1	.21	.21				33	19.53	21.89				36	3.77	3.08			
$9 to $9.99	1	.15	.45				33	7.05	7.25	1.25	1.25	1	41	24.26	46.15				75	5.78	8.86	.92	.46	1
$10 to $10.99	2	.30	.75				102	21.80	29.06	3.75	2.50	2	45	26.63	72.78	8.00	4.00	1	149	11.48	20.34	2.31	1.39	3
$11 to $11.99	1	.15	.90				93	19.87	48.93	5.00	1.25	1	16	9.47	82.25	12.00	4.00	1	110	8.47	28.81	3.24	.93	2
$12 to $12.99	170	25.72	26.62	1.80	1.80	2	114	24.36	73.29	15.00	10.00	8	17	10.06	92.31	28.00	16.00	4	301	23.19	52. 0	9.72	6.48	14
$13 to $13.99	85	12.86	39.48	3.60	1.80	2	50	10.69	83.98	20.00	5.00	4	5	2.96	95.27	40.00	12.00	3	140	10.79	62.79	13.89	4.17	9
$14 to $14.99	134	20.27	59.75				37	7.91	91.89	28.75	8.75	7	4	2.37	97.64				175	13.48	76.27	17.13	3.24	7
$15 to $15.99	123	20.12	79.87	11.71	8.11	9	17	3.63	95.52	41.25	12.50	10	2	1.18	98.82				152	11.71	87.98	25.93	8.80	19
$16 to $16.99	51	7.72	87.59	17.12	5.41	6	10	2.14	97.66	47.50	6.25	5	1	.59	99.41	64.00	24.00	6	62	4.78	92.76	33.80	7.87	17
$17 to $17.99	38	5.75	93.34	21.62	4.50	5	8	1.71	99.37	61.25	13.75	11	1	.59	100.00				47	3.62	96.38	41.21	7.41	16
$18 to $18.99	24	3.63	96.97	38.74	17.12	19	1	.21	99.58	70.00	8.75	7				96.00	32.00	8	25	1.93	98.31	86.95	15.74	34
$19 to $19.99	2	.30	97.27	44.15	5.41	6	1	.21	99.79	76.25	6.25	5							3	.23	98.54	62.04	5.09	11
$20 to $24.99	11	1.67	98.94	76.58	32.43	36	1	.21	100.00	91.25	15.00	12				100.00	4.00	1	12	.92	99.46	84.72	22.68	49
$25 to $25.99	6	.91	99.85	88.29	11.71	13				100.00	8.75	7							6	.46	99.92	93.98	9.26	20
$30 to $34.99				97.30	9.01	10																98.61	4.63	10
$35 to $35.99	1	.15	100.00	98.20	.90	1													1	.08	100.00	99.07	.46	1
$40 and over				100.00	1.80	2																100.00	.93	2
Total	661	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	111	468	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	80	167	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	25	1,298	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	216

* This group includes the 4 assistant managers and 1 window dresser.

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Here again the wage dropped as the size of the city decreased. In New York City and Brooklyn, the highest paid saleswomen received between $35 and $40. In the Second Schedule, the highest paid saleswoman received between $20 and $25; and in the Third Schedule, the maximum was $17. Only one woman received these amounts in each case.

Wage Rates in Different Chains and Stores.

The difference between wage rates in the different chains and in the independent stores varied in a wholly haphazard manner. Two of the largest chains had the same starting wage ($12) for New York City and Brooklyn. At the time the study was made, in one of these chains almost one-third of the women were still at this starting wage, and in the other chain one-fifth were at the starting wage, and one-fourth were receiving $14. In the Second Schedule, the starting wage for one of these chains was $8; for the other, $9. In the Third Schedule, the lowest starting wage was in one case $7, and in the other $8; and another chain in this schedule started their workers at $6, the lowest wage found. (Page 49.)

Cost of Living.

The cost of living has come to be a prime factor in the determination of wages. No matter how unscientific such a base may be, it hardly seems a matter for dispute that if people are needed for work, they must be paid at least enough to preserve health and strength to maintain their productive power and to live in decency.

It is impossible in this report to discuss in detail the relation of the wages in 5 and 10 cent stores to the cost of living, but if these wage rates are compared with the available figures on the cost of living in New York (both city and state), a very large percentage will be found to fall below the minimum requirements. (Page 64.)

Ohio.

Minimum Wage Study. Ohio Council on Women and Children in Industry. 1920.

A report recently issued by the Department of Statistics of the Ohio Industrial Commission gives a survey of wages paid to all employees in 20 industrial counties of the State. From this report we have selected the group classified as "females, 18 years of age or over" for the basis of our study.

The survey shows first of all that wages have not advanced proportionately to the cost of living. The Bureau of Labor Statistics shows that from December, 1917 to December, 1919 the increase in the cost of living was 35.24% in Cincinnati, 52.12% in Cleveland, 36.53% in Indianapolis, 58.02% in Detroit, 51.52% in Buffalo and 58.83% in Chicago. In no one of the 20 counties has the percentage of increase in wages equalled these figures. (Page 1.)

Table No. 2 shows the numbers and percentages of workers receiving less than $15 weekly in 1917 and 1919. Totaling the 20 counties and finding the average receiving less than $15 shows:

	1917	1919	Decrease
Wage earners	90.8%	61.9%	28.9%
Saleswomen	92.0%	72.0%	20.0%
Bookkeepers, Stenographers, Office clerks	71.8%	33.9%	37.9%

There is of course a decrease in the figures, but the fact remains that up until December, 1919, over half of our wage-earners and nearly three-fourths of our saleswomen were receiving less than $15 a week. (Page 2.)

Women's Wages and the Cost of Living. Ohio Council on Women and Children in Industry. December, 1921.

The Council analyzed the figures on wages sent in to the Industrial Commission of Ohio, by the employers

themselves. These figures represent the wage rates for the week of greatest employment during the year, and they include bonuses and commissions, and where board was provided it is included in the estimate of the wages. They do not give figures for establishments having fewer than five employees. Figures were reported for 240,630 working women in the State and the workers fell into the following wage groups:

Wage Groups of Ohio Women Workers in 1919.

$25 and over	6.8%	16,323
$21 to $25	7.9%	19,115
$18 to $21	12.8%	30,840
$15 to $18	20.3%	48,812
$12 to $15	24.3%	58,468
$10 to $12	13.7%	32,989
$ 8 to $10	9 %	21,612
Under $8	5.2%	12,471

Rhode Island.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 21. Women in Rhode Island Industries. November, 1921.

The investigation was begun October 5 and continued until December 10, 1920. The significance of the investigation is evident in view of the industrial status of Rhode Island and the position of its women wage earners. Despite its small area the State is an important industrial center. The preliminary statement of the United States Bureau of the Census concerning the manufactures in Rhode Island for 1919 showed a consistent increase in manufacturing in all respects as compared with 1914, and among other items was a 23.1 per cent increase in the number of wage earners.[1] The 1920 census figures for the number and sex of the wage earners are not yet available, but the 1910 census showed that the number of females over 10 years of age gainfully

[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census. Manufactures in Rhode Island. Summary concerning the State for 1919. News release, June 8, 1921.

employed was large in proportion to the total number living in the State (32.1 per cent), a larger percentage, in fact, than in the neighboring States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York.[1]

The Rhode Island factory inspection department showed that for 1919 the number of women wage earners over 16 years of age in the establishments inspected by the State was 64,031, and of those under 16 years, 3,948, making a total of 67,979.[2] These figures show an increase of 1,877 women during the year 1919 alone. (Page 1.)

Consequently, even though the wages in Rhode Island at the time of this investigation were nominally at the highest peak ever reached in the State, it will be clearly seen that they had only about one-half the purchasing power of the wages received in 1914, so that the weekly median already quoted for Rhode Island, $16.85, was about the equivalent of $8.43 a week in 1914. Another striking factor in the wage situation of November and December, 1920, was that although wage rates were still high, already the shadows of a business and wage depression were drawing over the industries included in this study. (Pages 25-26.)

The textile industry has been a strongly influential factor in causing recent variations in women's wages in Rhode Island. During the World War period textiles and other industries where women had been employed for many years were forced to raise wages to compete with the newer and more highly paid jobs opened up to women at that time. For some time after the close of the war the textile mills were able to keep up high wage rates, as the mills continued to operate at high speed not only with a full day force but in many cases with a large night force also. Such was true in Rhode Island as in other parts of the country and was of great significance in a place so definitely a textile center as this State. Certain figures compiled by the

[1] U. S. Bureau of the Census. Thirteenth Census 1910. V. 4, Population: Occupation statistics, p. 37.

[2] Rhode Island. Factory Inspection Department. Twenty-sixth annual report, 1919, pp. 5-7. Providence, 1920.

Bureau of Labor Statistics[18] are of interest at this point. These show that for women engaged in cotton manufacturing throughout the country there was an increase of 63.4 per cent in wages from 1918 to 1920. Rhode Island, with its 34,278 women engaged in the textile industry, naturally shared in this increase. (Page 26.)

Weekly Earnings.

The effect of several high-paid industries in Rhode Island in the raising of the median for all industries can be seen from a detailed wage analysis of the industries investigated. The median earnings for 7,780 women in the various industries for one week [representative of normal conditions in the plants, without a holiday or a slack period] in October or November of 1920 are shown in the following summary, taken from Table IV, page 64 of the appendix.

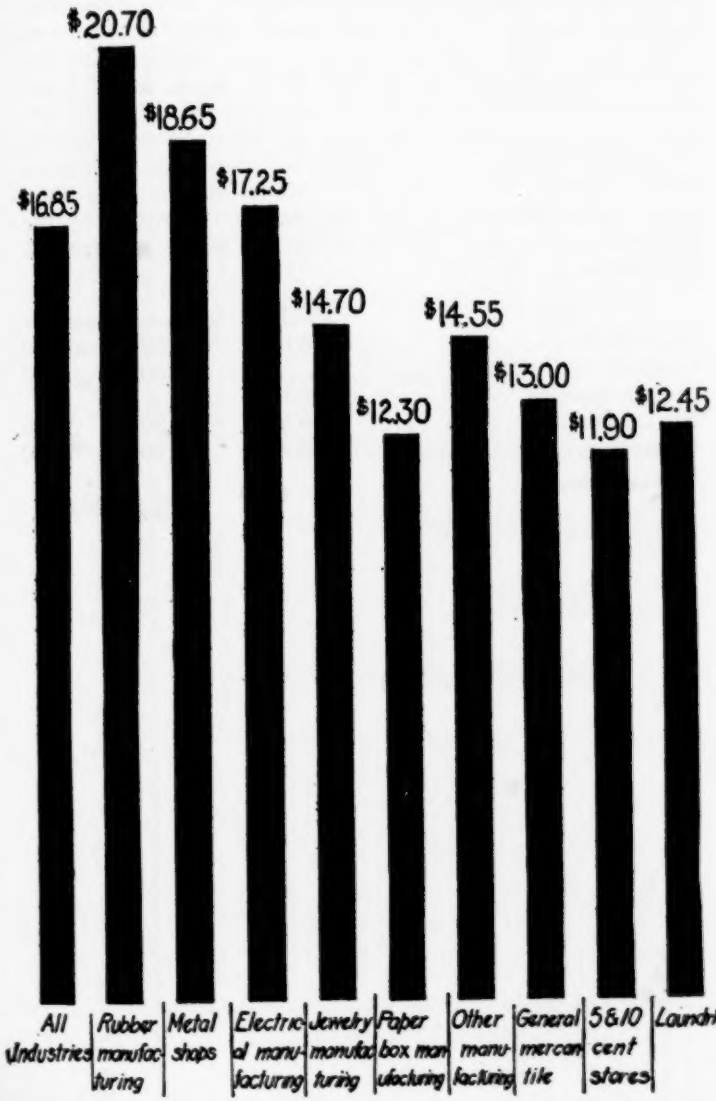
Industry	Median Earnings
Rubber manufacturing	$20.70
Metal shops	18.65
Electrical manufacturing	17.25
Jewelry manufacturing	14.70
Other manufacturing	14.55
General mercantile	13.20
Laundries	12.45
Paper-box manufacturing	12.30
5-and-10-cent stores	11.90
All industries	16.85

The median earnings for the 7,780 women for whom records were secured, both time and piece workers being included, were $16.85 a week; that is, one-half received less than this amount in the week taken and one-half received more. By far the highest earnings were in the rubber industry, with a median of $20.70, and the next highest were in the metal industry, with a median of

[18] U. S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. Wages and hours of labor in cotton-goods manufacturing, 1907 to 1920. Monthly Labor Review, v. 12, No. 2, February, 1921, pp. 70-72.

$18.65. The fact that such earnings as these were received by the large numbers of women engaged in these two industries (49.9 per cent of the total number in the survey) increases to a marked extent the median for all industries. If rubber and metal manufacturing are omitted, the median for the rest of the manufacturing establishments is $15.10, $3.55 less than the median for metal shops and $5.60 less than that for rubber factories. (Pages 26-27.)

MEDIAN WEEKLY EARNINGS OF WOMEN



(Page 28)

It should be remembered that these figures represent the highest wages ever paid to women in these industries in Rhode Island. Of all women in all industries for whom wage data were obtained, nearly one-fourth (23.3 per cent) had earnings of less than $13 a week, and 7.7 per cent received less than $10. Almost two-thirds of the women (62.8 per cent) employed in 5-and-10-cent stores, laundries, and paper-box factories earned less than $13 a week. These were underpaid according to minimum-wage rates effective in several states, as proved by the following statement of the minimum wage required in the places specified:

State.	Manufacturing.	Mercantile.	Laundries.
California	$16.00	$16.50	$15.00
District of Columbia	.....	16.50	15.00
Massachusetts	a16.50	.....	.....
North Dakota	16.50	17.50	16.50
Oregon	13.20	13.20	13.20

a Paper box.

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Table IV.—Number of Women Receiving Each Classified Amount During One Weekly Pay-Roll Period, by Industry.

Actual weekly earnings.	All industries.		Rubber manufacturing.	Metal shops.	Electrical manufacturing.	Jewelry manufacturing.	Paper-box manufacturing.	Other manufacturing.	All manufacturing.	General mercantile.	5-and-10-cent stores.	Laundries.
	Number.	Per cent.										
Less than $2	14	0.2	4	.....	3	.....	3	3	13	.....	.....	1
$2 and under $3	34	.4	5	1	5	2	7	7	27	4	1	2
$3 and under $4	30	.4	8	6	2	4	1	7	28	.....	1	1
$4 and under $5	29	.4	6	1	4	3	4	7	25	4	.....	.....
$5 and under $6	46	.6	12	3	4	5	5	8	37	7	1	1
$6 and under $7	66	.8	6	1	11	7	11	14	50	12	4	.....
$7 and under $8	110	1.4	14	9	8	12	12	12	67	25	16	2
$8 and under $9	123	1.6	14	3	17	8	19	22	83	16	15	9
$9 and under $10	149	1.9	32	4	9	18	17	22	102	21	4	22
$10 and under $11	309	4.0	38	13	18	38	38	52	197	66	24	22
$11 and under $12	290	3.7	44	9	33	52	29	58	225	35	14	16
$12 and under $13	609	7.8	90	22	40	57	55	87	351	208	37	13
$13 and under $14	537	6.9	109	26	78	69	32	85	399	110	18	10
$14 and under $15	574	7.4	184	50	74	66	19	58	451	96	7	20
$15 and under $16	568	7.3	155	44	66	84	16	102	467	82	6	13
$16 and under $17	481	6.2	148	87	76	58	17	44	430	39	4	8
$17 and under $18	454	5.8	175	35	96	52	12	47	417	31	2	4
$18 and under $19	481	6.2	184	129	49	32	6	54	454	20	1	6
$19 and under $20	379	4.9	180	52	76	20	8	29	365	12	.....	2
$20 and under $21	410	5.3	185	104	45	16	5	34	389	18	1	2
$21 and under $22	295	3.8	181	22	51	11	3	18	286	6	.....	3
$22 and under $23	266	3.4	127	29	51	9	3	35	254	10	.....	2
$23 and under $24	233	3.0	148	37	24	7	3	11	230	1	1	1
$24 and under $25	248	3.2	173	20	46	3	.....	4	246	2	.....	.....
$25 and over	1,045	13.4	860	90	54	11	2	9	1,026	15	.....	4
Total	7,780	100.0	3,082	797	940	644	327	829	6,619	840	157	164
Median earnings	$16.85	.....	$20.70	$18.65	$17.25	$14.70	$12.30	$14.55	$17.85	$13.20	$11.90	$12.45

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Virginia.

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. February, 1920.

Virginia.—Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics. Twenty-second annual report. 1919.

The investigation covered department stores (including 5-and-10-cent stores, 25-cent stores, etc.), and dry goods and millinery establishments, and was confined to four cities, viz., Richmond, Norfolk, Lynchburg and Roanoke. The figures are for December 31, 1918, but will probably hold good for the year 1919, as there has been no material change in wages in these establishments during that year.

Out of a total of 2,468 persons employed in 138 establishments, covered by the investigation, 1,257, or more than 50 per cent, receive less than $12 per week; 718, or nearly 30 per cent, receive less than $10 per week; 223 receive less than $8 per week, and 19 receive under $3 per week. (Page 270.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Bulletin No. 10. Women's Bureau. Hours and Conditions of Work for Women in Industry in Virginia. March, 1920.

The median wage for the entire group of women [weavers in a silk mill] was $15.07, and the wage earned by the largest number of women (nine) was $12 or less than $13. Although, except for these interviews, the question of wages was not included in the survey, these figures indicate that the women of Virginia have more to contend with, in these days of the high cost of living, than poor working conditions and long hours. (Page 29.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. Wages and Hours of Women Employed in Mercantile Establishments in Virginia. February, 1921.

The following tables showing the classified weekly wages and the prevailing hours of labor of women employed in department stores and drygoods and millinery establishments in Virginia on April 1, 1920, are taken from the twenty-third annual report of the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics of the State of Virginia (p. 108). The wage rates were reported by 206 establishments employing 3,720 workers.

Number of Women Earning Each Classified Weekly Wage in Department Stores and Drygoods and Millinery Establishments in Virginia on April 1, 1920:

Weekly wage rate.	In service less than 6 months.	In service more than 6 months.	Total.
Under $3.00	17	6	23
$3.00 to $3.99	6	4	10
$4.00 to $4.99	4	10	14
$5.00 to $5.99	8	7	15
$6.00 to $6.99	11	5	16
$7.00 to $7.99	28	25	53
$8.00 to $8.99	63	98	161
$9.00 to $9.99	172	205	377
$10.00 to $10.99	204	256	460
$11.00 to $11.99	74	155	229
$12.00 to $12.99	132	424	556
$13.00 to $13.99	53	171	224
$14.00 to $14.99	4	28	32
$15.00 to $17.99	278	1,034	1,312
$18.00 to $19.99	23	56	79
$20.00 and over	40	119	159
Total employes	1,117	2,603	3,720

In the record of hours of labor shown in the following table no reports were received for 43 employees. The percentage figures have been computed; they do not appear in the original report. (Page 86.)

16. In General.

Earnings of Women in Factories and a Legal Living Wage. January, 1921. National Consumers' League. New York.

Loose Statements as to Earnings Versus Pay-Roll Figures.

There is genuine confusion in the public mind as to what women actually earn and consequently as to the need of minimum wage legislation.

This confusion arises from half truths spoken by employers, from wild inferences based on an occasional fact, and from the conclusions of superficial writers. An employer refers to the wages he pays in the terms of his best workers. He forgets those in the less skilled occupations of his factory. A manufacturer with a higher wage scale than his competitors generalizes incorrectly about the whole industry. The high wages in one locality are emphasized while little is said about lower wages elsewhere. Men familiar with wages in silk mills speak as though these wages were common to all industries, including confectionery and paper box making.

Set against such partial and local truths is a recent, careful, well-balanced, detailed survey by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics on the earnings of women in twenty-one leading industries in thirty-two states, published in May, 1920.

The facts are impregnable evidence of the need of minimum wage legislation.

Where Factory Earnings are Low.

1. In Certain Industries.

The making of candy, paper boxes, hosiery, knitted underwear and overalls pays less than a living wage by the most meagre standard.

In these industries even the "aristocracy" of labor does not earn a living wage. Hand dippers of candy in

general average $11.68 against the $8.48 of candy packers, a tribute to the value of skill, yet $11.68 is far less than enough to keep a worker in health. Gluing machine operators in the box industry average $12.90 against the $8.48 of "turners-in," and finishers of underwear, $14.08 against the $11.85 of inspectors, menders and folders.

In the low paid industries a few women earn more than the average, enough to meet the needs of life, but for every woman who earns above the average there is another who receives even less than that pitiful figure.

2. In Certain Occupations.

The cigar, silk and women's clothing industries support their workers in the main. But certain of their employees do not earn a living wage. For example, hand stemmers and strippers of tobacco earn on the average $8.92, hand banders of cigars $10.14, doublers in silk throwing $10.53, quillers in the silk mills $11.09 and general operators on house dresses $12.14.

3. In Certain Localities.

In the better paid industries certain localities pay far less than the average for the country, and less than a living wage. The average earnings for suction rollers of cigars are $16.49 against an average in Dayton, Ohio, of $13.16. The country wide average for weavers of broad silk is $19.10 against $13.68 in Pennsylvania. Genreal operators on dresses and waists average $20.43, but in St. Louis only $12.27. Operators on vests average $15.33, but in Cincinnati, $9.95.

4. In Certain Factories.

It has been shown again and again that competing manufacturers in the same labor market have very different wage scales. In Massachusetts previous to a minimum wage decree of $13.00 a week for experienced women in the corset industry, 12 per cent of the women

in one corset factory earned over $15.00 a week compared with 2 per cent in another factory. Yet this second factory had only 8 per cent earning less than $5.00 a week compared with 22 per cent earning less than $5.00 a week in a third factory.* (Pages 3-5.)

Industry and Human Welfare. WILLIAM L. CHENERY, *Industrial Editor, "The Survey." New York, Macmillan, 1922.*

Women's wages have been traditionally low. Women were employed in industry because they were cheaper than men. In the home they had worked without payment. (Page 70.)

None the less, industry, after having drawn women out of the home, failed on the whole to provide equivalent support for them. The wages of women were not intended generally to maintain them. They supplemented the support provided in the family, although often at times, as in Lowell, the rate of factory pay was actually sufficient for the independent support of the women employed. But, commonly, industry has paid women less than their maintenance. It has been parasitic to that extent. (Page 71.)

Women employed in industry, taken in the mass, have never earned living wages in this country. The textile industry notably has paid family wages, that is, each worker has been paid so little that only the united efforts of all available workers sufficed to support the family. Women seemed unable successfully to challenge this state of affairs and consequently, beginning in 1910, a few American states have intervened. Minimum wage laws were passed. The minimum wages set for different industries have usually been higher than what was previously paid but low in themselves. (Page 72.)

Minimum wages, in spite of the greater liberality of some commissions, such, for example, as the District of Columbia body, are indeed minima! They are designed to

*Wages of Women in Corset Factories in Massachusetts. November, 1919. Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission. Page 26.

maintain physical life in more or less discomfort and that is all. (Page 73.)

Where High Prices Hurt Most. Edward T. Devine. *The Survey. September 15, 1920.*

The Survey has been making some inquiries as to how the poor—those known to the organized charities—have been faring in this five-year period of rising prices, more slowly rising wages, high and irregular profits and interest, wasteful war expenditures, enforced savings, and prohibition. Our information comes from one hundred cities and towns, including all of the larger, and from more than a hundred societies. Catholic and Jewish, as well as the general unsectarian agencies, have been consulted.

The executive secretaries of the charity organization societies and other agencies engaged in social work for families from whom our reports come, and their visitors, have the best of opportunities for observation; they are trained in accuracy of statement; and they have no possible reason for exaggeration or misrepresentation.

The large outstanding, although not at all surprising feature of the correspondence is that it testifies with one accord that the cost of living among these marginal families has doubled or more than doubled in the past five years, and that their earned incomes have increased very much less than their expenses.

The societies are of course acquainted with many families in which the wages of particular members have increased as much as the general increase in the cost of living. (Page 710.)

The increased cost of food has affected them earliest and most seriously. How has it been met? Chiefly, unfortunately, by doing without. They have had to do without milk for children; without meat, butter, eggs, fruits, and vegetables for both adults and children. They have not starved. They have eaten more bread and macaroni. They have drunk more tea and coffee. Their diet has therefore been unbalanced. They have suffered

from under-nourishment. Medical officials in an eastern city are referring cases more frequently with a definite diagnosis of malnutrition, and we may confidently expect that the higher death-rates will come. (Pages 710-711.)

What has all the health propaganda of the past generation amounted to other than to emphasize the importance of an abundance of plain but nourishing food? Milk for babies, suitable and adequate diet for expectant and nursing mothers, fruit and fresh vegetables and butter fats for all except infants, have been insisted upon in season and out of season.

It appears that there are other means of meeting deficits in family incomes besides doing without or applying for relief. They are for the most part the old familiar devices. Mothers who should be at home looking after their children go out to work. Children work illegally or at the earliest possible moment, sacrificing their education. Lodgers or boarders are taken into homes already crowded. One result of this is an increase in immorality of girls in the families into which lodgers are taken. At least this is the way it is reported—the immorality of the lodgers apparently being taken for granted. (Page 711.)

Overcrowding has increased in other ways than by taking in lodgers. Frequently two families move together, taking the rooms formerly occupied by one. Again, the family will move into a janitor's apartments, the man or the wife doing janitor's work in addition, it may be, to some other regular occupation. Or a direct exchange will be made to a smaller apartment, at the same or perhaps even a higher rental than had previously been paid for the larger one. (Pages 711-712.)

Enforced employment of mothers, under the conditions existing in these families, must not be thought of as a part of the general movement of girls and women into industry. It is an abnormal and unwelcome necessity. Women who have never worked, even before marriage, and who have no desire to prove their emancipation by any such means, are compelled to put their chil-

dren in day nurseries and go to work in order to supplement the earnings of husband and grown children. They are working, not from choice, but because of the high cost of living. They may borrow, if there is any one to give them credit; and so doing, they may fall into the hands of loan sharks. The few references on this subject in our letters indicate that the alleged buying of luxuries—pianos, victrolas, and fur coats—on the installment plan is mythical, but that many families are reduced to buying necessities for household use by this extravagant method. (Page 712.)

Women's Wages Compared with Men's.

Wages and Hours of Labor in 1919.[1] Paul H. Douglas. *Journal of Political Economy. January, 1921.*

The 1903 Census Report on Employees and Wages showed that the average wage for women was approximately one-half that for men. This proportion seems to hold today; if this study is representative, there has been no decrease in the disparity of wages between the sexes.

The Wide Spread of Women Workers.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 27. The Occupational Progress of Women. An Interpretation of Census Statistics of Women in Gainful Occupations. September 30, 1922.

Considering the general divisions of occupations, it is evident that striking changes took place in the employment of women during this decade. [1910 to 1920.]

Changes in census date and instructions to census enumerators partially explain the tremendous decrease among women returned as employed in agriculture, forestry, and animal husbandry. But if this decrease loses some of its significance, such is not the case with a decrease of 344,297 (13.6 per cent) among women engaged

[1] Industrial Survey in Selected Industries in the United States, 1919. Preliminary Report. United States Bureau of Labor Statistics. Bulletin No. 265.

in domestic and personal service; an increase of 832,892 (140.4 per cent) among women in clerical occupations; an increase of 282,607 (38.5 per cent) among women in professional service; an increase of 106,429 (99.8 per cent) among women engaged in transportation; and an increase of 109,771 (only 6 per cent) in manufacturing and mechanical industries. Certain of these changes indicate upheavals in the traditions of women's employment, which may be verified by a closer study of the facts.

The really significant deduction to be made from a study of the census statistics is that, while the proportion of women 10 years of age and over engaged in nonagricultural pursuits showed but a slight increase from 1910 to 1920, there was a decided change in the distribution of women among the various gainful occupations. In 1910 there were 203 occupations in which 1,000 or more women were employed; in 1920 the occupations in this group had increased in number to 232, and a very large part of this increase was in occupations in manufacturing and mechanical industries and professional service. Increases of 50,000 or more occurred among women who were clerks in offices, stenographers and typists, bookkeepers and cashiers, teachers, saleswomen, telephone operators, trained nurses, and clerks in stores. Decreases of 50,000 or more occurred among farm laborers (at home), farm laborers (working out), cooks, general servants, laundresses, dressmakers and seamstresses (not in factory), and milliners and millinery dealers. If the women employed as servants, as farm laborers, as dressmakers, and as milliners had held their own in numbers from 1910 to 1920, a pronounced increase in the proportion of all women employed would have resulted. If the women in these four occupations had shown an increase in number commensurate with that of the female population, then 25.4 per cent. of all women 10 years of age and over would have been gainfully employed in 1920, as compared with 23.4 per cent. so occupied in 1910.

On the whole, the great change seems to have been in a decrease among women working in or for the home and in personal-service occupations, and a corresponding

increase in clerical and allied occupations, in teaching, and in nursing, all of which have been women-employing occupations for many decades but have not before reached such numerical importance.

In manufacturing and mechanical industries it is necessary to search more closely for the significant changes. Increases since 1910 of more than 10,000 women were found among semi-skilled operatives in food, iron and steel, and clothing industries, in silk and knitting mills, and in electrical supply, shoe, and cigar and tobacco factories; among laborers in cotton mills; and among forewomen and overseers in manufacturing. The most striking increase shown for women in any industrial group was that for operatives in automobile factories, among whom there was an increase of 1,408 per cent. In the entire iron and steel industry women increased 145.4 per cent as semi-skilled operatives. A slightly larger increase (148.1 per cent) occurred among women operatives in electrical supply factories. Many of the changes which took place in manufacturing and mechanical industries were indicative of changes within the industries themselves and showed increases for men also, but it is significant to find that while women operatives in automobile factories increased 1,408 per cent (from 848 in 1910 to 12,788 in 1920), the largest percentage increase for women in any one industry, men operatives in automobile factories increased only 435.4 per cent (from 20,243 in 1910 to 108,376 in 1920), the second largest percentage increase for men. Clearly, in this one rapidly developing industry the employment of women was increasing at a much greater rate than that of men, though the number of men employed was still far in excess of the number of women.

In studying all occupations employing an appreciable number (1,000 or more) of both men and women in 1910 and 1920, an interesting situation was found to exist. The changes in rate of increase or decrease for the two sexes were entirely disproportionate, and in by far the greater number of cases the women took the lead in the rate of increase. Of course, in most of the occupations

considered, men still were numerically far above women, and the conspicuously large percentage increase shown for women in certain occupations are the direct result of small basic figures in 1910; but these huge increases none the less indicate that more and more industrial opportunities are being offered to women. (Pages 2-3-4.)

(2) Wage Scales in Many Low Paid Industries for Women Are Not Proportionately Affected with Skilled Industries by a General Rise in Wages

The loose statement is constantly made that wages rose during the war period equally with the cost of living and in some industries higher. It has also been claimed that during this period minimum wage legislation was unnecessary and ineffective where in force. Repetition is no proof of truth. The careful statistics of the Massachusetts minimum wage commission show that the war increase of wages did not affect many of the lower paid industries, employing chiefly women, sufficiently to keep pace with the rise in prices, much less bring wages, low before the war, up to the cost of living.

U. S. Department of Labor. Woman in Industry Service. Bulletin No. 4. Wages of Candy Makers in Philadelphia in 1919. 1919.

In view of the generally prevailing opinion that because of war conditions high wages had become the universal practice in industry, it was thought that facts were needed to show the actual conditions after the war in the trades in which before the war instances of a low wage scale had been numerous. Such an industry was candy making, as facts obtained in official investigations had demonstrated. The wages of candy makers were included in investigations made, for example, by the Commissioner of Labor of the United States in 1907-8, as authorized by act of Congress, and by the New York State Factory Investigating Commission in 1914. In both of these important inquiries an alarmingly large proportion of the women employed in candy making were receiving less than the minimum accepted as essential for subsistence. (Pages 8-9.)

It was found [in 1907-8]* that 91.1 per cent of the women workers aged 18 years and over earned less than $8 a week in Pennsylvania candy factories. (Page 16.)

Although nominal wages have unquestionably risen since the earlier investigations referred to, the greater part of this increase having taken place since the beginning of the war, the improvement in actual earnings in relation to the cost of living is not marked. In order to find just what the change has been, the Bureau of Labor Statistics was asked to furnish figures showing the increase in cost of living since 1908, the date of the Federal investigation which included confectionery workers in Pennsylvania. The average price of food in 1918 was 100 per cent higher than for the year 1908, while in December, 1918, it was 123 per cent higher than for the year 1908. If the above relation between cost of food and total cost of living may be assumed to be fairly steady, this means that in the year 1918 the cost of living had risen by 90 per cent, and by December, 1918, by 111 per cent over the price for the year 1908. * * * The mean of the increase for the year and for December of 1918 was taken, which gives a rise in the cost of living, as compared with 1908, of 100 per cent. On this basis, $10 in January, 1919, had a purchasing power equal to $5 in 1908, $12 at the later date equaled $6 at the earlier, and so on. (Pages 27-28.)

* S. Doc. 645, 61st Cong., 2d sess., Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States. Vol. XVIII, Employment of Women and Children in Selected Industries, p. 136. (Page 17.)

Distribution of Female Confectionery Workers Aged 18 or over in 1908 and 1919 Receiving Wages of Equivalent Purchasing Power, by Wage Group.

1908[1]			1919[2]			
Wage Group	Employees Receiving Each Amount		Wage Group.		Employees Receiving Each Amount	
	Number	Percent.	Amount Received	Purchasing Power in Terms of 1908 Wages Equivalent to—	Number	Percent.
Under $5	103	41.5	Under $10	Under $5	190	31.7
Under $8	153	61.7	Under $12	Under $6	312	52.1
Under $8	226	91.1	Under $16	Under $8	483	80.6
Under $10	246	99.2	Under $20	Under $10	558	93.1
$10 and over	2	.8	$20 and over	$10 and over	41	7.0
Total	248	100.0	Total		599	100.0

[1]Figures compiled from S. Doc. 645, 61st Cong., 2d sess., Report on Condition of Woman and Child Wage Earners in the United States, Vol. XVIII, p. 136.
[2]Figures from present report, Table II, p. 23.

This shows an appreciable increase in the wage lever of those aged 18 or over in the ten years or more which intervened between the two investigations, but even so, the improvement is far from satisfactory. Even in this group, which includes the higher-paid workers, and shuts out the young girls who swell the numbers in the lower earnings groups, there are still four-fifths who, according to the standards of 1908, do not earn a living wage. (Page 29.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Fifth Annual Report. December 31, 1917.

In this country as in the countries of Europe the war has caused a widening disparity between the price of essential commodities and the purchasing power of the wages paid in a large number of the traditional woman-employing occupations. The Commission has estimated that the cost of living of a wage-earning woman in Massachusetts, based upon retail prices weighed accord-

ing to the proportion which each item of expenditure forms of the total weekly budget, increased at least 35 per cent in the period between October, 1915, and October, 1917. On the other hand inquiry has shown that except in a relatively small number of industries there has been no general increase in wages at all comparable with this rise in living costs. (Pages 39-40.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Sixth Annual Report. November 30, 1918.

The war has served to emphasize the need for protecting the wages of unskilled women workers. One of the strange anomalies of the war-time employment of women has been the existence side by side of industries paying exceptionally high wages, and others where the wage level was only slightly above that in the pre-war period. Outside of the distinct war industries the wages of the majority of women workers have lagged far behind the cost of living. According to data collected by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the increase in retail food prices alone, from September 15, 1913, to September 15, 1918, has been 72 per cent.* For the masses of women workers no corresponding wage increases have been made during this period.

Some indication of the increased cost of living for self-supporting women in this State is given by the series of minimum budgets approved by the Commission's wage boards from 1913 (the year the Commission began its work) to the present year. These budgets range from $8.71 a week, voted by the first wage board,† to $12.50, voted by the latest wage board.‡ (Pages 35-36.)

During the summer and fall of 1918 wage records available for tabulation were secured from 11 fish-canning factories, and from 11 establishments engaged in canning pickles, preserves, sauces, and other products. In both types of factories rates for the majority of workers were

* United States Bureau of Labor Statistics Monthly Review, November, 1918, p. 77.
† Brush Makers Wage Board.
‡ Wholesale Millinery Wage Board.

below the standard of living: 59.3 per cent of the women employed in fish-handling establishments and 71.4 per cent of those in the other establishments, were scheduled to receive less than $9 a week. Only 51 had total annual earnings of as much as $450, or the equivalent of $9 a week throughout the year. [Contemporaneous cost of living budgets: retail millinery board, May 7, 1918, $11.64; and wholesale millinery board, November 13, 1918, $12.50.]

In connection with these rates and earnings it should be remembered that the period covered was one of exceptionally high wages. The prominence given to "war wages," however, has caused many to overlook the fact that in some of the non-war industries, especially those employing unskilled labor, wage advances have been very slight, and have entirely failed to keep pace with the increase in the cost of living. (Pages 18-19.)

In [seven candy establishments] a transcript of the pay-roll for the four months, June to September, 1918, was taken. (Page 22.)

From this it appears that nearly two-thirds of the women and girls in the candy factories visited were receiving less than $9 a week. [Contemporaneous cost of living budget voted by the office and other building cleaners wage board, June 19, 1918, $11.54.] The low level both of rates and earnings is the more surprising, in view of the labor shortage and the competition with munition factories that existed at the time the investigation was made. It serves, however, to show the persistence of low wages in occupations which depend mainly upon the labor of unskilled women and girls. (Page 23.)

Following the investigtion made in 1916-17 into the wages paid in the millinery trades, a supplementary investigation of wages in the wholesale millinery occupation was made by the Commission in the summer of 1918. This showed but slight improvement in wage conditions, and indicated that a substantial number of the women employed were receiving wages inadequate to meet the necessary cost of living and to maintain them in health. (Page 27.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Seventh Annual Report. November 30, 1919.

An inquiry into the wages of women employed in paper box factories was made by the Commission in the early part of 1915. A second investigation of the paper box industry was undertaken by the Commission [in 1919]. This investigation is based on pay-roll records from 16 of the 24 establishments included in the former study, and covers the four-month period, October, 1918, through January, 1919. Wage records were secured for 1,301 women and girls. Of these records 1,054 were available for tabulation. Average weekly earnings for this group show nine-tenths (89.3 per cent) and seven-tenths (68.2 per cent), respectively, earning under $15 and under $12 a week. * * * The results of both* investigations indicate little actual improvement in the wage situation since 1914. (Page 19.)

A reinspection under the Men's Clothing and Raincoat Decree† [$9.00] which became effective January 1, 1918, was made during March and April [1919]. Wage rates in this occupation show more striking increases than in any other investigation made by the Commission. These increases are, however, mainly due to changes in economic conditions, and to trade agreements within the industry. In 1915, the period covered by the original investigation, over three-fourths of the women (77.8 per cent) had rates under $9. The present inspection [1919] showed only one-twentieth (5.3 per cent) with rates as low as that. Nearly one-half, however, had rates less than $13 a week.

The first inspection under the Men's Furnishings Decree,‡ which went into operation February 1, 1918 [$9.00], was made in the early part of that year. A second inspection was started in December, 1918. (Page 44.)

* The other investigation here referred to was that of the New England division of National Paper Box Manufacturers' Association.

† Statement and Decree concerning the Wages of Women in Men's Clothing and Raincoat Factories in Massachusetts, August 31, 1917.

‡ Statement and Decree concerning the Wages of Women employed in the manufacture of Men's and Boys' Shirts, Overalls and Other Workingmen's Garments. Men's Neckwear and Other Furnishings, and Men's, Women's and Children's Garters and Suspenders in Massachusetts, October 26, 1917.

Although approximately only one-tenth of the women had rates below $9, one-half had rates below $12 a week. Very few were found receiving rates of $15 a week or over.

The inspection under the Muslin Underwear Decree [$9.00], effective August 1, 1918, was started last November, and completed the following December.

Although the inspection shows a considerable advance in earnings since 1915-16, the period covered by the original investigation, this advance is not comparable with the increase in the cost of living within the same period. (Page 45.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 18. Supplementary Report on the Wages of Women in Candy Factories in Massachusetts. January, 1919.

A comparison of average weekly earnings between 1913 and 1918 shows for these two establishments, which were included in both studies, a considerable increase in wage payments over those recorded in the pre-war period. In 1913 only .7 per cent of the employees in establishment No. 3 and 1.8 per cent of those in No. 6 were earning $9 a week or more. In 1917-18 the percentages had risen to 24.1 and 6.2 per cent, respectively. (Page 16.)

The average advance, however, has not equalled the increase in living cost during the same period. No general increase in real wages is shown. (Page 23.)

In connection with the increase in money wages, the decrease in the purchasing power of the dollar during this period should be taken into consideration.

Retail prices of food in the United States increased 72 per cent from September 15, 1913, to September 15, 1918, according to figures compiled by the United States Bureau of Statistics.* (Page 16.)

In spite of these increases, rates of wages, so far as records for them could be secured, run surprisingly low.

* United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, Monthly Review, November, 1918, p. 77.

Of 259 women and girls receiving specified weekly rates, 64.1 per cent had rates under $9, and 45.9 per cent had rates under $8 a week. While these data do not warrant conclusions as to the prevailing rates in the largest factories included in the survey, it shows that a considerable proportion of the individual employees for whom such records were available were paid wage rates which under present conditions are less than the minimum cost of living. (Page 18.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 19. Wages of Women Employed in Canning and Preserving Establishments in Massachusetts. March, 1919.

The average [wage rate] based on the total for both branches [fish canning and preserving and preserve, pickle, vegetable, sauce and meat canning] is surprisingly low. More than three-fifths are paid at rates under $9 a week, and nearly two-fifths, at rates under $8. [Cost of living budget of the wage board for the canning and preserving industries, $11.]

It should be remembered that these rates are for full-time employment, and that in the majority of canneries the working hours are the maximum permitted by law. It should also be remembered in this connection that the period covered (1917-18) was one of business expansion, when "war wages" had nearly reached the high-water mark. (Page 15.)

In connection with these rates and earnings it should be remembered that the period covered was one of exceptionally high wages. The prominence given to "war wages," however, has caused many to overlook the fact that in some of the non-war industries, especially those employing unskilled labor, wage advances were very slight, and entirely failed to keep pace with the increase in the cost of living. (Pages 20-21.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 21. Second Report on the Wages of Women in Corset Factories in Massachusetts. November, 1919.

Compared with the previous investigation, that of 1913, the wage situation as shown by average weekly earnings appears less favorable than six years ago. Assuming the approximate equivalence* in purchasing power of $5, $7, and $9 in 1913 with $9, $12, and $15, respectively, in 1919, the corresponding percentages of women receiving less than these amounts in each period are: in 1913, 20.0 per cent, 53.5 per cent and 83.6 per cent, respectively; and in 1919, 36.8 per cent, 67.1 per cent, and 89.6 per cent, respectively.

In connection with these figures it should be remembered that the corset industry was seriously affected by war conditions; that the period covered by the study was one of transition; and that, owing to temporary adjustments in piece rates and bonus systems, a particularly unfavorable picture of the wage situation is presented.

* The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics gives the increase in retail food prices in May, 1919, as 91.0 per cent over the same month in 1913, and an increase in all items of family expenditures in Boston from July, 1914, to July, 1919, of 75 per cent. (Page 19.)

(3) Nominal Rates Are Greater Than Actual Earnings.

It is a truism that nominal rates, i. e., the rates of pay, are greater than actual earnings, i. e., the real income. Earnings are decreased by factors over which the worker has no control; inefficient organization and consequent waiting for work, factories running short time, and seasonal irregularity. Earnings are also decreased by sickness, necessary vacations, and by voluntary absenteeism.

Minimum wage legislation does not pretend to eradicate the factors making for irregularity of employment, though in part it tends to curb them, but the uncertainty of steady work only emphasizes the need of a living wage, at least while working.

(a) Due to Lack of Steady Employment or Irregular Attendance.

District of Columbia.

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Labor Review. Wages of Women and Minors in the Mercantile Industry in The District of Columbia. June, 1919.

It will be noticed that the classification in the tables of this article shows the rates as even dollars. The investigation revealed that almost without exception the weekly rates paid in mercantile establishments of the District are in round numbers. Only 53 women, or a little over 1 per cent of the 4,609 women, received rates involving fractions of a dollar. (Page 191.)

At the outset the fact should be emphasized that these rates of pay did not measure actual earnings. Earnings averaged well below full-time rates. Some indication of this disparity may be found in the data, shown in Table 1, secured from four department stores employing 1,483

women. Figures of actual earnings (exclusive of bonuses) were secured for the week for which pay rolls were obtained. While figures of earnings for one week are manifestly of less value than those extending over a longer period, they may be taken as indicative of a general trend. In the weeks for which pay rolls were secured health conditions in the District were normal, and since the figures for the four stores were totaled any individual abnormalities would not greatly affect the general results. (Pages 191-192.)

Table 1.—Cumulative Number and Per Cent of Woman Employees in Four Department Stores Having Each Rate and Actually Earning Each Amount or Under Per Week During One Week of February or March, 1919.

Weekly rate of wages	Women employees having each weekly rate		Women employees actually earning each weekly amount	
	Number	Cumulative Per cent	Number	Cumulative Per cent
$8 and under.....	191	12.9	342	23.1
$9 and under.....	283	19.1	428	28.9
$10 and under.....	527	35.5	640	43.2
$11 and under.....	569	38.4	697	47.0
$12 and under.....	925	62.4	996	67.2
$13 and under.....	959	64.7	1,037	69.9
$14 and under.....	1,040	70.1	1,108	74.7
$15 and under.....	1,212	81.7	1,243	83.8
$16 and over.....	271	18.3	240	16.2

It may be seen from this table that the disparity between rates and earnings was greatest in the lower wage groups. That is to say, the difference between the numbers of workers whose weekly rates and whose actual earnings were $8 and under was greater than the difference between those with weekly rates and those actually earning $12 and under or $15 and under. About 13 per cent had rates of $8 and under, while a little over 23 per cent actually earned that amount; 63.4 per cent had rates of, while 67.2 per cent earned, $12 and under; 81.7 per cent had rates of, while 83.8 per cent actually earned, $15

and under. The number of women who earned $8 and under in excess of those so rated was 151. While the low earnings of some of these women was due to the fact that they were regularly employed as part-time workers, the greater number earned less than their wage rate because of absenteeism. Insufficient records as to reasons for absence made it impossible to come to any conclusions concerning the causes of this irregular attendance. However, in so far as it was due to illness and incapacity caused by malnutrition and inadequate shelter and clothing, an adequate living wage would tend toward greater regularity and efficiency. (Page 192.)

Alabama.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Hours, Wages, and Working Conditions of Women in the Industries in Alabama. Preliminary Memorandum. October, 1922.

Year's Earnings.

Accordingly, records for 52 weeks' earnings were taken for about 20 per cent. of the women for whom the one week pay roll information was secured. These women were selected as steady workers who had been employed throughout the year.

The following figures give the median year's earnings for the women whose year's records were secured.

Industry.	Number of white women.	Median year's earnings.
All industries	961	$502
General mercantile	172	731
Garment manufacturing	70	683
Laundries	19	675
Hosiery manufacturing	112	459
Yard goods manufacturing	353	456
Yarn and twine manufacturing	169	440
5-and-10-cent stores	36	438
	1,892	

Dividing the median of year's earnings by the number of weeks during the year, it is found to be equivalent to $9.65 a week, which is not very different from the $10.00 median which was found for the women who had worked full time during the current week. Making the same computation for each industry it appears that the median year's earnings are equivalent to a weekly sum of $14.06 for the women in the general mercantile industry, $13.13 in garment manufacturing, $12.98 in laundries, $8.83 in hosiery manufacturing, $8.77 in yard goods manufacturing, $8.46 in yard and twine manufacturing, and $8.42 in 5-and-10-cent stores.

When it is considered that for very many women wage earners the yearly budget must be reduced even below the figures given for regular and experienced workers, because of much unavoidable lost time and periods of unemployment, it becomes evident that the women in the industries of Alabama must be faced with many serious problems in adjusting their living costs to meet their yearly incomes. (Page 18.)

Georgia.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 22. Women in Georgia Industries. January, 1922.

It is difficult for a pieceworker to foretell just how much she will earn in a given time, as both the plant conditions and the speed of the work vary. She may have plenty of work one day and feel able to work fast, while the next day her machine may not "behave," work may not come up from the next department, or she herself may feel below par. With a worker whose pay is based on time, however, if she knows her rate and works her full number of hours her weekly earnings can be counted on with considerable accuracy. Of course if she does not work the full hours, or works more than the full hours, her earnings will not correspond to her rate.

It is therefore not surprising to find that the earnings of time workers were slightly lower than their rates, for time lost could not be made up by additional speed, as might be done in the case of the pieceworker, and there was practically no overtime. In a few stores and manufacturing establishments a bonus for attendance, production, or increased sales slightly raised the earnings, but not sufficiently to compensate for the lost time. This is shown by the following figures, from Table VIII in the Appendix, comparing the median rates of pay and median earnings:

	White women	Negro women
Early pay roll period:		
Median rate	$12.40	$6.90
Median earnings	11.95	6.45
Late pay roll period:		
Median rate	12.20	6.80
Median earnings	11.45	6.20

The discrepancy between earnings and rates was especially striking in the low-paid group of workers whose rate of pay was less than $10 a week. We find 28.8 per cent of the white women with a rate of less than $10 and 36.9 per cent who actually earned less than $10. Of the 1,395 white women who had a weekly rate of $10 and over, 16.8 per cent actually earned less than $10. (See Table VIII, Appendix.)

Earnings for the early week taken showed a closer approximation to rates than did those of the later week. Instead of a difference of 75 cents between median rate and earnings for white women, the difference was but 45 cents. Negro women showed a somewhat similar relation between rates and earnings. Their median earnings were 60 cents less than rates in the second or late period and 45 cents less in the first week taken. (Pages 33-34.)

Yearly Earnings.

In order to determine how much it costs a woman to live, it has been the custom to make up an itemized weekly

budget for her probable expenses. The amount of this budget can then be compared with her weekly wage to see if the latter is sufficient for her support. For one week, when a worker is earning her regular wage, this may be fair, but when it is remembered that a woman must have shelter, food, and clothing for 52 weeks, the inadequacy of any weekly wage which does not allow provision for weeks not worked is clearly seen.

To obtain facts as to the amount earned during a 52-week period, one-tenth of the women from each pay roll were selected, with the aid of the management, and their year's arnings were recorded. Only those women were taken who had been in the establishment at least a year and who were classed as steady workers. The earnings of these 609 women probably were typical of the more experienced workers in each industry. If their earnings are divided by 52, the number of weeks in a year, and also by the actual number of weeks worked, we find in both cases higher median weekly earnings than those for all employees on the pay-roll records for one week. It is apparent, therefore, that the group whose yearly earnings were recorded earned rather more than the average, probably due to the fact that they were experienced workers.

	White women	Negro women
Median earnings for all employees, one-week pay roll.	$12.20	$6.20
Average for select group on pay roll during entire year:		
Year's earnings divided by 52	14.40	7.85
Year's earnings divided by weeks actually worked...	15.50	8.20

In the year 1920, the period selected for this study, median yearly earnings for the 550 white women were $750. This median includes some extremely low and some fairly high earnings. We find seven women whose yearly earnings were less than $300 each, and three women who earned $1,600 and over. Women in department stores showed the highest median earnings, $940, which were

considerably larger than the median of $800 for the next highest group, who were workers in textile manufacturing. Workers in cigar manufacturing showed high earnings, but too few cases were reported to be of equal significance with department stores and textiles; only 14 workers in cigar manufacturing were recorded, but 10 of these had yearly earnings of from $900 to $1,600, which would bring them into the class with the highest earnings. The smallest amounts were earned by 5-and-10-cent stores and laundry workers, whose median yearly earnings were $485 and $465 respectively. (See Table XI, Appendix.)

If these yearly earnings in Georgia are compared with those taken for a six-months-earlier period in Kansas and Rhode Island, considerable similarity is found between those in Kansas and Georgia, but much higher incomes are reported for Rhode Island. (Pages 39-40.)

Table 11.—Year's Earnings of Women in Three States.

Annual earnings	Per cent of women earning each specified amount in— Georgia	Kansas	Rhode Island
Less than $600	26.0	28.6	9.0
$600 and under $900	44.4	42.2	55.2
$900 and over	29.6	29.2	35.9

To what extent the higher incomes of the workers in Rhode Island are due to the industries in which they are employed it is difficult to say. The Georgia group was largely (63.3 per cent) composed of textile operatives. In the Rhode Island group rubber workers predominated, while in Kansas there was a more even distribution of workers among varied industries. (Pages 40-41.)

As a matter of course, yearly earnings vary, in most industries, with the number of weeks worked. Nearly three-quarters (71.8 per cent.) of the white women for whom annual earnings were recorded worked 48 or more weeks in the year, while nearly one-fifth worked the entire 52 weeks. The proportion who lost not more than two weeks was 30.4 per cent, and only 6.4 per cent lost as

much as nine weeks. A greater proportion of Negro than of white women worked 52 weeks. Seventy-one per cent of the Negro compared to 80 per cent of the white women lost one or more weeks. About 40 per cent of the Negro women showed one or two weeks not worked, and only two women lost more than eight weeks. If the total number of weeks lost is divided by the total number of women, both Negro and white, the average time lost per worker was about 3¾ weeks. Naturally, more weeks were lost in some industries than in others. All of the knit-goods workers and 85 and 90 per cent, respectively, of the textile and garment workers lost one week or more. In the other industries from one-half to three-fourths of the women lost one or more weeks. The various causes of this losing of time could not be ascertained. It was possible, however, to record the number of weeks the department or plant was closed and in which, therefore, work could not be performed. Stores, laundries, and food factories showed no weeks lost due to the plant or department closing. In the other manufacturing establishments 40 per cent of the white and 44 per cent of the Negro women who lost time were idle from one to 15 weeks for this reason. The greatest number of workers lost one or two weeks, but one-fourth of those affected lost five or more. This enforced idleness was greatest in knit-goods manufacturing, where every worker but two was out from three to eight weeks. The total number of weeks lost through enforced idleness was more than a quarter (27 per cent) of all the time lost by the 444 workers.

Without doubt, many hours and occasionally days were lost during the weeks where work was recorded, and although it was not possible to obtain the actual amount of time lost, the wide variation of weekly earnings shows to some extent the irregularity of work. The following cases serve as examples to show how greatly the earnings of a single worker, may vary during five consecutive weeks.

Week	Piecework			Timework		
	Spinner	Spooler	Bunch maker	Winder tender	Doffer	Sack sewer
First	$13.00	$7.80	$6.80	$10.80	$11.45	$6.70
Second	8.55	9.40	9.12	9.70	12.27	8.70
Third	3.20	11.60	8.46	14.85	10.09	10.00
Fourth	21.50	2.45	2.54	9.70	2.18	7.05
Fifth	17.50	8.55	2.36	13.60	7.91	8.85

Some of these workers were paid according to the time worked and some according to the piece, but in neither case would it be possible to tell from these five weeks what weekly earnings might be expected. All this variation can not be laid to any one cause, but it is certain that irregularity of work is an important factor. In the cigar manufacturing industry this variation from the average is as much as 104.4 per cent, and for the workers in stores who have the steadiest pay the variation from the average is is 56.1 per cent. The average variation for all industries is 86.7 per cent. It would appear, therefore, that a weekly wage was far from a steady amount received each week, but was rather a variable sum reflecting conditions of work and the health of the worker in the industry. (Pages 41-42.)

Kansas.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 17. Women's Wages in Kansas. May, 1921.

Time Lost and Overtime.

In Table V of the appendix is given a tabulation of the actual hours worked less or more than the normal hours of the establishment, showing the difference between the normal weekly hours of the plant and the average hours of employment for all the weeks worked by the employees for whom data were obtained. Weeks in which the employee did not work are excluded, so that the table is an indication of the average amount of time actually lost or worked overtime during the weeks at work. (Page 46.)

Table V.—Number of Women Whose Average Weekly Hours Exceeded or Fell Below the Normal Hours for the Establishment, by Industry and by Number of Overtime Hours Worked and Time Lost.

Time Lost.

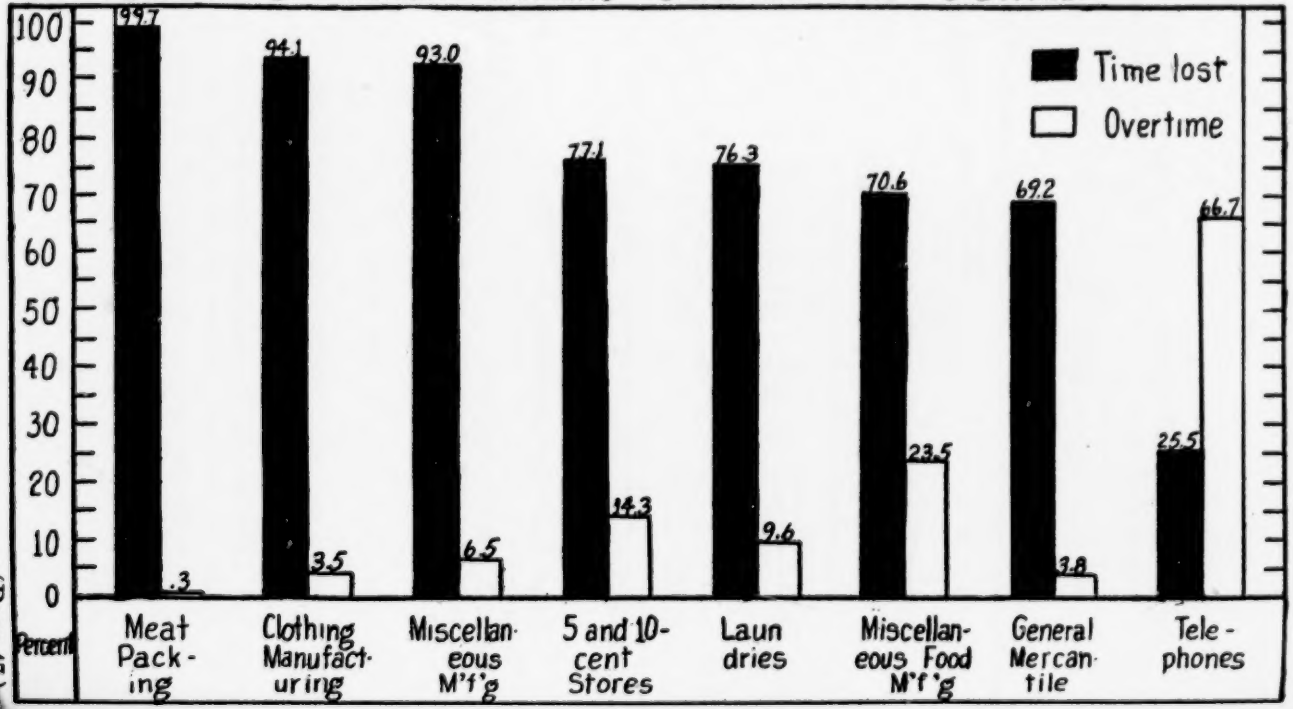
Industry.	Number of employees having hourly records.	Employees working less than full time.		Number of employees working under normal hours—			
		Number.	Per cent.	Less than 5 hours.	5 and under 10 hours.	10 and under 15 hours.	15 hours or more.
Meat and poultry packing	655	653	99.7	157	324	146	26
Miscellaneous food manufacturing	68	48	70.6	27	9	3	9
Clothing manufacturing	203	191	94.1	58	102	27	4
Miscellaneous manufacturing	372	346	93.0	198	114	23	11
General mercantile	104	72	69.2	66	5	1	.....
5-and-10-cent stores	35	27	77.1	17	6	2	2
Laundries	114	87	76.3	54	20	12	1
Telephones	51	13	25.5	8	1	2	2
All industries[1]	1,602	1,437	89.7	585	581	216	55
Per cent distribution	.....	100.0		40.7	40.4	15.0	3.8

[1]Exclusive of restaurants and offices, for which this information was not obtainable.

(Page 102.)

Of all the women employed, only 62 averaged the normal hours scheduled for their places of employment. Of these, 28 were in the general mercantile industry, 16 were in laundries, and the others were scattered among five other industries. (Page 48.)

6. PERCENT OF WOMEN WORKING UNDERTIME AND OVERTIME.



(Page 47.)

Annual Earnings.

With so much lost time reported for the various industries it readily appears that the average for neither weekly nor hourly earnings will serve to give definite information as to what the women in the industries of Kansas have to live on during the year. Only a record of weekly earnings throughout the year can give an absolutely accurate picture of yearly earnings. Such a record was obtained for 1,077 women for whom pay-roll records were secured for 50 or more weeks. These records can be assumed to be representative of yearly earnings in the different industries, as the one or two weeks lost by those who worked 50 or 51 weeks can in the majority of cases be credited to vacations or sickness. In the few instances where another job was held for one or two weeks the earnings for such a short period would not be sufficient to affect the income grouping.

Table 15.—Annual earnings of women who worked 50 or more weeks during the year, showing per cent of women in each income group, by industry.

Annual earnings less than $600 (weekly earnings less than $11.54).		Annual earnings $600 and under $900 (weekly earnings $11.54 and under $17.31).		Annual earnings $900 and over (weekly earnings $17.31 and over).	
Industry	Per cent.	Industry	Per cent.	Industry	Per cent.
5-and-10-cent stores	80.8	Miscellaneous food manufacturing	68.8	Meat packing	56.9
Telephones	59.0	Miscellaneous manufacturing	52.1	Offices	41.5
Restaurants	55.6	Restaurants	44.4	General mercantile	25.1
Laundries	53.3	General mercantile	43.8	Miscellaneous manufacturing	18.8
Clothing manufacturing	45.5	Meat packing	43.1	Clothing manufacturing	16.9
General mercantile	31.1	Laundries	40.0	Laundries	6.7
Miscellaneous manufacturing	29.2	Telephones	39.0	Miscellaneous food manufacturing	3.0
Miscellaneous food manufacturing	28.1	Clothing	37.7	Telephones	2.0
Offices	25.5	Offices	33.0	5-and-10-cent stores	.....
Meat packing	.....	5-and-10 cent stores	19.2	Restaurants	.....
All industries[1]	28.6	All industries[1]	42.2	All industries[1]	29.2

[1] Exclusive of poultry packing, in which no women reported worked 50 weeks.

Table 15 (a summary of Table VI, p. 101 in the appendix) shows that for a whole year of work 28.6 per cent of

the women, between one-fourth and one-third of those for whom records were secured, received less than $600; which means less than $50 a month, less than $11.54 a week; in other words, less than a living wage. (Pages 48-49.)

Massachusetts.

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 21. Second Report on the Wages of Women in Corset Factories in Massachusetts. November, 1919.

Pay-roll records for women employees were secured from ten factories, [which] employ approximately nine-tenths of the women engaged in the industry in this State.

The time covered by the wage records is the four-month period from January through April, 1919. These are, under ordinary conditions, months of normal production in the industry. (Pages 5-6.)

Average Weekly Hours of Labor of 1,078 Women Employed in 7 Corset Factories in Massachusetts: by Establishments (Cumulative).

(Based on pay-roll records for the period January through April, 1919)

Establishments	Less than 30 Hours	Less than 34 Hours	Less than 38 Hours	Less than 42 Hours	Less than 46 Hours	Less than 50 Hours	Less than 54 Hours	54 Hours and Over
No. 1—								
Number	11	25	79	156	326	540	670	2
Percent	1.6	3.7	11.8	23.2	48.5	80.4	99.7	.3
No. 2—								
Number	9	39	64	104	156	166	167	....
Percent	5.4	23.4	38.3	62.3	93.4	99.4	100.0	....
No. 3—								
Number	5	8	19	35	61	97	134	....
Percent	3.7	6.0	14.2	26.1	45.5	72.4	100.0	....
No. 6—								
Number	2	3	3	3	6	6	15	....
Percent	13.3	20.0	20.0	20.0	40.0	40.0	100.0	....
No. 7—								
Number	3	7	15	29	63	82	82	....
Percent	3.7	8.5	18.3	35.4	76.8	100.0	100.0	....
No. 9—								
Number	....	....	....	2	2	6	6	....
Percent	....	....	....	33.3	33.3	100.0	100.0	....
No. 10—								
Number	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Percent	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0	50.0
Total—								
Number	31	83	181	330	615	898	1,075	3
Percent	2.9	7.7	16.8	30.6	57.1	83.3	99.7	.3

(Page 32)

During the past year, 1919, there has been practically no dull season in the manufacture of corsets. Judging from present conditions, the prospect for the future is greater regularity of employment. (Pages 7-8.)

A situation which still exists, however, and which exists in practically every industry where the piece rate system prevails, a situation in its effect on the workers similar to the slack season, is that due to periods when the operatives are kept waiting for work, not from lack of orders, but from various conditions in the individual establishments, such as the method of routing work, the

repairing of machines, or delay in securing supplies. The result in the course of the year frequently means a considerable loss in earnings to the workers employed by the piece, and is one of the principal causes of dissatisfaction with the piece rate system. (Page 8.)

For the majority of the women and girls employed in the industry, the investigation indicates a low level of earnings. Of the entire number for whom wage data were available, 1,361 (67.0 per cent) have actual earnings that average less than $12 a week. Of the adult workers, those 18 years of age and over, 62.1 per cent earn less than $12 a week; while of those with one or more years' experience in the industry, 57.5 per cent. earn less than this amount. Nearly one-half (48.2 per cent) of the women averaging 46 hours or more a week, approximately full-time workers, receive less than $12; and 39.9 per cent even under the most favorable conditions of regular employment and freedom from interruption, would earn less than $12 a week for full-time employment. (Page 19.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 15. Wages of Women in Shirt, Workingmen's Garment and Furnishing Goods Factories. December, 1917.

Difference between Nominal Rates and Actual Earnings.
Men's Neckwear.

	Per cent of Workers Receiving (Cumulative)						
By the week	Under $4	Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	$9 and over
Avg. earnings..	7.2	21.4	35.9	52.5	66.3	75.4	24.6
Rates	..	2.8	15.5	36.6	53.5	69.0	31.0

(Compiled) (Page 54.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 13. Wages of Women in Men's Clothing and Raincoat Factories in Massachusetts, December, 1916.

Table 1 .—Weekly Earnings—By Occupations

Occupations	Per Cent. of Women Earning							
	Under $3	$3 and Under $4	$4 and Under $5	$5 and Under $6	$6 and Under $7	$7 and Under $8	$8 and Under $9	$9 and over
Coat finishing	4.7	7.2	16.8	26.4	21.8	15.4	4.9	2.8
Pants and vest finishing	9.6	11.5	20.1	17.7	16.7	12.9	5.3	6.2
Basting	.7	3.4	6.9	19.9	20.5	21.2	11.6	15.8
Machine operating	1.6	3.3	15.4	15.4	16.3	17.1	8.1	22.8
Buttonhole making	1.1	....	3.2	3.2	9.6	11.7	15.9	55.3
Busheling	....	....	4.4	18.8	20.3	20.3	14.5	21.7
Button sewing	....	2.4	11.9	9.5	31.0	23.8	11.9	9.5
Miscellaneous	2.3	8.2	10.5	25.6	20.9	12.8	8.1	11.6
Total number	43	67	152	223	218	181	93	155
Cumulative per cent.	3.8	9.7	23.1	42.8	62.1	78.1	86.3	13.7

(Page 28)

Table 2.—Weekly Rates—By Occupations

Occupations	Per cent. of Women with Weekly Rates of—							
	Under $3	$3 and Under $4	$4 and Under $5	$5 and Under $6	$6 and Under $7	$7 and Under $8	$8 and Under $9	$9 and over
Coat finishing	....	4.8	9.6	11.0	24.9	22.0	19.1	8.6
Pants and vest finishing	....	1.9	5.7	20.7	11.3	18.9	22.6	18.9
Basting	....	....	2.1	5.1	16.5	32.0	23.7	20.6
Machine operating	....	1.0	2.1	9.3	16.5	21.6	23.7	25.8
Buttonhole making	....	....	....	5.9	11.8	11.7	5.9	64.7
Busheling	....	....	....	....	23.3	11.7	20.0	45.0
Button sewing	....	....	....	12.5	6.2	18.8	21.9	40.6
Miscellaneous	....	....	6.4	9.7	16.1	24.2	19.4	24.2
Total number	....	12	31	59	118	138	130	139
Cumulative per cent.	....	1.9	6.9	16.3	35.1	57.1	77.8	22.2

NOTE.—Of the 1,132 workers whose records were studied, data concerning rates were not available for 505, a majority of whom were pieceworkers.

(Compiled)

(Page 30)

New York.

New York. Department of Labor. Division of Women in Industry. Special Bulletin. The Employment of Women in 5 and 10 Cent Stores. September, 1921.

Annual Earnings.

The annual earnings of 66 workers, chosen from 21 stores in the three schedules, March, 1920, to March, 1921, were analyzed. These girls had all of them worked at least 44 weeks of the year, two-thirds of them had worked for 49 weeks or over and one-third of them had worked 51 or 52 weeks. The weeks which these girls did not work came about because of sickness or vacations.

Thirty per cent of these girls had been with their stores more than five years, and one girl, a cashier, had a period of service of more than twenty years; she was the only girl who had earned more than $1,050 during the year's time, and her annual wage had amounted to between $1,300 and $1,350. *Forty-five per cent of these* 66 *girls had earned less than* $600 *and* 12 *per cent earned less than* $500. The group was made up of 51 saleswomen, 7 floorwomen (one of whom did some of the buying), and 8 cashiers; of the saleswomen the highest annual wage was that of a girl at a music counter, $963.15. (Pages 53-54.)

14. Per Cent of Full Time Women Workers in Five and Ten Cent Stores at Wage Rate Groups and Per Cent Whose Actual Earnings Fell in These Groups.

	$0-$4.99	$5-$9.99	$10-$14.99	$15-$19.99	$20-$24.99	$25-$29.99	$30-$34.99	$35-$39.99	$40 and over	Total
Per cent actually earning.....	5.35	14.19	50.55	23.53	3.87	1.61	0.64	0.13	0.13	100.00
Per cent at wage rate.....	.....	7.54	59.44	26.24	4.13	1.74	0.65	0.13	2.13	100.00

(Condensed.) (Page 53.)

Rhode Island.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 21. Women in Rhode Island Industries. November, 1921.

Yearly Earnings.

The foregoing wage figures are those for a given week, irrespective of the other 51 weeks in the year. A week representative of normal conditions in the plants, without a holiday or a slack period, was chosen. It is, however, a well-known fact that there are many vicissitudes in industrial jobs, so that workers frequently do not receive a steady wage throughout the year, but may suffer many variations below normal. Accordingly, it is important to know not only what wages women in Rhode Island industries actually earned during one specific week, but how much they earned during the year. The question of yearly income is the important one in judging whether a worker is receiving a living wage, since it is the year's and not the week's wage by which she maintains her standard of living. The possibility of losing money through sickness, slackness in the industry, unemployment, change of job, fines or cuts in wages, must be considered. Furthermore, some pieceworkers complained of loss of money due to the necessity of cleaning machines without extra pay, or of waiting for work to arrive and for machines to be repaired. In fact, many circumstances besides those for which the worker is responsible are the causes of deductions in pay.

Stability of employment is a two-sided problem dependent upon the employer and the employee and is a matter of utmost importance to both. Industry has not yet been so organized that it can use all of its workers steadily and all workers are not yet so contented with jobs and the conditions of their work that they have abandoned the habit of change. Nevertheless, in every industry were found women workers who had been in their employment sufficiently long for their wages to be considered repre-

sentative of the wage opportunities for steady women workers in that industry.

In the study of yearly earnings an effort was made to secure the wage data of women who were steady workers, who had been with the establishment for at least one year, and who had not been absent from work for more than a few weeks during the year. Inexperienced and new workers were not included. In most cases the women for this study were selected by the managers in the various plants. Altogether annual earnings were recorded for 617 women, 7.9 per cent of the entire number for whom the weekly pay roll was secured. These women worked in the various plants in a variety of occupations and may be considered representative of what experienced women who were employed in the industries investigated in Rhode Island earned during the year from the fall of 1919 to the fall of 1920. (Pages 35-36.)

The table shows that the yearly median for all industries was $829; that is, one-half of the [617] women earned less than this amount and one-half earned more. The yearly earnings received in different industries show wide variations. The rubber industry had the highest yearly median, $978, and the 5-and-10-cent stores the lowest, $604. The median for all stores, $699, is $158 less than the median for all manufacturing establishments and $59 less than the median for laundries, placing the mercantile group last in the wage scale. (Page 36.)

It is apparent from the foregoing statements that certain industries enabled a good proportion of the women employees to obtain adequate yearly earnings. On the other hand, a further analysis of the wage figures and a comparison of these figures with the minimum wage rates adopted in several localities reveal the fact that a number of women in other industries failed to receive a living wage.

Since no budget or minimum-wage figures for Rhode Island are available, as a test of the adequacy of the earnings of the women, certain figures adopted by the wage boards of an adjoining State—Massachusetts, similar

in so many respects industrially to Rhode Island—may be used.

Some of the Massachusetts weekly-wage awards are:

$15 25 Women's Clothing Board. (Adopted 1920, winter.)

$15.50 Paper-Box Wage Board. (Adopted 1920, spring.)

$15.40 Office and Other Building Cleaners' Board. (Adopted 1921, spring.)

If earned for 52 weeks these wages amount in round numbers to $800 for the year. Exclusive of the median for all industries, three of the yearly medians in Table 5 are above and six are below the subsistence level set by Massachusetts. Jewelry, paper-box, and miscellaneous manufacturing, as well as stores and laundries, fall below the $800 requirement, the median of 5-and-10-cent stores being almost $200 below and the median of miscellaneous manufacturing more than $100 below.

The detailed figures of Table 5 reveal that of the 617 women in all industries, 44.1 per cent, or almost one-half, received less than $800 for the year. Over one-third of the women in the manufacturing establishments and about two-thirds in laundries and in stores received less than $800 a year. Furthermore, when we take $650 ($12.50 a week) as a minimum we find that 11.8 per cent of the women in manufacturing establishments earned less than this amount, while 33.7 per cent of those in stores and 17.6 per cent of those in laundries dropped below this mark. Those women in the last two groups who were steady and experienced workers in their industries were paid at a rate comparing very unfavorably with the minimum wage-rates of women in the same industries in California, the District of Columbia, and North Dakota, where experienced women employees in mercantile establishments receive $16, $16.50, and $17.50 respectively, and experienced women employees in laundries receive $16, $15, and $16.50 respectively.

The degree of steadiness of the women workers whose annual earnings were ascertained is shown in Table IX,

page 67, in the appendix. Of the total number of 617 women, nearly three-quarters (72.1 per cent) worked 50 or more weeks during the year, nearly one-quarter (23.3 per cent) working every week. Only 6 women of the 617 worked less than 43 weeks in the year. This is excellent testimony, not only to the stability of this picked group of workers but also to their health stability as women.

The detailed figures show that the earnings of the workers who lost not more than two weeks varied greatly from one girl with a yearly wage of between $350 and $400 to four women in rubber factories and metal shops who earned between $1,600 and $1,800. Over one-half (55.1 per cent) of this same group of women losing not more than two weeks earned between $700 and $1,000, about one-fourth (23.8 per cent) earned less than $700, and a smaller proportion (21.1 per cent), $1,000 and over. (Pages 38-39.)

Table IX.—Number of women working each specified number of weeks, of those for whom 52-week pay-roll records were secured, by industry.

Weeks Worked	All industries	Rubber manufacturing	Metal shops	Electrical manufacturing	Jewelry manufacturing	Paper-box manufacturing	Other manufacturing	General mercantile	5-and-10-cent stores	Laundries
37 and under 38	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
38 and under 39	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
39 and under 40	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
40 and under 41	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
41 and under 42	2	.....	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
42 and under 43	2	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	.....	1	.....
43 and under 44	4	.....	1	1	1	.....	.....	1	.....	.....
44 and under 45	6	4	.....	1	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
45 and under 46	11	7	1	1	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	.....
46 and under 47	15	4	1	4	1	.....	3	2	.....	.....
47 and under 48	29	16	3	5	1	.....	2	2	.....	.....
48 and under 49	41	18	2	8	4	4	3	1	1	.....
49 and under 50	60	20	7	6	2	6	11	7	.....	1
50 and under 51	107	24	16	16	15	4	15	11	2	4
51 and under 52	194	42	30	20	42	5	16	17	8	5
52	144	37	10	5	7	7	25	37	9	7
Total	617	172	71	79	75	26	76	80	21	17
Median earnings	$829	$978	$929	$868	$793	$758	$687	$727	$604	$758

(Page 67.)

Virginia.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 10. Hours and Conditions of Work for Women in Industry in Virginia. March, 1920.

Several women who worked as weavers in a silk mill reported a situation with regard to wages which was particularly difficult for them. It is usually the custom in mills to pay the weaver a weekly wage, based on the average amount of her earnings, when because of poor warp, stoppage of machinery, or other causes she has not been able to complete a "cut," for which she is usually paid by the yard. This system guarantees a regular income, a very important matter when a woman has not only her own expenses to meet but often those of her children or younger brothers and sisters. Three women reported that they were paid for only the completed cut. Thus sometimes, when they had had bad luck with their machine or when the warp had been particularly poor, they got no wage at all, and often received as little as $2.50 or $3.50 a week. As the causes for not getting out the work were entirely beyond the control of the weaver herself, it would seem to be a great injustice to penalize her in this manner. (Page 28.)

(b) Due to Seasonal Fluctuations of Employment. In Candy.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women in Industry Service. Bulletin No. 4. Wages of Candy Makers in Philadelphia in 1919. 1919.

Earnings in dull season.—It should be emphasized, moreover, that the entire discussion so far has centered about the earnings in a normal week. It is characteristic of the candy industry that the same level of employment is not maintained throughout the year. In slack seasons, workers may be dismissed or employed on part time. This prospect of no employment or work at greatly reduced pay is constantly hanging over the workers. (Page 29.)

Table 15.—Median Earnings of Woman Workers Employed in 10 Identical Candy Factories for One Weekly Pay-Roll Period in 1918 (dull season) and in 1919 (normal season.)

Establishment	1918 (dull season)	1919 (normal season)
No. 5	$4.06	$9.81
No. 7	5.55	7.41
No. 9	10.38	9.73
No. 10	1.78	9.07
No. 11	5.10	8.90
No. 12	4.13	8.90
No. 13	8.41	10.18
No. 17	8.75	10.50
No. 18	10.25	9.50
No. 20	17.50	15.50
Total	5.62	$9.60

The median earnings for a week in July or August, 1918, were $5.62, as compared with $9.60 for the same factories in January. The proportion of women receiving $13 and more is 17 per cent in the normal season in January and but 4 per cent in the dull season.

Irregularity of Employment.—Not only are the earnings almost split in half in the dull season but little more than half as many women are employed as in the busy season.

If we compare a woman's chance of steady employment in the candy trade with a man's, we find that in 11 plants nearly 1 of every two women, or 45.5 per cent, lose their positions in the summer, while only 3.3 per cent or one out of 30 of the men are turned off. The woman workers who are kept show a drop in earnings of 41.5 per cent and the men 40.2 per cent. In spite of this practically equal decrease in earnings, wages of the men in the dull season have a median of $10.96, contrasted with $5.62 for the girls. (Page 30.)

Table 17.—Maximum, Minimum and Average of Number of Wage Earners Employed and of Amount of Wages Paid During One Weekly Pay-Roll Period in 1918.

	Maximum for 1 week	Minimum for 1 week	Average for 1 week	Per cent Maximum is of Average	Per cent Minimum is of Average
No. of wage earners....	2,544	1,503	2,031	127.6	75.4
Amount of wages paid.	$38,368.63	$14,286.46	$24,606.70	155.9	58.1

(Page 31.)

If the average number on the pay-roll and the average amount paid in wages be regarded as 100 per cent, it is found that the maximum pay-roll is 156 and the minimum 58, while the number of employees fluctuates from 128 to 75.

It is impossible with any degree of accuracy to translate this variation in employment into terms of actual income of the workers, but it is obvious that their earnings are affected seriously by this irregularity in the industry. Those who are laid off in dull season may lose three or four months in the course of a year, thereby reducing their yearly income by a fourth or a third. Or, as already

indicated, if they are not out of work they are employed only for part time with earnings reduced accordingly. Although the median earnings in a busy season are a little more than $10 a week, it is certain that the median yearly income is not as much as $520. It would be liberal to estimate that $450 is the income below which half the workers fall. (Page 32.)

The pay-rolls for January or February showed that in that season, which is intermediate before the peak of the spring trade is reached of 1,237 workers for whom the data were secured, 363 worked the full week scheduled in the factory, 562 worked fewer than the regular hours, and 312 worked overtime. The median earnings for full-time workers were $10.77 as compared with $8.37 for the part-time workers, and $12.47 for those who worked overtime. (Page 33.)

Thus it is clear that irregular employment is an important cause of low earnings in the candy industry. That it is not the only cause is shown by the fact that in the columns representing a schedule of hours of 48 to 54, and 54 to 57, wages of $7, $8, and $9 are recorded and the whole group of these girls earning less than $14 a week or even less than $12 is considerable. Nevertheless, it seems evident that if efforts were made to regularize employment the income of candy makers as a group would be increased. Without such an effort the most serious problems of the trade will remain unsettled. (Page 34.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 25. Women in the Candy Industry in Chicago and St. Louis. July, 1922.

The Seasonal Nature of the Industry.

The candy industry, on the whole, varies greatly throughout the year in regard to the extent of output and the number of employees. A survey of this industry in Philadelphia in 1919 showed a condition generally conceded to be typical of candy manufacture, namely, two busy seasons and two periods of depression, with pro-

nounced fluctuations in wages. The busy periods were the weeks preceding Christmas and Easter. The slack seasons were the summer months and the first part of January. The maximum force of employees and the maximum total of wages were shown to be in December. The minimum force was found in June, whereas the minimum payroll sum was for the first week in January, with a second low point in August.[1]

It is a well-known fact that the fall months are the busiest season in the manufacture of candy. At that time there is in most plants a considerable increase in the number of employees and in some plants a great deal of overtime. This period of extreme activity varies in different establishments, lasting in many from the first part of September until a week or two before Christmas. Of the factories included in the survey in Chicago and St. Louis, some reported a definitely busy period for November and December only, while others stated that the rush began as early as August.

The next busiest season in the industry is the latter half of February and most of March, the six weeks or so preceding Easter. This was true for the majority of the plants visited in the two cities, although some maintained that the output during these months in 1921 was below normal because of the lack of orders.

The summer months are generally acknowledged to be the dullest. A few plants included in the Chicago and St. Louis survey, however, asserted that they had managed to do away with this seasonal slackness, by the manufacture in the summer of such confections as crackajack, marshmallows and popcorn, thereby catering to the amusement-park trade. One factory which had its busiest season from May to October shipped goods of this sort South even in February. Such systems might not be possible for those firms which specialize in a particular variety of candy, but other adjustments might be made to prevent unduly long dull stretches. In one large factory, for example, employing between 500 and 600 workers, and

[1] U. S. Department of Labor, Woman in Industry Service. Wages of Candy makers in Philadelphia in 1919, Bulletin No. 4, 1919, p. 31.

manufacturing chocolates, bonbons, and hard candies, there was no slack season, since the firm "put up stock" in the summer. Another manager said that after seasonal rushes he made an effort to keep the girls busy at box-cutting, folding, making bonbon cups, and so on.

An analysis of the normal season fluctuation in terms of the total number of employees and the total wages paid for each week of the year in the factories visited in Chicago and St. Louis is hardly possible since 1920-21 was such an abnormal period. Table I in the appendix, which gives the total force and total pay rolls in a number of identical plants week by week, from the latter part of February, 1920, to the same period in 1921, serves as an index not so much of seasonal variations as of the effects of the industrial depression upon the industry. The table shows that in 13 St. Louis factories the maximum force was employed in the week ended October 2, while the maximum amount of wages was paid the following week. The minimum force and the minimum pay roll were found to be for the same week in the year—the week ended January 1. The next lowest in regard to number of workers and amount paid in wages was the following week in January, a more representative period, since it contained no holiday. A rather parallel record was shown for 22 Chicago plants. The maximum force was employed in the week ended October 9, and the maximum pay roll was for the preceding week. The minimum force and minimum pay roll were for the week ended January 1. The next lowest week for wages for the 22 firms was the following week, although the next lowest from the standpoint of number of employees was the week ended January 22.

Six other Chicago firms reported that output had been so adjusted as to avert summer slackness or that because of the kind of product the summer months were a busier season than were other periods. The figures for these firms form a separate compilation in the table. They show the maximum number of employees and the maximum pay roll to have been in the middle of September, but the minimum force and pay roll to have been for the week ended January 1.

In general, the whole table would indicate certain fluctuations. There appeared for 1920 a normal preparation for Easter in the two cities. Apparently, because of the general business prosperity which characterized the spring and early summer of 1920, the usual summer slackness in the candy trade showed its usual increased activity which reached a peak in the early part of October. According to reports from the industry at about this time candy manufacturers noticed a general falling off in orders. This led to a gradual slackening in output instead of the usual increase in the weeks which followed. Accordingly, the customary December climax was not reached. To be sure, the first part of December showed a slightly rising curve for production but a falling one for the number of employees. As has already been pointed out the lowest point for the year was experienced the first part of January. By the middle of February business was again increasing, but as far as number of employees and amount paid in wages were concerned, it appeared on the whole to fall below the level of the last week of February, 1920.

Some comparison of the year's record in Chicago and St. Louis with the year's record in Philadelphia is possible from the following table which shows the relation to the average, of maximum and minimum weekly forces and pay rolls:

Table 5.—Per Cent Relation Between Average, Maximum and Minimum Weekly Forces and Pay Rolls, Philadelphia,[1] St. Louis and Chicago.

	Per cent maximum is of average				Per cent minimum is of average				Per cent minimum is of maximum			
	Philadelphia	Chicago A[2]	Chicago B[3]	St. Louis	Philadelphia	Chicago A[2]	Chicago B[3]	St. Louis	Philadelphia	Chicago A[2]	Chicago B[3]	St. Louis
No of employees	127.6	123.2	131.4	123.1	75.4	63.1	27.9	51.2	59.1	51.2	21.3	41.6
Amount of wages	155.9	[4]129.4	136.4	132.4	58.1	54.9	26.8	41.3	37.2	42.5	19.7	31.2

[1] U. S Department of Labor, Woman in Industry Service. Wages of candy makers in Philadelphia in 1919, Bulletin No. 4, 1919, p. 31.
[2] Chicago A represents 12 Chicago establishments reporting slack summer season.
[3] Chicago B represents 6 Chicago establishments reporting busy summer season.
[4] About 2 per cent lower than it should be because one plant gave no record of amount paid in wages for the week with the maximum pay roll.

If the average number of employees on the pay roll and the average amount paid in wages be regarded as 100 per cent, we find that the Philadelphia plants soared to a higher point above the average in regard to both the maximum force and maximum pay roll than did the St. Louis and Chicago establishments, with one exception. The firms under Chicago B showed a higher peak than did the Philadelphia firms for the maximum number of employees. However, when all the 28 Chicago plants for which these data were gathered are combined, the percentage which the minimum pay roll forms of the maximum is pulled down below the corresponding Philadelphia percentage. These more unfavorable conditions in Chicago and St. Louis are undoubtedly traceable to the industrial depression. Even when due allowance is made for this abnormal slump, Table I in the appendix throws considerable light on the seasonal vicissitudes to which candy makers are subjected and is indicative of the hardships resulting from such irregularity of employment. (Pages 21-22.)

Table I.—Total Number of Employees, Male and Female, and Total Earnings During Each Week of the Year from February, 1920, to February, 1921, in 28 Chicago and 13 St. Louis Factories.

Week ending—	Chicago (22 firms reporting slack summer season)		Chicago (6 firms reporting busy summer season)		St. Louis (13 firms reporting)	
	Number of employees	Amount of pay roll	Number of employees	Amount of pay roll	Number of employees	Amount of pay roll
Feb. 28	1,859[1]	$41,066.22	1,385	$28,642.52	942	$14,272.86
Mar. 6	2,706	60,516.44	1,343	28,034.83	1,011	14,657.52
Mar. 13	2,637	59,908.06	1,322	26,902.10	996	14,896.13
Mar. 20	2,748	57,987.30	1,089	22,931.57	1,017	15,119.46
Mar. 27	2,697	58,220.26	1,034	22,501.60	970	14,504.21
Apr. 3	2,656	56,988.22	1,061	20,522.22	923	14,332.64
Apr. 10	2,654	54,782.98	1,158	24,109.24	890	13,631.93
Apr. 17	2,719	56,997.06	1,161	24,857.41	884	13,518.42
Apr. 24	2,716	58,688.60	1,239	26,753.86	913	13,632.46
May 1	2,866	61,337.79	1,295	28,545.17	897	13,677.07
May 8	2,876[2]	64,160.06	1,371	30,368.30	935	14,621.79
May 15	3,049	65,027.56	1,410	31,409.49	931	14,673.59
May 22	3,150	70,136.52	1,533	35,570.78	909	14,659.15
May 29	3,081	73,693.05	1,601	37,055.23	917	14,511.96
June 5	3,094	59,807.66	1,606	32,036.32	904	13,258.95
June 12	2,962	67,602.49	1,723	35,664.36	954	14,891.17
June 19	2,919	67,180.74	1,722	37,305.60	988	14,773.18
June 26	3,032	69,419.43	1,749	38,022.28	948	14,791.13
July 3	3,191	66,486.33	1,764	35,596.29	899	12,811.77
July 10	2,983[3]	53,600.27	1,752	32,393.20	868	10,437.27
July 17	3,155	68,937.60	1,775	38,429.68	934	14,480.56
July 24	3,278	72,214.98	1,757	38,501.17	942	12,851.87
July 31	3,296	72,462.62	1,711	37,391.05	920	14,485.76
Aug. 7	3,220	72,416.92	1,756	34,557.52	962	15,005.08
Aug. 14	3,364	74,394.98	1,718	38,178.36	963	15,394.46
Aug. 21	3,334	73 429.16	1,704	37,716.78	1,019	15,599.29
Aug. 28	3,441	76,415.11	1,704	39,317.79	1,047	16,591.13
Sept. 4	3,425	76,751.00	1,756	40,635.33	1,048	16,807.67
Sept. 11	3,352	71,003.81	1,750	33,196.92	1,118	14,828.55
Sept. 18	3,533	81,117.38	1,777	40,155.82	1,101	17,692.91
Sept. 25	3,552[3]	82,142.13	1,738	39,960.54	1,080	17,885.42
Oct. 2	3,511	82,353.14	1,547	34,662.50	1,130	18,022.55
Oct. 9	3,590	80,432.67	1,287	29,056.11	1,125	19,021.92
Oct. 16	3,494	77,635.23	1,145	26,738.52	1,102	18,080.86
Oct. 23	3,376	79,065.41	1,366	29,530.78	1,100	18,014.71
Oct. 30	3,390	75,647.93	1,303	30,357.48	1,031	16,453.70
Nov. 6	3,175	71,113.74	1,213	26,550.43	971	14,641.38
Nov. 13	3,114	70,896.70	1,109	26,777.26	942	15,282.81
Nov. 20	2,990	63,533.43	1,017	23,270.45	921	14,946.92
Nov. 27	2,926	61,214.79	1,059	26,135.76	889	13,406.84
Dec. 4	2,671	65,910.17	1,188	31,295.45	881	15,095.85
Dec. 11	2,793	63,879.64	1,138	31,813.42	853	15,112.60
Dec. 18	2,633	58,356.00	1,121	27,606.47	793	14,084.76
Dec. 25	2,321	44,503.57	947	18,269.65	654	11,203.10
Jan. 1	1,838	34,964.11	378	7,992.20	470	5,934.95
Jan. 8	2,152	42,008.40	555	13,582.53	593	8,262.75
Jan. 15	2,193	44,782.43	775	18,716.97	721	11,036.17
Jan. 22	2,145	44,148.04	854	19,758.49	734	12,353.11
Jan. 29	2,322	48,986.81	1,071	22,946.41	774	12,007.64
Feb. 5	2,350	50,535.29	1,167	24,584.47	783	12,322.98
Feb. 12	2,475	52,035.03	1,282	26,900.89	760	12,003.14
Feb. 19	2,482	52,422.83	1,303	28,104.02	683	10,267.26
Total	151,540	$3,309,320.14	70,340	$1,549,663.59	47,740	$746,821.36
Weekly average	2,914.2	$63,640.77	1,352.7	$29,801.22	918	$14,361.94

[1] Exclusive of two firms not reporting.
[2] One firm not reporting.
[3] Includes one firm reporting men only for this week.

In Millinery.

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 20. Report on the Wages of Women in the Millinery Industry in Massachusetts. May, 1919.

Straw Hat Factories.

Total Earnings and Months of Employment.—Annual earnings for both groups of workers were surprisingly low. Nearly one-half of the machine operators earned less than $200 in the year, and almost one-fourth less than $100. The showing for hand finishers is still more unfavorable. Two-thirds received less than $200 for the year, and nearly one-half less than $100. The relatively higher earnings of the miscellaneous group is due in part to the inclusion, as noted before, of women whose occupations are not only responsible but more or less permanent. Of the total number in the three groups, only one-sixth earned $400 or over for the year. Doubtless many of the women voluntarily abandon the work after a few weeks. It is, however, in the fact of involuntary unemployment due to the seasonal character of the occupation that part of the explanation is to be found.

Fluctuation of employment in hat factories as related to occupations and establishments is shown in Tables 6*a* and 7*a*. Less than one-third of the machine operators had work for six months in the year, and only one-tenth for nine months. Employment of finishers was somewhat steadier. About three-fourths of the miscellaneous group worked six months in the year. Of the women in the three groups, only 1.3 per cent had employment for the entire twelve-month period. (Pages 21-22).

Flower and Feather Shops.

Fluctuation of Employment.—Fluctuation of employment in the flower and feather-making industry is modified by the partial union of these two processes in Massachusetts shops. Were artificial flower-making alone considered, more pronounced variation would be shown, since

this is a wholly dependent industry with its conditions determined by those in other branches of the millinery trades. The chart on fluctuation shows that the month of maximum production in flower-making is November; the dullest season is late July, when employment drops abruptly and not more than 10 or 12 per cent of the normal force is employed. The busiest month for feather-making is September, the quietest, December. In the Boston shops the period of high activity is to a certain extent accompanied by home work on the part of some of the wage earners. (Page 23.)

Wholesale Millinery Establishments.

Fluctuation of Employment.—Of the four branches of the millinery industry, the wholesale trade shows by comparison the least variation in the numbers employed in different seasons. (Diagram.) There is, however, considerable difference in the steadiness of employment of the various groups of workers. None of the hand finishers, trimmers, or apprentices, and few of the makers, worked more than nine months in the year. (Table 6*b*.) There is also marked variation in this respect between the different establishments. In only 4 out of the 10 investigated had any one worked the full twelve months. Of the total number of women for whom records were available, only 2.0 per cent were employed the entire year; less than one-fifth were employed nine months; and less than one-third for six months. (Pages 25-26.)

Retail Millinery Establishments.

Total Earnings and Months of Employment for the Year.—The total earnings of one-third (33.0 per cent) of all the women workers in the establishments investigated were under $100, while less than one-fifth (18.5 per cent) earned as much as $450 for the year. The highest yearly incomes were received by the trimmers, a fact due not only to the high wage paid to women in this occupation, but to the relatively steady employment it affords. Over one-half (55.7 per cent) of the trimmers were employed

for at least ten months of the year, while only one-fifth (20.8 per cent) of the makers and 3.9 per cent of the apprentices worked for that length of time. (Table 6*c*.) Length of employment varies greatly from one establishment to another, as shown in Table 7*d*. In the majority of cases the period of employment did not represent consecutive months of work. Each busy season was followed by intervals of unemployment escaped by few. Of the entire group of workers considered, one-third (33.0 per cent) had employment for nine months in the year, a somewhat larger proportion than that found in hat factories or wholesale millinery establishments. (Page 27.)

Owing to the seasonal conditions prevailing in all branches of the industry, comparatively few of the women, even in the higher wage classes, had total earnings for the year that would represent a living wage when distributed over fifty-two weeks. Trimmers in the custom shops had the longest period of employment and the highest annual earnings of any group. In spite of the short working period for the majority, very few reported a secondary occupation during the slack season. Irregularity of employment is a characteristic of the millinery trades. The least variation, however, in the number of workers employed during the different months of the year was found in the wholesale establishments, while the most pronounced fluctuation was shown by the flower and feather shops. (Pages 29-30.)

Table 6.—Fluctuation of Employment, by Occupations.

(a) Straw Hats (Among 938 Workers)

Occupations	Per cent. of Workers Employed for Specified Number of Months											
	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Machine operators	.8	3.6	6.3	10.0	13.4	19.9	28.8	39.8	58.4	69.1	77.8	100
Hand finishers	1.6	9.3	15.6	20.6	23.7	29.6	33.1	38.5	51.4	64.6	79.0	100
Miscellaneous	4.8	12.7	33.3	44.4	57.1	69.8	76.2	84.1	88.9	98.4	98.4	100
Total	1.3	5.8	10.7	15.2	19.2	25.9	33.2	42.4	58.5	69.8	79.5	100

(b) Wholesale millinery (among 393 Workers)

Machine operators	1.9	11.6	17.1	21.8	22.7	28.2	32.9	40.3	49.5	63.9	75.5	100
Hand finishers	....	....	....	4.0	8.0	16.0	16.0	24.0	28.0	36.0	44.0	100
Trimmers	....	....	....	16.7	16.7	33.3	33.3	33.3	33.3	66.7	66.7	100
Makers	....	.9	4.5	9.8	17.0	21.4	24.1	27.7	35.7	53.6	72.3	100
Apprentices	....	....	....	9.1	9.1	9.1	9.1	18.2	18.2	36.4	54.5	100
Miscellaneous	17.4	30.1	47.8	47.8	52.2	52.2	60.9	65.2	78.3	82.6	91.3	100
Total	2.0	8.9	13.5	18.3	21.4	26.5	30.3	36.4	44.8	59.5	72.8	100

(Page 48)

(c) Retail millinery (among 351 Workers)

Occupations	Per cent. of Workers Employed for Specified Number of Months											
	12	11	10	9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Trimmers	3.3	27.9	55.7	60.7	67.2	67.2	68.9	70.5	73.8	86.9	93.4	100
Makers	....	5.4	20.8	30.7	35.6	39.1	47.5	53.5	65.4	73.8	88.1	100
Apprentices	....	2.0	3.9	3.9	3.9	5.9	7.8	7.8	11.8	21.6	78.4	100
Miscellaneous	5.4	16.2	32.4	40.5	45.9	54.1	56.8	56.8	59.5	67.6	78.4	100
Total	1.1	10.0	25.6	33.0	37.6	40.7	46.4	50.1	58.4	67.8	83.8	100

(Page 49)

Table 7 (b).—Fluctuation of employment.

Flower and feather factories (among 182 workers)

Total	....	25.8	32.4	34.6	37.4	41.2	43.4	47.8	54.9	64.8	74.2	100

(Page 50)

In Canning and Preserving.

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 19. Wages of Women Employed in Canning and Preserving Establishments in Massachusetts. March, 1919.

From the data secured it appears that at the time of the investigation nearly nine-tenths of the women and girls employed in canning and preserving establishments were receiving less than $9 a week, and over two-thirds were receiving less than $8 a week. Results of the investigation show fairly long hours in the industry,—for the majority of establishments, running hours of fifty to fifty-four a week. The seasonal problem is a serious one, well marked in each branch of the industry. Only one-tenth of the women in all the establishments had employment throughout the year, and only two-fifths had employment for half the year. (Page 20.)

To what extent the situation created by varying seasonal demands is accentuated by voluntary shifting on the part of the workers it is not possible to say. Inasmuch as the labor turnover is particularly high in unskilled and poorly paid occupations, this is probably a factor in determining the result. (Page 16.)

In both types of factories rates for the majority of workers were below the standard of living; 59.3 per cent of the women employed in fish canning establishments, and 71.4 per cent of those in the other establishments, were scheduled to receive less than $9 a week. Only 51 had total annual earnings of as much as $450, or the equivalent of $9 a week throughout the year. (Page 20.)

In Clothing.

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 13. Wages of Women in Men's Clothing and Raincoat Factories in Massachusetts. December, 1916.

Four hundred and thirty-two, or almost two-fifths of the total number [1,132 workers covered in the investigation] received less than $100 in the course of the year, and only 94, or less than one-tenth, received as much as $400 or the equivalent of $8 a week throughout the year. It is not possible to state how much of the difference between the average weekly wage and the total annual earnings is due to illness or unemployment, and how much to employment in other establishments or industries. Undoubtedly many of the workers, especially of those earning $200 or less, had some supplementary employment in the course of the fifty-two week period, while others were young persons entering the trade for the first time or leaving it to get married during the year. One of the most important causes for low annual earnings in this industry is, however, without question, involuntary unemployment resulting from a reduction of the working force during the slack seasons. (Page 23.)

(4) The Bulk of Wage-earning Women Must Support Themselves.

In all minimum wage legislation the living wage for women is based on the needs of a single woman.

Practically, statistics show that in the industries and occupations with which minimum wage legislation is concerned, the bulk of the girls living at home, work to support themselves, not for extra spending money.

Theoretically, the minimum wage is the sum necessary to support the average woman. Opponents claim that because a number of girls are living at home the minimum should be lower than the cost of living for an independent woman. In any calculation, however, the girls at home and largely supported by their fathers are offset by those who are supporting aged parents or other dependents.

District of Columbia.

House of Representatives. 65th Congress. Second Session. Report No. 571 Submitted by Mr. Hilliard, from the Committee of the District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board for the District of Columbia. May, 1918.

The investigation in the District showed that as in many other communities about a third (in Washington 31 per cent) of the women at work were living away from home. This answers the frequent assertion that working girls do not need to be paid a living wage because they are supported by their families and are merely supplementing the family income. The wages paid must take into account this substantial proportion of wage earners who are not living with families. Moreover, 21 per cent of the 600 women interviewed had dependents. That is, one-fifth were under the necessity of contributing to the support of others, besides supporting themselves. On the

other hand, 45 per cent needed to receive outside assistance in order to make both ends meet. (Page 4.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Review. January, 1918. Cost of Living in the District of Columbia.

At Home and Away From Home.

Of the 600 women, 414, or 69 per cent, lived at home with their immediate families, all but 51 of these living with parents. The remaining 186, or 31 per cent, lived away from home, either in private families, in boarding houses, in working-girls' homes, or were housekeeping in lodgings on their own account. Their distribution on this point is shown in the following table, by income groups:

Living Conditions and Annual Income.

Annual income	Total	At home	Away from home				
			Total	Private families	Housekeeping	Boarding houses	Homes for working girls
Under $300	133	100	33	15	13	..	5
$300 and under $400	141	105	36	19	8	5	4
$400 and under $500	107	74	33	14	12	6	1
$500 and under $600	88	54	34	17	7	7	3
$600 and under $700	53	37	16	3	7	3	3
$700 and under $800	43	24	19	10	8	1	..
$800 and under $1,100	35	20	15	6	3	3	3
Total	600	414	186	84	58	25	19

(Page 4.)

It is to be emphasized that living at home does not necessarily mean that a woman is assisted by her family. Usually, such a woman is in a more favorable economic position than women away from home, inasmuch as she has assistance at hand in case of sickness or unemployment. But this is not always the case, as many of the women listed above as living at home were not only sup-

porting themselves, but were also supporting their families in whole or in part. Moreover, many girls stayed at home when they might have secured better positions and more independence by going to some other place, because they felt their services or companionship in the home was needed by their parents even when no financial assistance was given to the family.

Degree of Self-Support.

The degree in which women workers may be receiving assistance from their families or other sources is a very important factor in the industrial world, for to the extent that such workers are having their regular wage supplemented by outside assistance, they are able to offer their services in the labor market at lower rates than are workers entirely dependent on their own resources. The most frequent example of this sort of subsidized labor is that of girls living at home and receiving board and lodging free or at nominal rates.

Of the 600 women included in this study, 272, or 45 per cent, were found to be in receipt of outside assistance. The remaining 328, or 55 per cent, were entirely self-supporting, and in addition, 129 of these 328 had other persons wholly or partially dependent upon them for support.

In this grouping into "assisted" and "self-supporting," the effort was made to group as self-supporting only those women who received no contribution to their living expenses from their families or others. Thus a number of cases were placed in the "assisted" group, in which the assistance received was comparatively slight. On the other hand, in a number of cases a girl was classed as self-supporting when she probably could not have obtained the same living conditions at the same price commercially, and so the two groups would balance each other to a large extent.

At best, the question of assistance is one that often can not be readily determined. Usually it is in the form of board or lodging without pay or at reduced rates. But

sometimes, particularly with women living at home, assistance is given in forms impossible to trace. The facts here presented were obtained by very careful inquiry, and the classifications are as accurate as it is possible to make them.

As would be expected, assistance occurred chiefly among the women workers with the small annual incomes. Thus of the 274 women with incomes of less than $400 per year (approximately $8 per week), 203, or 74 per cent, were assisted. On the other hand, 6 women, or 17 per cent, of those receiving $800 or more per year were assisted. These, in part, belonged to what might be called the "pin money" group—young women of well-to-do families. On the whole, however, this investigation found very few women of this class. Certainly 99 per cent of all those included were working because working was necessary.

The following table gives detailed data by income groups showing the number of women living at home or away from home and whether they were assisted or self-supporting, and with or without dependents: (Pages 5-6.)

Annual Income and Living Conditions.

Annual income	Total	At home			Away from home		
		Assisted	Self-supporting	Self-supporting with dependents	Assisted	Self-supporting	Self-supporting with dependents
Under $300	133	91	5	4	16	15	2
$300 and under $400	141	76	17	12	20	13	3
$400 and under $500	107	28	29	17	5	22	6
$500 and under $600	88	15	19	20	3	18	13
$600 and under $700	53	9	15	13	2	11	3
$700 and under $800	43	..	11	13	1	10	8
$800 and under $1,100	35	4	4	12	2	10	3
Total	600	223	100	91	49	99	38
General Total			414			186	

(Page 6.)

Arkansas.

Arkansas Bureau of Labor and Statistics. Third Biennial Report. 1917-1918.

Need of Applying Minimum Wage and Maximum Hour Law to All Female Workers.

The demand for the Minimum Wage and Maximum Hour Law is an expression of awakened social conscience of the people of Arkansas. Thinking men and women are everywhere realizing the individual and social menace of the low wage and demanding that it be made possible for able-bodied, willing women to earn their living by their day's work.

The right to earn a living and the right to live are indistinguishable terms. We are told the wages of the women need not be adequate for their support, as many of the girls and women live at home. When this fact is given by the employer, he admits he is not paying a living wage, as the brother or father has to supply what he refuses to pay.

Another reason advanced for the low wage is that the women or girls have no one dependent upon them. Of all the hundreds of female workers we have interviewed in four years, we have not found one who is not either dependent upon her own support or has others to support, ofttimes aged parents, invalid relatives or children whom a father has deserted. What can $3.00, $5.00 or $7.50 a week procure for such a worker?

These women, potential mothers of another generation, each one as a result of low wages and long hours, represent a lowered vitality and constant trend toward degeneracy.

The most costly production of any nation is not its valuable minerals, nor the out-put of its cotton or hogs, but its boys and girls. Therefore, it is time for Arkansas to give every protection to the female workers, that they may receive a living wage to make possible decent nutrition, decent clothing, decent living conditions and have time and strength for education and development of all

the fine powers hidden and held within them. (Pages 15-16.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 26. Women in Arkansas Industries. 1923.

Table XXI.—Living Condition of the Women Employees Who Supplied Personal Information, by Industry.

Industry	Number of women reporting	Number of women who were— At home or with relatives	Adrift
Manufacturing:			
Candy	52	46	6
Drugs	12	11	1
Garments	227	190	37
Mattresses, tents, and awnings	41	36	5
Wood products	163	154	9
Miscellaneous manufacturing	117	108	9
Printing and publishing	55	43	12
General mercantile	612	521	91
5-and-10-cent stores	112	100	12
Laundries	366	312	54
Telephones	439	347	92
Hotels and restaurants	365	258	107
Total	2,561	2,126	435

California.

California Industrial Welfare Commission. Second Biennial Report. 1915-1916.

One of the questions formerly debated but fortunately now nearly obsolete, is whether women work because of necessity or because of a desire for independence. Economists and students of the industrial problem recognize that as men's earnings are depressed by small wages, higher cost of living and periods of unemployment, just so surely are women and children forced into industrial life to supplement the inadequate family wage

This table shows that of 4810 women studied by the California Retail Dry Goods Association—

1109 or 23.06 per cent lived at home and were not dependent on their earnings for support;
1819 or 37.81 per cent lived at home and contributed to the family support;
1330 or 27.65 per cent were self-dependent entirely, and
552 or 11.48 per cent were self-dependent with others dependent upon them, or a total of 3,710* or 77.13* per cent of these women worked because of necessity. (Page 48.)

*Mistake in calculation. Should read "3701 or 76.94 per cent."

Georgia.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 22. Women in Georgia Industries. January, 1922.

Conjugal Condition and Home Responsibilities.

It would be natural for married women and those who had been married, if they had children, to keep house rather than to board. Also young women under 20 are more apt to live with their families, if they can, than to board. As 50.2 per cent of the women either were married or had been married, and 30.4 per cent were under 20 years of age, it would seem probable that the large majority of women lived at home. This proved to be the case, for of a total of 2,919 women reporting on living conditions, 85.7 per cent were living at home or with relatives. (See Tables XVIII and XIX, Appendix.)

Investigation and general knowledge have established the fact that the great majority of working women who live at home have definite home duties and burdens of various kinds. This is as true for the working women of Georgia as for any other group. Among the women interviewed during the course of this investigation there were many single women and girls who had shouldered the financial responsibility for parents and younger brothers and sisters. (Page 57.)

Table XVIII.—Conjugal Condition of the Women Employees Who Supplied Personal Information, by Industrial Group—Atlanta and Georgia.

Industrial Group.	No. of women reporting.	Number and per cent who were— Single. No.	Single. Per cent.	Married. No.	Married. Per cent.	Widowed, separated, or divorced. No.	Widowed, separated, or divorced. Per cent.
Stores	660	405	61.4	133	20.2	122	18.5
Factories*	2,225	1,062	47.7	687	30.9	476	21.4
Laundries	247	93	37.7	91	36.8	63	25.5
Total	3,132	1,560	49.8	911	29.1	661	21.1

Table XIX.—Living Condition of the Women Employees Who Supplied Personal Information, by Industrial Group—Atlanta and Georgia.

Industrial group.	No. of women reporting.	Number and per cent who were— At home. Number.	At home. Per cent.	Adrift. Number.	Adrift. Per cent.
Stores	679	556	81.9	123	18.1
Factories*	2,016	1,753	87.0	263	13.0
Laundries	224	193	86.2	31	13.8
Total	2,919	2,502	85.7	417	14.3

*Manufacturing establishments.

(Abbreviated.) (Page 84.)

Illinois and Missouri.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 25. Women in the Candy Industry in Chicago and St. Louis. 1923.

Home Responsibilities and Living Conditions.

Almost one-fourth of the women workers in the St. Louis plants and over one-third in the Chicago were married, widowed, separated, or divorced and hence, in all probability, had some home responsibilities. (Page 57.)

Table XIII.—Conjugal Condition of the Women Employees Who Supplied Personal Information.

City.	No. of women reporting.	Number and per cent whose conjugal condition was— Single. Number.	Single. Per cent.	Married. Number.	Married. Per cent.	Widowed. Number.	Widowed. Per cent.	Divorced. Number.	Divorced. Per cent.
Chicago	1,111	695	62.6	305	27.5	90	8.1	21	1.9
St. Louis	421	319	75.8	60	14.3	26	6.2	16	3.8
Total	1,532	1,014	66.2	365	23.8	116	7.6	37	2.4

(Page 72.)

Table X.—Nativity of the Women Employees Who Supplied Personal Information.

City	No. of women reporting.	Native-born white Number.	Native-born white Per cent.	Foreign-born Number.	Foreign-born Per cent.
Chicago	1,128	741	65.7	387	34.3
St. Louis	416	392	94.2	24	5.8
Total	1,544	1,133	73.4	411	26.6

(Page 71.)

Kansas.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 17. Women's Wages in Kansas. May, 1921.

For years the theory has stubbornly persisted that women were in industry only for a short time, and that their earnings were of no very great social significance because "the family," the unit of modern civilization, was dependent upon woman not as a wage earner but as a home-keeper. More and more, however, modern industrial studies show that women wage earners have a double social significance. For it is being found that they are contributing a by no means insignificant proportion of the family wage, in many cases being the entire support of a good-sized family, while at the same time fulfilling their other age-old function of home-keeper. It is for this reason that any account of women's wages to-day must be accompanied by an account of their home responsibilities,

for their wages are still based on the old theory that they have no family responsibilities as wage earners, with disastrous results upon the standards of life and health for the maintenance of which they are in many cases responsible.

"How do they do it?" was the question that recurred again and again in the minds of the investigators as they interviewed one girl after another and heard her story of need at home which was relieved only by her earnings; of sick fathers, little brothers and sisters, or widowed mothers who had given out after many years of struggle to bring up and educate their families and had passed the burden on to their daughters. (Page 53.)

Summary.

The following statement gives in brief the main facts about the dependents and home responsibilities of the [Kansas] women from whom records were secured, more than 5,000 in number, where personal data only were secured, and 4,329 in number where pay-roll figures also were available:

Living condition.

84.3 per cent were living with their families.

15.7 per cent were living independently.

Conjugal condition.

61.2 per cent were single.

22.5 per cent were married.

16.3 per cent were widowed, separated, or divorced.

Total dependents were supported by—

12.4 per cent of the women whose weekly wages were $15 to $17.50.

15.7 per cent of the women whose weekly wages were from $17.50 to $20.

13.4 per cent of the women whose weekly wages were from $20 to $25.

13.0 per cent of the women whose weekly wages were $25 and over.

6.1 per cent of all the women for whom records were secured.

Amount contributed to the family.

39.0 per cent contributed all of their earnings.

36.1 per cent contributed part but not all of their earnings.

24.8 per cent contributed nothing.

Contribution by age.

All of their earnings were contributed by—

55.5 per cent of the women who were from 25 to 30 years old.

75.9 per cent of the women who were from 30 to 40 years old.

85.5 per cent of the women who were from 40 to 50 years old.

87.4 per cent of the women who were from 50 to 60 years old.

85.0 per cent of the women who were over 60 years old.

If the girl who lives at home can get on with a smaller expenditure of cash she usually supplements her contribution to the family budget with many hours of housework or the care of the old or young members of the family, so that her value as a contributor to the family is considerably enhanced. In fact, "living at home" for the girl who works means often that she is doing double duty and that, in spite of a sometimes very small pecuniary contribution, the family is more dependent upon her than she is upon the family. (Page 54.)

But the fact that 84 per cent of the women included in this investigation were living at home does not mean that they were living at home without carrying their full share of the home responsibility. Even where the cash contribution to the family fund was so small as to make it seem that the contributor was one only in name and not in fact, a closer study of the contribution made in the form of housework or other assistance at home brought the value of the total contribution far beyond mere self-support. For instance, one woman telephone operator, making $9.36 a week, seemed to the investigator to have made a very easy arrangement when she stated that she

and her 8-year-old son lived with her brother-in-law and that she contributed $3 a week for the two of them. Further questioning, however, developed the fact that she did all the sewing for her sister and four children, sewing even during rest periods at the telephone exchange, and helped with the housework in her spare moments, surely a not inconsiderable contribution toward her share in the family budget. (Page 56.)

"Living at home, house rent-free," was the report of another woman, this time a worker in a laundry. The record showed that she was married and had two children and made an average wage of $9.98 a week. With a husband, and house rent-free, this did not seem such an unsatisfactory condition, especially as she worked only four days a week. A closer examination of the record showed, however, that the husband has been paralyzed for five years and is totally unable to work, and that he and the two children must depend entirely upon this one woman. Under these circumstances the four days of regular work a week do not provide a sufficient income, for an idle day means a wageless day, and the one wage earner of the family must resort to house cleaning and washing for the other two days, bringing her income up to about $13 a week. The item "house rent-free" which looked so promising on the first glance at the record was the one thing which permitted the family to keep together. In this case a sister was the owner of the house and let them use it free of charge, so that it was the sister who was supplementing the inadequate wage from the part-time work offered by the laundry, and making it possible for this woman to accept the wage and keep up the struggle to "live at home." (Pages 56-57.)

Conjugal Condition.

Women who were widowed, divorced, or living apart from their husbands are discussed here as a unit. From the viewpoint of dependency and home responsibilities their problems are alike; for the woman whose husband deserts her, as well as the woman whose husband dies,

has the responsibility for her family thrust upon her when under normal circumstances she might expect to be in a very different position in the family.

It is not, however, only the widowed and divorced group whose conjugal condition had brought with it increased responsibilities and cares. Among the group of married women were many whose husbands as well as children were dependent upon them, sometimes only partially but in many cases entirely. (Page 59.)

Composition of Families.

Table 18.—Composition of the families of 4,748 women interviewed who reported complete data, according to persons at work and persons not at work.

Number at work	11,997
Number not at work	8,986
Total number in families	20,983
Average size of family	4.42
Average number of wage earners	2.53
Average number of persons per wage earner	1.75

(Condensed) (Page 60.)

Total Dependents.

In considering the question of the actual number of persons who are dependent upon another person for support it is necessary to point out that in the greater part of the dependency problem with which women are faced it is not a question of one woman being the sole support of one or more persons. Most frequently the woman wage earner is one of several wage earners in a family, none of the dependent members of which can be considered to be totally dependent on any one of the wage earners. Two daughters may be supporting their mother, a father and mother may be supporting five or six children, or a father and daughter may be supporting several dependent members of their family. In all of such families there can not accurately be said to be any one person totally dependent upon any one other person.

This table shows that 6 per cent of all the women for whom pay-roll information was obtained were supporting total dependents. In addition to their own support these women were responsible for an average of 1.76 other persons. (Page 67.)

Proportion of Earnings Contributed.

This table shows that 27.6 per cent of the women were contributing nothing to the family and were independent of any financial responsibility of that sort. On the other hand 37.3 per cent were contributing all and 35.1 per cent were contributing part of their earnings.

The percentage of those who were contributing nothing undoubtedly is increased by the fact that 15.7 per cent of the women who were included in this survey were living independently of their families, and therefore contribution to their families would not be necessary nor expected from many of them. (Page 70.)

Reasons Given for Working.

Education for children.—Their feeling of responsibility for maintaining certain standards as part of the family life was evident in many cases. (Page 71.)

To provide for extra expenses.—In many families the husband's wages had proved to be inadequate for anything except the daily necessities of life, with the result that the wife's wages must be used to provide for the extra expenses which are inevitable in any household.

Savings.—Many women for whom the problem of daily expenses was met by the other members of the family were working to put a little money aside for old age or a rainy day. (Page 72.)

Sickness in family.—Sickness in the family, resulting sometimes in loss of income because the invalid was a wage earner, and always in doctors' bills, was in many cases the condition which made it urgent that a woman hitherto not a wage earner should become one. (Page 73.)

High cost of living.—Aside from emergencies such as sickness or accident which sent women into industry, the prevailing high prices had increased the cost of living to such an extent that in many families where the income of one wage earner had formerly sufficed, it was no longer adequate. (Pages 73-74.)

Music lessons.—A very small number of the women included in this survey were working to provide what might be called luxuries for themselves or their families. Typical of this group was the story of one girl who was working as a telephone operator and making an average weekly wage of $14.17. She gave $7 a week to her mother, a larger contribution being unnecessary because her father, older sister, and older brother were all working and contributing to the support of the mother and three younger children. Her surplus income, amounting to from $5 to $7 a week, was used for clothes and other expenses and to pay $10 a month for a piano which she was buying on the installment plan, and for two music lessons a week, costing slightly less than 50 cents each.

Buying a home.—But pianos were very seldom the "extras" which were being worked for; more often it was furniture for the home and very frequently it was the home itself. One woman was putting $6 a week from her earnings of $12.90 into paying for the furniture for her house. Another woman chose to work in a packing house because she could make more money there to help to pay for the insurance policies of the various members of her family and to pay for the house which they were buying on installments. (Page 74.)

Amount of Contribution.

The proportion of the total wage contributed seems particularly striking when it is recalled that 61 per cent of these workers were single women, who had not elected to take their part in bringing up a family, but whose responsibilities had been more or less imposed upon them by circumstances over which they had little control. The

woman or man who marries chooses with open eyes a career in which there will probably be responsibilities and dependents. The unmarried woman at home without choice falls heir to the responsibility which the older generation has been carrying and to the responsibility for the older generation itself. This heritage is much greater and more immediate than that of her brother, who theoretically or actually will start out to form another family group, ignoring old family ties and responsibility. (Pages 75-76.)

Age and Amount Contributed.

This table shows that among the young girls, under 16, a very considerable proportion (35.3 per cent) were turning over all their earnings to their families. This is a situation which would naturally be expected among a group of girls who go to work so young, as such girls probably are impelled only by financial necessity to give up school and go to work at such an early age, and under these circumstances would naturally turn over to their families everything they earned. (Page 78.)

Length of Time Contributing.

The most striking figures in this table are those which show the proportion of women who had worked 5 or 10 years or more and who had always contributed all of their earnings. Of the single women, 505 had worked 10 years or over, and during this long working period 180 (35.6 per cent) of them had always contributed all of their earnings to their families. Among the married women 90 (60 per cent) of the 150 who had worked 10 years or more had contributed their entire earnings for the whole time they had worked, and 15 (10 per cent) had contributed all for more than 5 but less than 10 years. Figures for the married women show, naturally, a very much larger proportion of women who had always contributed all of their earnings than was found among single women, for the great urge of financial necessity which drives the married women with children into industry results in a very com-

plete using of her earnings by the family she is working to support. The single woman, however, goes into industry with a smaller responsibility, which is often shared among more wage earners. It is striking to find that even under the circumstances which are supposed to surround and influence single women, such large percentages of them had always contributed all of their earnings. (Page 81.)

Table VII.—Living conditions of the employees scheduled, by industry.

Industry.	Number of women reporting.	Number who were—		Per cent who were—	
		At home.	Adrift.	At home.	Adrift.
Meat and poultry packing	757	665	92	87.8	12.2
Miscellaneous food manufacturing	211	195	16	92.4	7.6
Clothing manufacturing	534	455	79	85.2	14.8
Miscellaneous manufacturing	524	448	76	85.5	14.5
General mercantile	1,101	915	186	83.1	16.9
5-and-10-cent stores	286	267	19	93.4	6.6
Laundries	775	669	106	86.3	13.7
Restaurants	444	288	156	64.9	35.1
Telephones	510	451	59	88.4	11.6
Offices	478	383	95	80.1	19.9
All industries	5,620	4,736	884	84.3	15.7

Table VIII.—Conjugal condition of the employees scheduled, by industry.

Industry.	Number of women reporting.	Number who were—				Per cent who were—			
		Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Divorced.	Single.	Married.	Widowed.	Divorced.
Meat and poultry packing	736	239	303	125	69	31.6	40.1	16.5	11.8
Miscellaneous food manufacturing	211	136	43	18	14	64.5	20.4	8.5	6.6
Clothing manufacturing	534	279	132	80	43	52.2	24.7	15.0	8.0
Miscellaneous manufacturing	524	380	94	46	34	66.8	17.9	8.8	6.5
General mercantile	1,100	700	235	102	63	63.6	21.4	9.3	5.7
5-and-10-cent stores	285	259	18	6	2	90.9	6.3	2.1	.7
Laundries	776	378	238	79	81	48.7	30.7	10.2	10.4
Restaurants	444	242	117	25	60	54.5	26.4	5.6	13.5
Telephones	510	446	37	9	18	87.5	7.3	1.8	3.5
Offices	478	410	45	10	13	85.7	9.4	2.1	2.7
All industries	5,618	3,439	1,262	500	417	61.2	22.5	8.9	7.4

Table IX.—Relationship of the women to their families, by industry.

Industry.	Number of women reporting.	Number and per cent who were—											
		Wives.		Mothers.		Wives and mothers.		Daughters.		Sisters.		Other relatives.	
		Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.	Number.	Per cent.
Meat and poultry packing	663	107	16.1	128	19.3	182	27.5	208	31.4	26	3.9	12	1.8
Miscellaneous food manufacturing	196	16	8.2	16	8.2	24	12.2	119	60.7	12	6.1	9	4.6
Clothing manufacturing	472	50	10.6	69	14.6	79	16.7	241	51.1	26	5.5	7	1.5
Miscellaneous manufacturing	401	40	10.0	25	6.2	42	10.5	249	62.1	37	9.2	8	2.0
General mercantile	956	133	13.9	76	7.9	103	10.8	549	57.4	71	7.4	24	2.5
5-and-10-cent stores	269	13	4.8	3	1.1	3	1.1	232	86.2	11	4.1	7	2.6
Laundries	669	86	12.9	76	11.4	141	21.1	307	45.9	37	5.5	22	3.3
Restaurants	288	60	20.8	29	10.1	49	17.0	129	44.8	17	5.9	4	1.4
Telephones	450	26	5.8	3	.7	8	1.8	362	80.4	31	6.9	20	4.4
Offices	384	35	9.1	5	1.3	6	1.6	300	78.1	23	6.0	15	3.9
All industries	4,748	566	11.9	430	9.1	637	13.4	2,696	56.8	291	6.1	128	2.7

(Page 103.)

Kansas. Industrial Welfare Commission. First Biennial Report. 1915-1917.

Living Conditions of Full Time Workers.

Degree of dependency on earnings.

Living at home	Laundries. Number.	Laundries. Per cent.	Retail Stores. Number.	Retail Stores. Per cent.
Partly supported by family	58	20.8	183	21.7
Self supporting only	43	15.4	271	32.1
Support themselves and assist family	166	59.7	288	34.1
Living away from home				
Receiving assistance from family	0	0.0	11	1.3
Self supporting only	8	2.8	87	10.3
Support themselves and assist family	3	1.0	3	.3
	278	100.0	843	100.0

(Computed.) (Pages 19, 30 and 31.)

Not only the girl's time is given to the employer, but in many instances the father or brothers must also contribute to the welfare of the employer. Inasmuch as he is unwilling to pay a living wage, the father or brothers suffer loss in the exact proportion of his gain. And yet on this same basis, women are having to support families, having to house and feed themselves and families with what one girl alone can not live on. They don't live; they hardly have enough to sustain life. (Page 24.)

A girl's father or brother should not be expected to contribute to the support of the business in which his daughter is employed—and the girl "at home" should not be compelled to lower the wages of the girl "not at home." (Page 35.)

Maryland.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 24. Women in Maryland Industries. May, 1922.

Summary.

1. Number of women and girls included in the survey, 14,097.

2. Proportion of negro women, 5.6 per cent.

3. Proportion of girls under 16 years of age, 2.8 per cent.

4. Distribution of women:[1] 68.1 per cent in manufacturing, 24.2 per cent in mercantile, 5.3 per cent in laundries, 2.3 per cent in restaurants.

5. Largest group of women in any one manufacturing industry was in garment factories, 22.5 per cent.

6. Of the 6,527 women whose nativity was ascertained, only 6 per cent were foreign born.

7. Of the 6,571 women reporting their conjugal condition, 67.6 per cent were single, 18 per cent married, and 14.4 per cent widowed, divorced, or separated.

[1]Unless otherwise specified, the term "women" includes girls.

8. Of 6,720 women reporting their living condition, 87.9 per cent were living at home and 12.1 per cent were living independently.

9. Of the 6,519 women reporting their age, 35.7 per cent were under 20 years, 35.8 per cent were 20 and under 30, 14.5 per cent were 30 and under 40, and 14 per cent were 40 years and over. Of 6,492 women reporting their age at beginning work, 71.1 per cent were less than 17 years of age at that time. (Page 11.)

Age.

The fact that over one-fourth of the women (28.5 per cent) were 30 years of age and over does not substantiate the theory that women work for only a few years in industry and then drop out.

Closely allied with the foregoing subject is the age at which the women began to work for wages.

Age at beginning work.	Women reporting. Per cent.	Age at beginning work.	Women reporting. Per cent.
Under 14 years.....	11.8	30 and under 40.....	3.0
14 and under 16.....	34.3	40 and under 50.....	1.4
16 and under 17.....	25.0	50 years and over...	.8
17 and under 20.....	15.5		
20 and under 25.....	5.5	Total	100.0
25 and under 30.....	2.6		

(Page 73.)

Conjugal and Living Condition.

It is interesting to note that of the 36 women who gave reasons for leaving their jobs, the two who left in order to get married and the one to take care of her young children later returned to their industrial work. In general the figures on conjugal condition obtained in the survey help to disprove the theory that girls engage in industrial work only until they marry.

Table XIV (page 96 in the appendix) shows that 67.6 per cent of the women were single, 18 per cent were married, and 14.4 per cent were widowed, divorced or sepa-

rated. Accordingly, of the 6,571 women reporting on conjugal condition, almost one-third (32.4 per cent) were or had been married. Restaurants, with 53.8 per cent of all their women employees married, widowed, divorced or separated; laundries, with 42.8 per cent, and garment factories, with 41.9 per cent, showed the largest proportions of women who were or had been married.

Any discussion of married women wage earners inevitably leads to a consideration of home responsibilities, both financial and domestic. This subject was too extensive to be handled in the type of investigation made in Maryland, but in visits to the homes of some of the women workers various significant bits of information along this line were picked up.

Widows and women with husbands reported that they were the entire or partial mainstay of their families. These wage earners were conspicuous examples of the economic struggle which many women must make to keep their families together and to provide a home and a livelihood. The hand-to-mouth existence of some of the families visited was not surprising, since the mother frequently was compelled to perform all her household duties and take care of small children in addition to her industrial job. (Pages 76-77.)

The women who were making such efforts were not all widows. According to the report in one community where the men were miners, the wives as mill workers had been the chief breadwinners for several months since the closing of the mine. One woman in a garment factory in Baltimore said, "I never worked in a down-town shop before, but hard times drove me to it." As her husband was an invalid she had been the family mainstay for years, earning a livelihood by sewing at home. "I guess I'm one of the people who were born to work and carry burdens," she added, philosophically. Incident upon incident could be piled up of the burdens of married women wage earners.

As many cases could be cited of single women and girls who were forced to carry heavy financial and domes-

tic burdens. The following stories are illustrative of such responsibilities for young girls. One 17-year-old girl was receiving $10 a week for her work in a laundry. She assisted her widowed mother and her brother in supporting a family of nine children. The girl had hoped to go to high school, but had been prevented by her father's death. Another girl of 17 was the sole support of her family. As a cream dipper in a candy factory she normally earned $11 a week, but at the time of the visit, since there was no Saturday work, her weekly wage was reduced to $9.73. The mother was sick in bed; the father was sickly and unable to work. There were two sisters, one married, the other 9 years old, and two brothers, aged 6 and 12 years. In another family a daughter who was just 14 years old and therefore permitted to work only eight hours a day, was receiving $7.50 a week. Her job of packing kept her standing all day. Her father was a tailor and had been laid off for three or four months, although he was working at the time of the visit. The girl and her two older sisters helped in the support of the family. The other five children, ranging in age from 2 to 12 years, were unable to contribute anything to the family income.

At the other end of the age scale was an unmarried woman 69 years old, a laundry worker, who with her weekly wage of $12 supported herself and an older sister, the latter being unable to work.

Some idea of the difficulties which beset a single woman supporting herself and living alone can be obtained from the experience of one worker who volunteered the following information. She was receiving $12 a week, but as she had "got behind" during the previous weeks when she was "out of a job," she was trying to make up her deficit and also to put something by for another rainy day. She lived alone and did light housekeeping in two small rooms devoid of all conveniences, but renting for $1.25 a week. She spent $5 a week for food, altogether averaging $6.87 for her weekly expenses. She did her own laundry and her own sewing. She spent no money for car fare, as she lived near her work and church, and walked to town. For months she had bought no clothes

except shoes. She was compelled to buy these because her work in a glass factory was unusually detrimental to footwear. Another single woman because of slack work and reduction in pay had been forced to give up boarding and resort to light housekeeping in order to make ends meet. By severest economy she was planning to live on $16 a month, spending only $2.56 for food, buying no clothes and only the barest necessities.

According to Table XV (page 96 in the appendix) the proportion of women who were living independently was only 12.1 per cent as compared with 87.9 per cent who were living at home. Sufficient evidence has been obtained to show that frequently women living at home have just as heavy and often heavier financial responsibilities, and consequently as urgent a need for a living wage, as those women living independent of families.

In general, so slender is the average wage earner's pay envelope, so many the demands made upon it—whether she is married or single or whether she is aiding in the support of others or not—that very clever manipulation of the contents is necessary to enable her to meet the vicissitudes inherent in an industrial job; to permit her to keep her feet on the level of present subsistence, to wipe out past arrears, and to store up for possible future misfortunes. When working women make such remarks as, "I'm never out of debt, for no sooner do I finish paying for one dress than it is worn out and I have to get another," or "I've never been able to save any, and though I hate to think about it, the only thing left for my old age is the poorhouse," it is quite evident that no insignificant part of the burden of a wage-earning woman is the worry of getting a living wage, not only for present demands but for future needs. (Pages 77-79.)

Table XIV.—Conjugal Condition, by Industry—(For Entire State).

Industry.	Number of women reporting.	Number of women who were— Single.	Married.	Widowed, separated, or divorced
Manufacturing:				
Clothing, men's..	495	292	147	56
Clothing, women's and children's.	200	112	66	22
Metal products...	767	541	112	114
Textiles	1,192	796	201	195
Miscellaneous[1] ...	1,966	1,383	335	248
General mercantile ..	1,104	822	122	160
5-and-10-cent stores.	144	116	21	7
Laundries	493	282	115	96
Restaurants	210	97	67	46
Total	[2]6,571	4,441	1,186	944

[1]Industries with fewer than 10 establishments.
[2]Of the 6,800 women who supplied personal record cards, 229 did not report conjugal condition.

Table XV.—Living Condition, by Industry—For Entire State).

Industry.	No. of women reporting.	Number of women who were living— At Home.	Independently.
Manufacturing:			
Clothing, men's	506	447	59
Clothing, women's and children's	210	171	39
Metal products	776	702	74
Textiles	1,204	1,063	141
Miscellaneous[1]	1,996	1,816	180
General mercantile	1,166	975	191
5-and-10-cent stores.....	149	144	5
Laundries	502	426	76
Restaurants	211	164	47
Total	[2]6,720	5,908	812

(Page 96.)

[1]Industries with fewer than 10 establishments.
[2]Of the 6,800 who supplied personal record cards, 80 did not report living condition.

Maryland State Board of Labor and Statistics. Twenty-eighth Annual Report. 1919.

Women's Weekly Wages and Percentage with Dependents.

Industries	Number Investigated	Average Wages	Per cent Without dependents	Per cent with dependents 1	2	3	4 or more
Department stores.....	1,228	$14.14	66.0	23	8.	2	1
Overall and pajama factories	722	15.43	53.3	34	8.7	3	1
Umbrella-parasol factories	107	15.	61.7	26	9.3	1.8	0.9

(Compiled.) (Pages 138-9.)

Massachusetts.

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. Bulletin No. 22. Second Report on the Wages of Women Employed in Paper Box Factories. September, 1920.

Living Arrangements.

Approximately nine-tenths of the women reporting their living arrangements live at home, that is, with their immediate family or with relatives (Table 8). The large number of young girls in the industry in part explains this situation. That living at home does not give the workers freedom from financial responsibility is indicated by the statement of 378 women (Table 10 (*a*)), approximately two-thirds of those giving this information, that they are entirely self-supporting, and the further statement from 334 women (Table 10 (*b*)) that they contribute to the support of others. (Page 18.)

Table 8.—Average Weekly Earnings of 649* Women Employed in 15 Paper-Box Factories in Massachusetts: by Home and Marital Conditions; by Dependency and Contribution to Support of Others—(Cumulative).

(Based on returns from workers, 1919.)

	Number of Workers Earning—												Total
	Under $5	Under $6	Under $7	Under $8	Under $9	Under $10	Under $11	Under $12	Under $13	Under $14	Under $15	$15 and Over	
Home Conditions:													
Living at home	23	34	68	123	193	248	318	366	419	460	503	79	582
Living away from home	....	1	1	6	14	16	26	40	47	55	59	8	67
Marital Conditions:													
Single	20	30	52	91	150	188	240	285	328	365	405	54	459
Married	....	2	10	21	35	42	59	74	84	89	92	18	110
Widowed, divorced or separated	....	....	....	4	6	13	20	20	23	28	30	9	39
Self-Support:													
Self-supporting	4	7	11	35	73	112	164	204	244	281	316	62	378
Not self-supporting	18	26	53	81	116	130	152	165	177	182	190	10	200
Support of Others:													
Contributing to support of others	2	7	19	43	79	115	163	193	228	260	287	47	334
Not contributing to support of others	20	24	42	68	107	123	148	170	186	199	213	26	239

*Data not available for all workers on each point.

(Condensed.) (Pages 28-29.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 19. Wages of Women Employed in Canning and Preserving Establishments in Massachusetts. March, 1919.

Information as to dependence on earnings was secured from 111 women, 44 of whom were employed in fish-handling plants, and 67 in pickling and preserving establishments. Although they represent only slightly more than one-sixth of those for whom wage records were used, they include a considerable proportion of the regular working force of both types of establishments, inasmuch as all appear on the pay-rolls for ten months or over. Illness or vacation are the only reasons given for the few weeks of unemployment that show on some of the records. None of the women report any supplementary occupation. The majority are full-time, or approximately full-time, workers.

Of these 111 women, 2 failed to specify whether they were self-supporting, and 6 did not state whether they contributed to the support of others. Out of the 109 women who answered the first question, 80, or nearly three-fourths, reported that they were entirely dependent upon their earnings; and 29, that they were not entirely dependent; 63, or three-fifths, of the 105 women who answered the second question were contributing to the support of others. While some of these were young girls who turned their earnings into the family purse, others were married women or widows with small children to support. (Pages 19-20.)

The data regarding age of workers would indicate that the majority are mature or middle-aged women. Of 161 women for whom such information was secured, only 29 are less than twenty-one years of age. More than one-half are thirty years of age or over. The third largest age group is that composed of women from fifty to sixty. (Page 18.)

Massachusetts. Minimum Wage Commission. Bulletin No. 21. Second Report on the Wages of Women in Corset Factories in Massachusetts. November, 1919.

As is generally the case in industries of this type, the great majority of the workers, approximately nine-tenths of those reporting on their living arrangements, live at home; that is, with their immediate family or with relatives. The number of young girls and middle-aged women, the rather large proportion of married women, in part explains this situation. That living at home does not give the workers freedom from financial responsibility is indicated by the statement of 433 women, approximately two-thirds of these giving this information, that they are entirely dependent upon themselves for support, and the further statement from 393 women that they contribute to the support of others. (Page 18.)

Average Weekly Earnings, by—

(a) Dependency; (b) by Contribution to Support of Others

	Under $8	$8 and under $13	$13 and under $15	$15 and over	Total
(a) Self Support—					
Self supporting	49	239	66	79	433
Not self supporting..	79	87	17	12	195
Total	128	326	83	91	628
(b) Support of Others—					
Contributing to support of others.....	70	192	63	68	393
Not contributing to support of others..	55	119	25	18	217
Total	125	311	88	86	610

(Computed) (Page 36)

Minnesota.

Women in Industry in Minnesota in 1918. Field Investigation Carried on by Women in Industry Committee, Council of National Defence and Minnesota Bureau of Women and Children. 1920.

A careful analysis of the data presented in the present report warrants the following conclusions:

2. Out of a total of 51,361 women wage earners, 28,683 or 55.8 per cent contribute out of their earnings towards the support of some one or more persons in their family and this is true particularly of deserted, widowed, married and divorced women, as indicated in the tables. (Page 35.)

Weekly wage	Contributing to support of others	Not contributing to support of others	Total
Under $10	22,011	19,260	41,271
$10-14	4,417	2,009	6,426
15-19	1,432	722	2,154
20-25	475	246	721
25 and over	137	46	183
Not given	211	395	606
Total	28,683	22,678	51,361

(Page 9.)

3. There were 7,206 children of less than working age dependent upon the earnings of the 3,779 mothers employed who were included in this study of the child population of a city of 25,000 people. (Page 35.)

Passaic, New Jersey.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Bulletin No. 23. The Family Status of Breadwinning Women. April, 1922.

The 1920 census of population shows that 8,549,511 of the Nation's 40,449,346 women 10 years of age and over are breadwinners—meaning thereby that this one-fifth of

all women has a financial rating under our present system of national bookkeeping. (Page 1.)

While only the fancy-fed mind still entertains the fiction that "women work chiefly for pin money," there is nevertheless a ceaseless and judgment-beclouding controversy as to the measure of responsibility for personal and family support which should be used in fixing the wage of women workers. (Page 2.)

The outlines of the picture of Passaic women breadwinners presented by the 26 tables found in the body of this report and derived exclusively from the 1920 census schedules are easily traced. They bring into view nearly[1] 10,000 women—not far from one-half of the adult woman population of Passaic—working for money, four-fifths of them earning it outside of the home. They show that one-half of these women were or had been married; that nearly three-fourths of the married or once-married women breadwinners were mothers; that more than one-half of the mothers were working outside the home and that of the 1,800 mothers working outside of the home, over 900 had children under 5 years of age. (Page 4.)

About one-fifth of all the breadwinning mothers were widowed, divorced, not living with husbands, or living with non-breadwinning husbands. Seven-eighths of the married women breadwinners were living in rented homes. (Pages 4-5.)

Turning to the single women breadwinners, the most cheerful phase of the picture is the large proportion—41 per cent—who were living in normal families where the fathers were breadwinners and the mothers were home custodians.

Fifteen per cent were either sole breadwinners, one of two, or one of three or more bradwinners in families having no male breadwinners living in the family. More

[1] Not being restricted by the Census Bureau's need of maintaining the comparability of classifications from period to period, the Women's Bureau has included in this study all women who earned money regardless of whether the method of earning is the main source of income or not. As a consequence this bulletin discusses the conditions of over 2,000 more women engaged in breadwinning in Passaic than the census classified as "breadwinners." The difference, however, is not one of what the data show, but of ruling as to what constitutes a breadwinning woman. (Page 4.)

than 30 per cent of the single women breadwinners in Passaic were boarding or lodging, living with employers or with relatives, or were domiciled in institutions. In other words, nearly half of the single women breadwinners (women who were without male assistance in their families or women living independent of their families) apparently had sharply defined responsibilities for personal or family support.

Over a third of the single women breadwinners belonged to families owning their homes either free or encumbered. Less than 8 per cent lived in unencumbered homes. (Page 5.)

The insistent question raised by the assembled census data is, "What care was provided for these children?" To answer this question the Women's Bureau took 1,000 addresses of women breadwinners having small children. (Page 6.)

The limitation of funds restricted the inquiries made during the personal survey to the provisions for care of young children and the amount of help breadwinning mothers had in the performance of household duties. Over 500 were found and identified as breadwinning mothers enumerated in the census of 1920.

The facts challenging attention in the results are—

(1) That over one-fifth of the mothers worked at night, caring for the children in the intervals between indispensable rest taken during the day.

(2) That nearly one-fifth left children with neighbors, landladies, or boarders.

(3) That another fifth left children with mother's or father's relatives, about one-fourth of such relatives living outside the home.

(4) That over one-tenth of the mothers going out to work left the children at home to the care of husbands who were night workers, unemployed, or working at home.

(5) That more than one-fifth left children virtually without care in the home. Eighty-two of these mothers, having children of school age, were assured that for part

of the working-day at least the young were safe. The others had children below school age—some under 5—who had no care at all or only that given by children 14 years of age and under.

(6) That but 25 mothers of of 522 left children in the care of paid custodians.

With such inadequate provision for the care of the young children, it is not suprising that scarcely more than one-fifth of these breadwinning mothers had any help in the performance of household duties; that the number having hired help even for washing and ironing regularly or irregularly was negligible; that the help came chiefly from the older children or relatives or lodgers. (Pages 6-7.)

The significant feature of this table is that almost two-thirds of the single breadwinning women were living at home with one or both parents. Not all of these were equally circumstanced, however, since only 63 per cent were living in homes where there were breadwinning fathers with mothers at home. The others showed marked deviations from the normal standard of family life. (Page 16.)

One-third of the entire number of single breadwinners in Passaic might be described as economically "adrift"; that is, they were boarding or lodging, maintaining independent homes, or living with relatives or employers. These may, of course, have been contributing to the support of absent families or may themselves have been recipients of help from home. The census data simply show the group as not under the parental roof or protected by the solidarity of an immediate family group. (Page 17.)

Almost 90 per cent of the 4,013 married breadwinners were women whose husbands were employed. Nine per cent had husbands who were not living in the family, and less than 2 per cent (50 women) had husbands who were living in the family but whose occupations were recorded by the Bureau of the Census as "none." (Page 17.)

Less than 5 per cent of the married women were sole breadwinners. This group consists of 28 women with nonbreadwinning husbands, and 148 whose husbands were not living in the family. The women who were sole breadwinners had for the most part but one child, usually young, and in no case as much as 18 years of age.

Most of the married women, 85 per cent of those reporting, were in the group having two breadwinners, and because, as has been said, the great majority were women with breadwinning husbands, in nearly every instance the second breadwinner was a man. The average number of children in the two-breadwinner group was about two.

Between 10 and 11 per cent of the married women were in families with three breadwinners. In these families the average number of children was more than three, the women with nonbreadwinning husbands having the largest families. (Pages 18-19.)

About two-thirds of the (751) widows—a percentage smaller than that of the married women—maintained homes; 10 per cent lived with relatives and 14 per cent were boarding or lodging.

Almost three-fourths of the widows reporting family responsibilities had no man or boy in their families to share the burden. With the exception of the divorced women, who were but an insignificant number, the largest percentage of sole breadwinners was found among the widows, over one-half of them being the only breadwinners in the family.

One hundred and seventy-two of the widows, or about 30 per cent, were in families with two breadwinners. The children in this group averaged slightly less than two. Less than one-half of these women had men breadwinners in the family group.

The widows who were in families with three or more breadwinners formed the smallest group, approximating 16 per cent of the whole, and 85 per cent had the assistance of a wage-earning man or boy. The children in this group averaged more than 3 to each family. (Pages 20-21.)

There were 4,802 women breadwinners in Passaic who were or had been married. Of these, 4,462 reported concerning children. Nearly three-fourths of these married, widowed, or divorced breadwinners were mothers; only 27 per cent had no children. There is little variation in the proportion having children in the several marital groups. The range is from 81 per cent in the small number of divorced women to 70 per cent among the women workers whose husbands were not breadwinners. Among the married women whose husbands were employed, and who represented by far the largest group of workers, 72.5 per cent had children. (Page 35.)

Although approximately three-fourths of the married or once-married women workers were mothers of children, the prevailing families were not large. The essential feature of the table lies in the fact that over 60 per cent of the women breadwinners had only one or two children. Only about 10 per cent of the mothers had families ranging from five to ten children. (Page 35.)

Though the families of working mothers were not large, the children were young. Approximately 60 per cent of the employed mothers had children under 5 years of age, 20 per cent had children of 5 to 7 years of age who had not yet entered school, . . . (Page 36.)

Another singularly striking feature of [the table] is the revelation that it was not the widowed mothers nor other women with disrupted marital relations who were winning bread apparently at the expense of the care of young children, but the married women living with breadwinning husbands. The revelation makes a strong urge for further information. (Page 36.)

It is of manifest importance to know why so large a group of women with home responsibilities should be at work when the usual family providers are in evidence. Rarely are the wages of fathers sufficient to keep grown unmarried daughters from going into industry as breadwinners, but that the wife and mother should go out to work while the husband and father is a breadwinner challenges attention. Is it because she must or because she

"wants to"? Without information on family income, which it is not possible to secure from census schedules, a definite answer to this question can not be given. (Page 42.)

Almost four-fifths of the women interviewed did the housework in addition to the performance of their other labors, with no assistance except that rendered by the husband or small children. Women who worked in the factories five nights a week had, of course, Saturday in which to work at home. Twenty-one others said they took off from one-half to two days weekly in order to look after household affairs.

Only 14 employed help for housework, either regularly one or two days a week or for an occasional day; 19 sent laundry out to be done. About 70 others stated that a mother, daughter, boarder, or neighbor helped with the laundry and cleaning. All the other breadwinning mothers—that is, 419 of the 522 interviewed—cooked, cleaned, and washed for their families in addition to caring for the children and performing remunerative service outside the home. (Page 43.)

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

U. S. Department of Labor. Bulletin of the Woman in Industry Service No. 4. Wages of Candy Makers in Philadelphia in 1919. 1919.

To the worker the important fact about earnings is the standard of living which they make possible. This is to be measured not merely in terms of the buying power of the dollar, but also in relation to the responsibility of the workers for the support of others besides themselves. (Page 23.)

Of the 800 women for whom information as to living conditions was obtained through the personal records, 688 lived at home and 112, or 14 per cent, were boarding. Of the women living at home 60.9 per cent earned less than $12 in the week for which the wage statistics were secured and 39.1 per cent earned $12 or more. The pro-

portions for the women who were boarding were almost identical. Of these, 59.8 per cent received less than $12 and 40.2 per cent received $12 or more. Apparently, therefore, the earnings are not affected by the fact that a girl is living alone away from her family, nor are they affected by the supposed support which family life gives to women workers.

Certain essentials a wage earner must have whether she boards or lives at home. She must have shelter, food, clothing, car fare, and a surplus for health and amusements. If she boards her expenses are more easily estimated, as a fixed sum can be ascertained for the cost of living, including heat and light, and food and shelter. When a worker lives at home she either gives all her wages to her family or pays a part with no knowledge as to whether it covers her actual share of the family budget or not. It is certain that both the girl who boards and the girl who lives at home are subject to the same increases in the cost of living. (Page 24.)

In considering the amount that the girl living at home contributes to the family budget, it is not merely the problem of the one who pays board to her family and assists besides with personal services that must be considered, but the much more common case of the girl who tries to support others besides herself on her earnings. In a Government investigation of the living expenses of 1,760 working girls in New York State in 1918 it was found that 4 out of every 5 helped to support others besides themselves.

Although no statistical study of the cost of living or the home responsibilities of girls was made in this investigation in Philadelphia, it was evident that the girls who were visited at home were responsible in no small degree for the family support. (Page 25.)

Rhode Island.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau Bulletin No. 21. Women in Rhode Island Industries. November, 1921.

Conjugal condition.

That it is frequently an economic necessity for married women to engage in work outside the home is a well-established fact in Rhode Island as elsewhere. According to Table XIII, page 70 of the appendix, of the 2,576 women reporting on their conjugal condition, 14.8 per cent were married, 7.9 per cent were widowed, separated, or divorced, and 77.3 per cent were single. The laundries showed the highest percentage (25 per cent) of married women, followed by metal shops, paper-box factories, and general stores. It is interesting to note that the metal shops, formerly considered "men's work," take the lead in the percentage of women who were or had been married. General mercantile establishments and laundries follow, each of the three industries reporting more than 30 per cent of their women in this classification. The highest percentage of unmarried women (89 per cent) was found in the electrical establishments, and the next highest (86.6 per cent) in the 5-and-10-cent stores. This is to be expected, since the greatest percentages of young workers also were found in these industries.

Table XIV, page 70 in the appendix, shows that of the 2,529 women reporting their living condition, 92.2 per cent were living at home and 7.8 per cent were living independently. Many of those at home said that they paid board varying from $5 to $10 a week. Figures obtained from women who boarded away from home showed practically the same range of rates. When visited in their homes women living with their families were found in many cases to have heavy responsibilities, demanding the expenditure of time, money, and energy.

Home responsibilities.

The extensive subject of dependency could be treated only briefly during this survey. Sufficient information was obtained in home visits, however, to establish the fact that many women supported or assisted in the support of others. Widows or deserted wives, or even women with husbands, were found to be the entire or partial mainstay of their families. (Pages 57-58.)

Washington.

Washington. Industrial Welfare Commission. Fourth Biennial Report. 1919-1920.

Since a large proportion of single working woman have dependents, among them being one or both parents, young or invalided brothers or sisters, it would seem wise to consider a family budget for women. Many widows with young children to support face desperate conditions, as does the married woman with disabled husband and one or more children.

With a fine courage these women endeavor to keep the family intact, and properly nourished, but not even the highest intelligence in the world can stretch a weekly wage of $13.20, minus carfare, over a family of even two or three and provide adequate nourishment, to say nothing of clothing, housing and sanitary conditions. (Pages 15-16.)

[Information on the dependents of a working woman] had been gathered from the applications for apprenticeship licenses for the year 1918-1919. Out of a total of 3,256 applicants, there were 263 widows supporting 389 children; 571 reported that they were assisting in the support of parents, brothers, or sisters. (Page 12.)

Report of Laundry and Dye Works Survey.

There were 262 single women, 331 married, and 146 widows. Of the widows, 42 were supporting 1 child; 14,

2 children; 13, 3 children; 6, 4 children, and 1, 5 children; 71 of the single persons were aiding in the support of their parents, brothers and sisters. A widow 66 years of age was supporting two grandchildren. One married woman reported that she was supporting her partly blind husband. One married woman was the entire support of a husband who had been ill for two and one-half years, and one single woman was supporting an aged aunt and uncle. (Page 57.)

Washington. Industrial Welfare Commission. Bulletin No. 2. Survey of Manufacturing Industry. April 10, 1920.

There were 586 single women; 271 married women; 131 widows, and 3 who did not report. Of the 131 widows 45 were supporting 1 child; 19 were supporting 2 children; 9 were supporting 3 children; 1 was supporting 4 children, and 1 was supporting 5 children. Sixty-six of the single women were aiding in the support of their parents; 7 were assisting younger brothers, and 6 assisting sisters. Two married women were the entire support of invalid husbands and the other married women were contributing to the family budget. One grandmother was supporting 2 grandchildren, and 1 widow was supporting a nephew.

Washington. Industrial Welfare Commission. Second Biennial Report. 1915-1916.

Summary showing number of females (in the mercantile industry) entirely and partly self-supporting, including all minors, apprentices and adults.

No. wholly self-supporting..... 1,855
No. partly self-supporting..... 903

(Page 137.)

Nova Scotia.

Province of Nova Scotia. Report of Commission on the Hours of Labour, Wages and Working Conditions of Women Employed in Industrial Occupations. 1920.

One of the most striking facts brought out in evidence was the large number of girls who were living at home and working in factories, paying no board or only about half the usual cost. This is one of the most important factors affecting the wages of women in industry. These girls, who in many cases depend on their parents for a living (in part or in whole), work for wages that provide them with little more than spending money. The result of this is that many employers, especially in the small industries, made use of this labour which keeps down wages. One girl testified that she has worked for many years at a very low wage and did not dare to demand more because her employer could replace her by a girl who lived at home. (Page 15.)

Many girls who must support themselves and a number of widows supporting children are thus forced to accept less wages than are sufficient to properly maintain them. (Page 16.)

(5) The "Forced Sale" of Women's Labor.

The bargaining power of unskilled or semi-skilled women wage-earners is notoriously weak. The individual woman has no alternative but to take the wages offered her.

Outlines of Economics. RICHARD T. ELY, *Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of Political Economy in the University of Wisconsin. Revised and enlarged by the Author and Thomas S. Adams, Ph.D., Max O. Lorenz, Ph.D., Allyn A. Young, Ph.D. New York, Macmillan, 1920.*

Labor is in this particular like the most perishable of commodities: the number of working days in a man's life is limited, and those that are not sold are irrevocably gone. The laborer has, it is true, some power in the way of "holding out for higher wages," but even this power is limited rather narrowly by the absolute necessity of making a livelihood. In the long run small wages are better than none. The sale of labor is often a forced sale. (Pages 431-432.)

The general principles of minimum wage legislation are simple. In many trades the majority of the workers do not receive enough wages to maintain their physical efficiency. Of these sub-standard wage workers a large number are partially supported by other members of the family, a considerable number are assisted by charity, a few eke out their living by intermittent or regular prostitution, and some "actually die of under-nutrition and worry."* The work as a rule is simple and the supply of labor excessive. Usually there is no labor organization. The workers are weak and the wage is fixed by individual bargaining in which the predominant force is sometimes the rapacity of the employer. The tendency towards a uniform or standard wage in many of these trades seem to have been checked by the absence of labor

*H. R. Seager, "The Theory of the Minimum Wage," American Labor Legislation Review, vol. iii, No. 1, p. 84.

organization, and competing establishments in the same industry are found again and again paying strikingly different wages for the same grade of labor. (Page 481.)

An Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems. GORDON S. WATKINS, *Associate Professor of Economics, University of Illinois. New York, Crowell, 1922.*

The foregoing conditions have retarded greatly the industrial progress of women. Low wages and the conditions that produce them have tended to react in a vicious circle. Low wage scales have accentuated physical disabilities and have been both the cause and the effect of comparatively inefficient and inconstant work, inadequate training, and the lack of industrial organization. Moreover, women's wages in certain industries have been depressed to a level unwarranted by economic competition because unscrupulous and unthinking employers, recognizing the fundamental weakness in women's bargaining power, have paid wages not only less than their services were worth but even insufficient to maintain a standard of comfort and decency. But the future contains greater promise. (Page 160.)

First Principles of Political Economy. CHARLES GIDE, *Professor at the College de France. Translated by Ernest F. Row. London, Harrap & Co., Ltd., 1922.*

In fact, it is well known that wages, the price paid for the hire of labour are not settled by bargaining. They are a fixed price, to be taken or left, like the price of articles in a big shop, but with this difference, that the customer in the shop can always abstain from buying if the price is too high, whereas the workman is not always free to abstain from selling even if he considers the price too low. It is only since the rise of trade unionism that it has become possible to make wages a matter of bargain.

That is why wages have fallen, in the course of history, to an incredibly low point, to the minimum below

which the human material, the bodily strength itself, disappears because the workman can no longer feed himself and keep alive. And such was the case even until the War, in industries where the worker was not in a position to bargain, notably in the industries that were carried on by female workers in their own homes.

Happily this state of affairs has been changed, and not only because the action of trade unions and the strike threat have undoubtedly had a powerful effect on the rate of wages. Another cause—and it is pleasant to be able to say so—is that people have come to realize in the great industrial countries, that you cannot get a large output from ill-paid workers, and that the share of the gross produce that is allotted to labour under the name of wages can go on increasing even without any diminution in the share taken by the employer under the name of profit. On the contrary, he gets it back, as we say, in the increased quantity of goods produced. (Pages 131-132.)

2. The Minimum Standard of Living.

The conception of a "living wage" is growing from indefiniteness to a scientific standard that can be defined and measured as to the cost of maintenance of a healthy worker.

Wage boards consider the data on the cost of living in the light of their experience. The minimum arrived at differs with the different groups of employers, employees and representatives of the public, adjusted to the facts and circumstances of each specific industrial situation dealt with by the various wage boards.

(1) The Standard by Which a Living Wage Should be Determined.

House of Representatives, Sixty-fifth Congress, Second Session. Hearings before the Subcommittee of the Committee on the District of Columbia on H. R. 10367. Providing for the Establishment of a Minimum Wage Scale in the District of Columbia for Women and Children. April 16, 1918.

Statement of Rev. Dr. John A. Ryan, of the Catholic University.

As to the other point, that it is really possible to determine what we mean when talking of a decent wage, I mention that because a great many persons are under the impression that when we are discussing decent wages as against low wages we are talking about something that cannot be based on concrete facts; that we are getting into a subject where the cost of living of various persons varies so much that the individual factor is the important one, and they say that if many of the workers would try as hard as some particular ones we know, everyone could do just as well as the particular ones who are now making both ends meet. The fallacy of that statement is that it assumes that the majority of persons

can do what a few exceptional persons can do. We all know girls who can live decently on $7 a week, but they are exceptional and extraordinary persons; they use extraordinary devices to make a wage do what perhaps a wage of $2 more would be necessary to enable the average person to live on. In other words, we cannot judge the average person of the majority by the exceptions. The experience of every group of persons who have gone into this question of the cost of living, the minimum decent cost of living of working girls through this country, in a dozen or more cities, has pointed to the conclusion that, considering the complexity of the situation, it is surprisingly definite, and that experience showed that before 1914 a decent wage for the female worker could not be less than $9 a week; that it was probably somewhere between $9 and $10 a week. I submit that that is a somewhat definite result in the face of the complex situation we have to deal with, to be arrived at by groups in different parts of the country. (Pages 32-33.)

So it is quite possible to determine what we mean by decent living wages; and when this bill becomes a law, as we hope it will, it will be quite possible and, in fact, relatively simple for the commission that has the matter in charge to determine what the cost of decent living for a working girl is in the District of Columbia. The thing has been done so often elsewhere that the task will be comparatively simple here.

Just a word with regard to my own experience in that connection. In 1914 in Minnesota I was a member of one of the advisory boards which had the task of determining the decent minimum wage for females working in mercantile establishments of the Twin Cities, and I was also chairman of a subcommittee that had charge of the particular item of board and lodging. All of the members of the committee who were employers gave us all that "old stuff," to use a bit of parlance of the day, about the impossibility of determining what was the proper cost of living; that there was so much difference in different girls, etc.; but when we got down to the actual investigation and brought in facts as to the number of places in

the two cities where a girl could board and how much she would have to pay in the different classes of boarding houses, and how much she would have to pay in the different classes of restaurants, eating places, they had to admit that, after all, we were dealing with something rather definite, and they had to agree, for example, to the proposition that $4.85 a week was the smallest sum that could be allowed for board and lodging in 1914 in the Twin Cities. In the same way the members of the subcommittee that had to do with clothing, and the other one that had to do with incidental expenses—all the other expenses except clothing and board and lodging—after some investigation and discussion, found that it was possible to state the lowest sum that any decent person would want to admit that a girl should be compelled to live on in the Twin Cities; and so these three subcommittees all agreed as to the three separate estimates. (Page 33.)

A curious thing then happened. When we had a meeting of the general committee to determine what would be the total cost of living allowed for all the various items, we began to submit the report of the subcommittee on board and lodging, which had agreed on $4.85 a week as the sum for that item, and the whole committee accepted that. Immediately the employer members of the board saw that this thing was becoming a simple problem in addition, and that if we took up all the other items and the whole committee adopted them as the subcommittees, including the employer members, had already adopted them, the addition would come to about $9 a week. So they immediately made a motion that without considering further the reports of the subcommittees the wage should be fixed at $7.50 a week. That was voted down, however. I mention this to show that when we get back to the concrete issues and circumstances we can determine what we mean pretty definitely by a living wage. (Pages 33-34.)

American Citizenship and Economic Welfare. JACOB H. HOLLANDER, *Ph. D., Professor of Political Economy in the Johns Hopkins University. Baltimore. The Johns Hopkins Press. 1919.*

Opposed to the doctrine of natural law in wage determination is the principle of social expediency. Briefly stated, this maintains that the wages paid in modern industry should attain the level which will realize the largest social good as constituted of the well-being of wage-earners, enterprisers and consumers, and that this criterion should determine arbitral awards in wage controversies. (Pages 67-68.)

The principle which at this time seems to have most to commend it both from the standpoint of economic practicability and social advantage is the doctrine of a progressive standard of life, with a base line of minimum requirement. This means that a disputed wage scale should be determined by the arbitral body to which it has been referred at that level which will permit the industrial group involved to maintain its accustomed standard of life—assuming this to be at least at or above a necessary minimum—together with some addition for the general social progress attained since the time of last fixture. As to the basic rate, the least skilled class of labor regularly employed in industry should be paid as wages at least enough to make possible, in the long run, decent, self-supporting existence for the average workman and those necessarily dependent upon him. (Pages 70-71.)

The Effort of the Worker to Improve His Own Condition is Indispensable. HORACE B. DRURY, *Investigator for the Committee on Work Periods in Continuous Industry, Federated American Engineering Societies. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. March, 1922.*

There is no definite minimum wage that men and women must have to live; there is no objective minimum that they ought to have in order to live a full and rich

life. The standard of living is variable. But it is possible in any country at any degree of industrial efficiency to say that such and such a standard is attainable; that industries that do not support it are subnormal and parasitic. And, if care be used in setting up the standard, it should be possible to establish a standard above that which prevails in many lines of work but not out of possibility of attainment by every necessary industry. The correct standard of living upon which the general level of wages should be based is the highest possible minimum that the industry of the country as a whole can afford to pay and still run sufficiently fully and successfully. (Page 71.)

Work, Wealth, and Wages. Rev. Joseph Husslein, *S. J., Ph. D., Lecturer Fordham University School of Social Service. Chicago, Matre, 1921.*

Even the humblest toiler has the right to have his human needs supplied in return for his honest labor. For the majority this is possible only through the living wage. (Page 14.)

The wage of the woman worker must be sufficient at least for her own support, independently of any assistance from others, thus removing from her the dangers, physical and moral, which poverty often brings to her. The wage of the adult male worker should at least suffice for an average family. (Page 15.)

Minimum wage legislation is especially to be applied in regard to the woman wage-earner that she may be assured a sufficient income for decent Christian self-support and reasonable recreation. There must be no need of partial dependence upon others, and provision for her future should be made economically possible for her. (Page 56.)

Pastoral Letter of the Archbishops and Bishops of the United States. February 22, 1920.

The right of labor to a living wage, authoritatively and eloquently reasserted more than a quarter of a cen-

tury ago by Pope Leo XIII, is happily no longer denied by any considerable number of persons. What is principally needed now is that its content should be adequately defined, and that it should be made universal in practice, through whatever means will be at once legitimate and effective. In particular, it is to be kept in mind that a living wage includes not merely decent maintenance for the present, but also a reasonable provision for such future needs as sickness, invalidity and old age. (Page 246.)

Great Britain. Report of a Court of Inquiry Concerning Transport Workers' Wages and Conditions of Employment of Dock Labour. Lord Shaw, *Chairman. Cmd. 55. 1920.*

10. The true and substantial case presented by the dockers was based upon a broad appeal for a better standard of living. What is a better standard of living? By this is not meant a right to have merely a subsistence allowance in the sense of keeping the soul and body of the worker together, but a right to have life ordered upon a higher standard, with full regard to those comforts and decencies which are promotive of better habits, which give a chance for the development of a greater sense of self-respect, and which betoken a higher regard for the place occupied by those workers in the scheme of citizenship. The Court did not discourage this view; on the contrary, it approved of it, and it is fair to the Port Authorities and employers to say that its soundness was not questioned. In the opinion of the Court the time has gone past for assessing the value of human labour at the poverty line. (Pages 6-7.)

Great Britain. Report of the War Cabinet Committee on Women in Industry. Cmd. 135, London, 1919.

Recommendations as to principles which should govern future Employment and Wages of Women.

(18) That in order to secure and maintain physical health and efficiency no normal woman should be employed for less than a reasonable subsistence wage.

(19) That this wage should be sufficient to provide a single woman over 18 years of age in a typical district where the cost of living is low with an adequate dietary, with lodging to include fuel and light in a respectable house not more than half an hour's journey, including tram or train, from the place of work, with clothing sufficient for warmth, cleanliness and decent appearance, with money for fares, insurance and Trade Union subscriptions, and with a reasonable sum for holidays, amusements, etc. (Page 6.)

The Elements of Social Justice. L. T. Hobhouse, *D.Lit., LL.D., Martin White Professor of Sociology in the University of London. London. George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1922.*

The third consequence is that the lowest remuneration for work done is that which will maintain the least capable worker, not employed from charity but actually required by the operation of the industrial system, in a condition of full civic efficiency; that is to say, not only in health but in a position to develop and exercise his faculties, to enter upon marriage and parenthood, and meet whatever costs of a normal family are not undertaken by the community. This is the lowest standard required to harmonize the interests of the worker and the community, for without it the producer does not secure the elementary and essential conditions of a good life. (Pages 133-134.)

From the point of view of the producer the governing principle of the harmony is that the lowest remunera-

tion must yield the civic minimum. From the point of view of the community the weakest worker must be able to produce so much that when he is paid the community is not poorer. That is to say, he is the weakest worker who is required, not of charity, by the working of the system. This fixes the minimum standard of the remuneration of work in a justly ordered system, and it is clear that in such a system the weakest worker is earning his pay. (Pages 134-135.)

With regard to secondary needs—comforts—there is then a certain allowable elasticity, but a justly ordered community will keep its minimum at the highest point at which it is permanently possible to secure employment for all who are not palpably defective. (Pages 136-137.)

The fourth consequence is that every increase of effort, whether due to the arduousness of the work or the increased application of the worker, involves an additional human cost and earns justly a proportionate reward. Just remuneration must suffice to cover all vital costs. (Page 139.)

Further, the worker should be able, without being reduced to dependence on any outside authority, to provide against the ordinary contingencies of life, sickness, accident, old age and unavoidable unemployment, and to maintain his children till they are able to work for themselves. For all these purposes he requires the free disposal of adequate material means—that is, he requires an adequate income which is his out-and-out property, by which, moreover, he can build up a home and surround himself with those little personal belongings which constitute property on its most human side. This is the measure of the individual's claim to property, and it coincides precisely with the requirements of economic justice on his behalf as set out in the last chapter, merely emphasizing freedom in the direction of personal life as an element in his due. (Pages 158-159.)

In Small Towns and Villages.

North Dakota. Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Minimum Wage Department. Second Biennial Report. July 1, 1920 to June 30, 1922.

Since there are less factories in the state than other industries employing women, the North Dakota problem is unlike the problem of most other states which have minimum wage legislation. Ours are the problems of the small town and village. Eliminating from our group Fargo, Grand Forks and Minot, we have no city of even moderate size, according to eastern standards, and yet we might say hundreds of these towns are active, progressive, enterprising and modern, and employ a surprisingly large number of girls and women who are entirely dependent upon their own resources for their maintenance; and in this particular they are like their sisters of the large cities. They must live, eat, be clothed and sheltered; they must have leisure for rest, education and enjoyment. And so minimum wage legislation and hour legislation in North Dakota is as vital and necessary as it is, for instance, in Massachusetts or Wisconsin. (Page 3.)

How the Standard Budget is Determined.

Measurement of the Cost of Living and Wages. William F. Ogburn. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. January, 1919.*

The items of a budget should be average items. Thus in a particular community the men in some families will ride on the street car twice a day for every work day in a month. Men in other families will not ride to and from work at all. So an average budget for such a community might put down expenditures of the man for car fare for thirty car rides a month, although no man in any family would ride exactly this number of times a month, no more and no less. It is rather an average of expenditure of those who ride to work and those who do not.

Similarly, the number of suits of clothes bought per year might be expressed in fractions. Items of expenditure are therefore generalized. It follows from the above analysis that items of expenditure should not be set at the lowest possible figure for an individual but for the group as a whole. Thus some men may need only 2,500 calories a day while some will need 6,000 calories, the average for a man at moderately hard work being probably 3,500.

Another conception necessary for a clear understanding of setting wages by constructed budgets is that budget estimates must not be ideal. It cannot be assumed, for instance, that a housewife has the expert training of a domestic science expert. Nor should budgets be constructed without an allowance for tobacco, when we know that it will be impossible practically for a community to live according to such ideal rules of expenditure. On the other hand it seems questionable whether such constructed budgets should conform absolutely to practice. The expenditure in actual practice will be a function of the income received and as the income is what we want to determine, there is danger of getting in a circle. For instance, families of a group of workmen may spend only $18 a year for sickness; whereas they should spend more, as we know from data gathered in sickness surveys that they need to get more medical attention than $18 will buy. Budget estimates, however, should conform fairly closely to practice. (Pages 8-9.)

Formerly budget estimates included chiefly food, rent, fuel and light, and clothing; other items were neglected to a great extent. Food, shelter and warmth were thought of as the minimum of subsistence. We now know that food, shelter and warmth are not the only necessary needs. And so considerable attention is being paid to other items of expenditure in budget making. For instance, if we find a large number of families who do not get enough food and who do not get medical attention when sick, yet frequently attend moving picture shows, the proper conclusion would seem to be that recreation is a necessary need as truly as food, and we know that

in American life recreation costs some money. Hence expenditures for recreation should be written into a minimum-of-subsistence budget. And so it is with sundry items.

To some persons not familiar with budgetary studies, the determination of the level of subsistence seems a matter of opinion rather than of science. But there are many scientific approaches to the problem and various ways of eliminating the personal bias. This method cannot be gone into at length here but some of the devices used for locating the point of subsistence may be set forth briefly.

The food requirement can be found by subjecting to food analysis a number of actual dietaries. The cost of that dietary actually used which furnishes the requisite number of calories, grams of protein and the necessary chemical constituents will be set as the minimum amount of expenditure for food for subsistence. The amount for rent can be estimated by selecting a standard house of, say, four or five rooms with bath and finding the average rental for various localities in the community. Or if a number of budgets have been collected, the minimum rent may be determined at a point where overcrowding ceases to exist, having determined some standard for overcrowding as, for instance, one or one and one-half persons to a room. Perhaps a fair method of determining the fuel and light necessary is to compute for various types of heating apparatus in houses of a certain size the amount of fuel and light used by families that are known to be just above the poverty level but clearly so. The minimum of subsistence in clothing is perhaps most difficult to determine. The usual procedure is to adopt a certain estimate of clothing upon which there has been a fair amount of agreement, such as one overcoat every three years, one hat a year, one cap a year, one suit of clothes a year, and so on. At this time of changing prices it is difficult to express these units in price terms which will show agreement. If a number of family schedules have been collected, it is difficult to express these units in price terms which will show agreement. If a number

of family schedules have been collected, it is possible to locate a point where the expenditure of clothes for the wife is say 75 per cent of the expenditure for the clothing of the husband, or some such point agreed upon. It is known, for instance, that when the clothing allowance is too low, the expenditure for the wife's clothing is only a small percentage of the expenditure for the husband's clothing, and that when the allowance for clothes is bountiful that the expenditure on the wife's clothing equals or exceeds that for the husband. There is no general rule for determining the amount necessary for sundry expenditures. . . . The amount of sickness can be estimated from a study of the average number of days of sickness a year. There are also various ways of getting expert testimony on the amount of insurance necessary. And so one can set a minimum standard throughout the items of the budget. (Pages 9-10.)

Considering the budget as a whole, there are various guide posts that readily tell when the poverty line is passed. Usually, gifts of clothing are indicative of poverty. . . . The point also at which the family ceased to be in debt is significant. . . . Usually all these various tests converge upon a particular income and this is spoken of as the minimum-of-subsistence standard. (Page 10.)

It is very difficult to estimate differences in cost of living between two places without making full budgetary studies. The same articles of food would cost on the average about the same in the two places; but a dietary yielding just as many calories in New Orleans as a different dietary would yield in Philadelphia apparently will cost considerbly less. Similarly so simple a differential to measure as rents may be nevertheless difficult to determine, the type and size of house in New Orleans being quite different from that in Philadelphia. There are climatic differences which affect standards in consumption of fuel. Also common brands of clothing between the two places are very few. (Page 12.)

At the present time there are considerable differences in levels of wages in different parts of the country. Some

observers justify these local or territorial differences by saying that the cost of living is quite different in these areas. Others, on the other hand, reply that the differences in the cost of living in the various areas are different because wages determine the cost of living and that a uniformity in wages would bring a uniformity in living costs. They say that the identical standard of living prices in the various territorial districts would be very nearly the same in cost in all localities. In general [the] findings [of the Railroad Wage Commission and the Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Commission] have been that the differences in the cost of living in various parts of the country are not so great as are popularly supposed. (Pages 12-13.)

In a period of laissez-faire conditions, supply and demand operate particularly strongly. But with the development of social control and the growth of social justice, the standard of living plays a large part in the determination of wages. For the gains of democracy, whether it be political or economic in the last analysis, certainly come down to one important base, the standard of living. (Page 13.)

(2) The Cost of Living for a Single Woman.

District of Columbia.

Minimum Wage Board for the District of Columbia. Report No. 571, submitted by Mr. Hilliard, from the Committee of the District of Columbia. House of Representatives. 65th Congress. 2nd Session. May, 1918.

The Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics has recently published the results of an investigation into the cost of living in the District. Almost one-half (46 per cent) of the 600 women workers interviewed and questioned as to their income and expenditures earned less than $8 per week. Over two-thirds (64 per cent) earned less than $10 per week. (Page 2.)

This low wage was not owing to their youth and inexperience, for 72 per cent were 21 years of age or older, and one-half of those earning less than $9 per week had been at work for five years and more.

In connection with these figures, we must consider the actual cost of board and lodging in the District to-day. Owing to the abnormal conditions of war times, these costs have risen greatly, even during the past few months. In 1917, the Federal Bureau of Labor Statistics stated that $6 a week was the "bare minimum" upon which the average woman could obtain board and lodging in Washington. A year later, information presented at the hearing on this bill showed that according to the room registration office of the local Council of National Defense the minimum expense at which a woman can now find board and lodging is $35 per month, that is over $8 per week. That means accommodation for two in a room, and very few rooms can be found at that rate.

The difficulties of obtaining adequate clothing even with the strictest economy upon the present wages received was brought out by the investigation of the Bureau of Labor Statistics. In 1915, a State commission in New York estimated the "barest minimum for decent clothing," for a woman, to be $88 per year. Two years later,

nearly half (42 per cent) of the 600 women wage earners interviewed in Washington spent less than that minimum on clothing, in spite of the increased cost of materials. In 1917, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics a working woman in Washington to be "well but not extravagantly dressed," must spend approximately $125 per year. More than two-thirds (68 per cent) of the women interviewed spent less than that amount. In the lowest income groups, "the average expenditure for every item of clothing is below that which would permit of physical comfort and decency." (Page 3.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Review. February, 1918. Cost of Living in the District of Columbia.

Fifth Article—Wage-Earning Women: Their Clothing.

Cost of living studies have ascertained quite definitely the amounts and the costs of the principal articles of food consumed by the average workingman's family. Scientific dietary studies have laid down generally accepted standards of the kind of food and the expenditure necessary to feed a family or an individual so as to maintain health and a reasonable degree of comfort. No corresponding standards in regard to clothing have ever been made. The task of working out standards of the kinds, the qualities, the quantities, and the cost of clothing indispensable for an average workingman's family or for individual workers in different occupations is well-nigh impossible. Very few attempts to set up such minimum clothing standards have ever been made, and these attempts have been confined to estimating the needs of working women. Even when so narrowed in scope, the task of setting up minimum standards of clothing requirements for working women presents very great difficulties because of wide variations in individual taste, in knowledge of materials and styles, in opportunities to buy advantageously, in capacity to make and mend garments,

and in ability to consume clothes with the minimum of wear and tear. (Page 1.)

There is, however, one factor which remains fairly constant in its effect on clothing plans and expenditures. This is the occupational requirement. The standard of dress established for different occupations is scarcely a question of choice with the wage earner, but is determined by the environment in which she must work. The clothing requirements of the factory worker, laundry worker, stenographer, and saleswoman are very different. The majority of occupations open to women in Washington are those of the store and the office. The standards of dress imposed upon clerks, stenographers, and salesgirls are relatively high, and therefore in Washington a larger proportion of wage-earning women than in other cities must make a smart appearance in dress in order to feel themselves decently clothed.

Of all forms of conspicuous waste and competitive display, extravagance in dress is perhaps the most tempting and the hardest to resist. The American people, especially American women, are being almost constantly lectured about their extravagance in dress. It does not seem probable, however, that many of the wage-earning women who furnished detailed schedules of expenditures for clothing to the Bureau of Labor Statistics had been guilty of the sin of extravagance, as 42 out of the 53 spent less than $150 a year on clothes. (Page 2.)

It does seem essential that emphasis be laid on the importance, especially to the working girl, of becoming clothes of good quality, kept scrupulously neat and clean. Expenditures for clothing of the right kind are really an investment on the part of the wage-earning woman. Self-respect and success in life depend in large measure upon proper clothes.

A Special Study of Clothing Expenditures.

As part of the present investigation into the cost of living in the District of Columbia an effort was made to as-

certain, as nearly as possible, the necessary cost of clothing for working women in different occupations. As noted above, most of the women wage earners in Washington are engaged in occupations such as store, office, and Government service, which require standards of dress somewhat higher than those existing in mill towns or industrial sections of manufacturing cities.

Thus, in considering the question of clothing costs, it seemed reasonable to limit attention to women engaged as saleswomen, clerks, stenographers, and in occupations of this character. Also it seemed desirable to limit this special analysis to strictly self-supporting women, living away from home, and between the ages of 19 and 35 years. The great majority of working women fall between these ages, and it is at that period of life that the character of her dress is of vital importance to the average woman whether or not she is at work.

Out of the total of 600 women covered by the investigation there were 53 who fell within the limitations mentioned and for whom information in sufficient detail was obtained to permit of careful analysis.

Eighteen of these 53 women were employed in stores, 17 in Government work, 13 in business offices, and 5 in telephone offices. Most of them were living as boarders in working girls' homes, private families, or boarding houses; but a few were renting rooms separately and doing their own food purchasing and cooking.

The total yearly incomes—including earnings, incomes from other sources, and gifts of new clothing—of these 53 women ranged from $258 to $1,096, and their yearly expenditures for clothing ranged from $22 to $260. The following table shows in detail the clothing expenditures of these women, classified by income groups:

Clothing Expenditures of 53 Women for the Year 1916.

Annual income	Number of women	Number spending on clothing per year—							
		Under $25	$25 and under $50	$50 and under $75	$75 and under $100	$100 and under $125	$125 and under $150	$150 and under $200	$200 and over
$200 and under $300	4	.....	3	1	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
$300 and under $400	5	.....	1	3	1	.....	.....	.....	.....
$400 and under $500	9	1	.....	1	2	3	2	.....	.....
$500 and under $600	13	.....	.....	2	3	3	3	1	1
$600 and under $700	7	.....	.....	2	2	.....	3	.....	.....
$700 and under $800	7	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	2	2	.....
$800 and under $1,100	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	2	5
All groups	53	1	4	9	10	6	12	5	6

It is evident from this table that, even with a fairly homogeneous group of women, there are wide variations in the amount spent for clothing. Thus, of the 13 women listed in the $500 to $600 income group the clothing expenditures varied from $50 to $75 at one extreme to more than $200 at the other extreme.

These variations in expenditures measure more or less accurately the degree in which these women were well or badly clothed. And an analysis of not only what these women spent, but also of what they got for the money, throws light on the question of the expenditure essential to maintaining a condition of dress that may be described as one of physical comfort, social decency, and agreeable outward appearance.

The following comments on this subject, it is to be emphasized, are based primarily upon the experience and opinions of the particular group of women referred to, verified to some extent by a study of store prices. The information was secured through the formal schedule obtained from each woman, supplemented in many cases by later interviews to secure data regarding the length of time clothing of different qualities may reasonably be expected to be worn, and also to secure expressions of opinion as to what they considered necessary in order to feel themselves well dressed. The prices quoted are those which were in force in 1916 and the early part of 1917. (Pages 2-3-4.)

Summary of Clothing Costs.

From the above analysis of clothing needs and expenditures the following summary may be drawn as to the approximate cost of clothing for a working woman who is well, but not extravagantly, dressed. The conclusions are based on the experience and opinions of the group of women referred to above.

As regards external clothing it would appear that the average wage-earning woman who is well dressed usually chooses these items of her wardrobe from the following-priced articles: Suit or coat (alternate years), $25 to $30; shirt waists, $6 to $15; one-piece dress, $15; wool skirt, $5 to $10; summer skirts, $3 to $5; party dress (worn for two years), $25.

If close economy is necessary, a skirt at about $5 may be worn with separate waists in lieu of a $15 one-piece dress; or a dress waist, worn with a suit, may be substituted for an evening dress; or a winter coat may be worn for three seasons, or an evening dress for three or four years. In view of the range of choice, it appears that a woman may reasonably be expected to secure the outside clothing necessary for a good appearance at an expenditure of from $70 to $75.

As regards articles of dress other than outside clothing, the necessary expenditures would be distributed roughly as follows: Hats, $10 to $15; shoes, $12 to $17; gloves, $2.50 to $5; stockings, $3 to $7; corsets, $2 to $5; underwear, $5 to $10; and miscellaneous, approximately $10. Allowing for individual variation in prices and choice, this means an annual expenditure of from $50 to $60 for these articles, which as a rule have to be replaced each year.

Combining these two amounts—outside clothing $70 to $75 and other articles of dress $50 to $60—the total yearly expenditures would range from $120 to $135, averaging approximately, say, $125.

In arriving at this sum, the assumption has been, of course, that the working woman purchases most of her wardrobe and need not devote her evenings and Sundays

to the making of her own clothes. It is to be expected that such a woman will spend considerable time repairing, and to some extent, making over her clothes, but it does not seem reasonable to demand that a woman, with a full day's work to do, should spend her off-time working overtime at what would really be a second "job."

Nor in making the above computations has any allowance been made for discounts allowed by some stores on purchases made by employees. Such a system applies only to store employees and, at best, is not sufficiently general among the stores of Washington to make much difference in the clothing expenditures of working women as a class.

Laundry.

Very closely related with the cost of clothing is the expenditure for laundry. Among the total of 600 wage-earning women covered by the Washington study, various laundry arrangements were found. Many of the women living at home received laundry free, others paid for it in connection with their board and lodging, and not a small number did all or a part of it themselves. Of those who had a definite expenditure for laundry, an average of 50 cents a week was about the minimum. Women whose work demanded a freshly laundered waist every day found a considerably larger expenditure necessary. From previous investigations on this subject it seems to be agreed that no wage-earning woman should be compelled by economic necessity to spend her evenings in laundry work, and if this condition is not to exist, her earnings must be sufficient to leave from $30 to $35 available for her yearly laundry expense.

Comparison of Standard Costs With Amounts Actually Spent.

The amount just derived—$125—as the approximate yearly expenditure necessary for maintaining a working woman in a "well dressed" condition in the city of Washington is somewhat higher than the minimum standards arrived at by other investigations in other cities. Part

of this difference is due to the increased cost of clothing since those investigations, part to the higher clothing standards arbitrarily set by conditions in Washington city, and part to the fact that most of the other investigations have been illiberal in their estimates of the clothing needs of a woman and optimistic in their estimates of clothing costs.

Thus, the New York State Factory Investigating Commission, in 1915, in submitting its conclusions regarding the clothing costs of working women, states that "the matter may be summed up by saying that a girl may respectably clothe herself on between $85 and $90, and that she can maintain a fairly good appearance with about $100." [1] The specimen list of clothing submitted by the commission is as follows:

Union suits, 3 at 50 cents; 3 at 75 cents	$3.75
Corsets, 2 at $1.50	3.00
Corset covers, 6 at 25 cents	1.50
Underskirts	1.50
Stockings	3.00
Wash dresses, 2	7.00
Party dress	15.00
Skirts, 1 at $2.50, 1 at $5	7.50
Shirt waists, 6 at 75 cents	4.50
Shoes, 2 pairs at $3.50, plus $2 for repairs	9.00
Heavy waist	2.00
Hats, 1 at $5, 2 at $2.50	10.00
Coat, winter, one-half of $12	6.00
Coat, spring or rain, one-half of $8	4.00
Gloves	1.50
Rubbers, 2 pairs at 65 cents	1.30
Umbrella	1.00
Night dresses, 2 at 50 cents	1.00
Handkerchiefs	.60
Miscellaneous	4.85
	$88.00

[1] Fourth report of the New York State Factory Investigating Commission, 1915, vol. 4, appendix 7, pp. 1529-1531.

Highly desirable additions:

Suit, one-half of $15	7.50
Slippers, one-half of $1	.50
Gloves, white, for parties	1.00
	$97.00

Aside from the question of the sufficiency of the items listed, a checking up of the prices allowed in this table showed that, in most cases, it was impossible in Washington either in 1916 or 1917 to obtain the articles specified at the prices given.

The New York commission's standard of $88 per year may thus be taken as providing only the barest minimum for "decent" clothing. Thus, it is of striking significance to note that, even with this low minimum as a standard, 42 per cent of the 600 wage-earning women included in the Washington investigation had a yearly expenditure of less than that amount, and in many cases the expenditure was very much less. If the $100 standard, proposed by the New York commission as permitting "a fairly good appearance," and supported by the Wisconsin commission in 1916,[1] is taken as a minimum, then no less than 52 per cent of the 600 wage-earning women in Washington fell below that amount.

Finally, if the sum of $125, arrived at in the present study, is taken as the approximate yearly amount necessary for good dressing, then 68 per cent of the Washington wage-earning women are found to have spent less than that amount in 1916. (Pages 8-9-10-11.)

This table does not seem to bear out the generally current opinion that the wage-earning women of Washington as a class are inclined to gross extravagance in the matter of clothing. Of the total of 600 women 82 per cent spent less than $150 per year for this purpose; 93.5 per cent less than $200; and only 6.5 spent as much as $200. In some cases the larger annual expenditures represented

[1] Wisconsin Industrial Commission. Cost of living of wage-earning women in Wisconsin, 1916.

a year of unusually heavy expense, due to some exceptional combination of circumstances, while in a very few extreme cases the large expenditure was plainly the result of unwise selection of clothes or of inexcusable extravagance. These latter cases occurred principally among women who were assisted by their families. Indeed, with the incomes shown in the preceding table, no flagrant extravagance in dress can very well exist. (Page 12.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Monthly Review. March, 1918. Cost of Living in the District of Columbia.

Sixth Article—Wage-Earning Women: Food, Housing, and Sundries.

The preceding article of this series discussed the clothing expenditures of wage-earning women in the city of Washington as developed in the present investigation. (Page 1.)

An analysis, along quite similar lines, may be made as regards the expenditures for food and lodging. In the following brief presentation of the results of the present study on this subject, it must be borne in mind that the investigation was made in the spring of 1917. In the months since then, as a result of the great influx of people into the District of Columbia combined with the general rise in prices, there have been very general and very marked advances in the cost of rooms and meals. To just what extent this has affected the housing conditions of the women included in this study is not known. But, in a general way, it is known that, for many of them at least, wages did not increase as rapidly as rents and prices, and, as a result, for practically all wage-earning women in Washington the problem of food and lodging is now an even more serious one than it was 8 or 10 months ago.

Various Methods of Living.

Of the 600 white wage-earning women covered by the present study, 414 were living at home with their immedi-

ate families, all but 51 of these living with parents. The remaining 186 lived away from home, either in private families, in commercial boarding houses, in working girls' homes, or were housekeeping on their own account.

In certain employments the number of women living away from home was proportionately much greater than in others. Thus, of the 12 waitresses scheduled only 2 were living at home, whereas 29 of the 38 telephone girls were so living. Among store employees about one-third were living away from home. The distribution, on this point, of the 600 women scheduled, is shown in the following table, which also classifies these women by marital conditions: (Page 2.)

Table I.—Living Conditions and Occupation.

	Total	At home	Away from home				
			Total	Private families	Housekeeping	Boarding houses	Institutions
Single	542	399	143	72	31	23	17
Married	58	15	43	12	27	2	2
Total	600	414	186	84	58	25	19
United States	63	33	30	15	8	4	3
Office	172	140	32	14	8	7	3
Store	192	133	59	30	11	10	8
Telephone	38	29	9	6	2	....	1
Factory	95	63	32	12	18	1	1
Waitress	12	2	10	2	5	3	....
Laundry	28	14	14	5	6	....	3
Total	600	414	186	84	58	25	19

(Page 2.)

As regards the 414 women living at home little can be said as to the character or cost of their food and lodging. Often such women were assisted by their families and paid only a nominal board. On the other hand, such women were often supporting their families in whole or in part and turning in all their surplus money to the general family fund. In practically all cases of women living at home, therefore, the amount paid to the family was not

determined by commercial reasons and was not a measure of the accommodation received in return.

In the case of women living away from home, board and lodging are usually placed upon a strictly business basis, but not always even then. The strict commercial relationship is most clearly marked in the case of the usual boarding house, where the payments by the boarders must cover all expenses of maintenance. The financial basis is also clearly marked in the case of a woman who is doing housekeeping on her own account, renting a room or rooms and preparing her own meals. In case of board in a private family the personal factor sometimes enters. The family may charge less than the market price because of friendship or relationship or simply for the sake of companionship. In the case of working girls' homes the rates charged are usually below what they would be if the homes were conducted on a commercial basis, and very often the rates are fixed not upon cost but upon the earnings of the girls.

The woman living away from home has the choice of four alternative ways of living. These, as noted, are: With private families, in commercial boarding houses, housekeeping in one or more rooms, and living in homes established for working girls. Certain combinations of these methods are possible but in practice were found not to be frequent.

Each of these ways of living has its merits and demerits. The cheapest accommodation is found in those working girls' homes in which the rates are in proportion to the earnings of the girls. But, aside from the objections that many women have to such homes, the total accommodation of all such establishments in Washington is too small to have much influence upon the situation.

Housekeeping—*i.e.*, renting a room or rooms and getting one's own meals therein—was preferred by many women because such a method of living may be made most to approximate a true home. Married women appeared particularly favorable to this form of living. Of the 43 married women not living at home 27, or nearly two-

thirds, were housekeeping. This is probably explained by the fact that married women in most instances have had a taste of maintaining a home of their own and where possible prefer to keep on with it. A good many of them, also, have some equipment left from former housekeeping experiences as well as some practical experience to guide them on the way. Housekeeping, too, is undertaken by many women for reasons of economy. By cooking on a gas stove, or even a gas jet in one's room, and buying cheaply, the cost of food may be reduced to a minimum. The evil here is, of course, that not only is the food usually badly chosen but this form of living is conductive to an economy that may easily border on starvation.

The Cost of Lodging and Food.

Because of these varying methods of living and the absence of agreed-upon standards of adequacy in housing no precise conclusions can be drawn as to the cost of satisfactory food and lodging in the city of Washington; but by studying separately the actual living conditions of each of the four groups mentioned a fair idea may be obtained of the cost of food and shelter for a working woman in Washington. In doing so, a rough standard of adequacy is necessarily adopted. It is: A furnished room, occupied alone and adequately heated, sufficient palatable food to provide nourishment necessary for the work performed, and the use of sitting room to receive company.

A careful study of the experiences of the various women included in this study leads to the conclusion that $6 per week was the bare minimum upon which the average woman could obtain adequate board and lodging in Washington in the early part of 1917, and that a somewhat larger amount was necessary to insure any considerable degree of comfort. This was arrived at by an analysis of the actual amounts spent and the accommodations received by groups of women living in the four ways above mentioned—(1) private families, (2) boarding houses, (3) housekeeping, and (4) working girls' homes. (Pages 2-3.)

(1) *Private families.*

In considering the cost and character of the living accommodations of women living in private families, it seems best to limit attention to those who were boarding in families with which there was no close relationship, as such relationship often complicated the question of the commercial value of the living secured. Of the women covered by this study, 52 were without this limitation. In Table 2 are listed for each of these 52 women separately, her age, occupation, and income; also the amount paid for room and board, and a brief description of the character of the accommodation received for the money paid. The weekly rate shown was the rate paid at the end of the scheduled year and in some cases exceeded the weekly income. This meant that the individual in question was living, at that particular time, beyond her income.

Examination of this table shows clearly that the five cases where less than $4 per week was paid were abnormal. One woman worked three or four hours a day to help in paying for her board; another had all meals provided at her place of employment; a third shared a room with two other girls; a fourth had one meal furnished at place of employment besides sharing her room with the landlady; and a fifth both shared her room and helped with housework.

For the 18 women paying $4 and under $5 weekly, the living accommodations of only 3 were apparently devoid of defects. In the other cases the women either gave considerable help with the work, shared their rooms with others, had inadequate heat, or else had some meals furnished outside; in many cases a combination of these was operative.

Of the 14 women paying $5 and under $6, only 2 were apparently getting a fair standard of living.

Eleven women were paying $6 and under $8, and of these 6 had comfortable rooms and adequate board.

Thus it would seem safe to conclude that, although in exceptional cases room and board were obtained at a weekly cost of under $6, not until the $6 mark was passed

could a woman under ordinary circumstances obtain fairly adequate living conditions in a private family. (Page 4.)

(2) *Commercial boarding houses.*

Twenty-two of the self-supporting women visited were living in commercial boarding houses. The only ones who were paying under $4 per week were 3 waitresses, each of whom received at least two meals daily at her place of employment. Only 1 of the 5 women paying $4 and under $5, was even fairly comfortably situated, and in this case the neighborhood was undesirable; in the other 4 cases there were very definite drawbacks.

Five women were paying $5 and under $6 per week, and of these only 1 seemed to be getting a fair standard of living. The remaining 9 women were paying between $6 and $8 weekly, and not more than 4, or less than half, had comfortable rooms and adequate food.

In this group the line of demarcation is not distinctly drawn, but clearly satisfactory accommodations in commercial boarding houses could not be obtained, except in occasional instances, for less than $6 per week, and even at a weekly rate of from $6 to $8 comfortable food and lodging could not be assured. (Page 5.)

(3) *Housekeeping.*

In this group are included all of the women visited who cooked at least one of their daily meals in their rooms or apartments. There were 54 self-supporting women coming within this group. Table 4 lists these 54 women according to the total weekly cost of room and meals combined.

The weekly costs among these women varied greatly—from $2.03 to $10.67. The tendency among the lowest-paid women living in this way seems to have been that of cutting down in every possible way on food in order to make the adjustments necessary to bring their expenditures within the range of their income. Thus for the 13 women receiving an income below $300 per year who chose to live in this way the dominant reason was doubtless that

of economy. On the other hand, many of the women in higher income groups prefer this method of living since it brings a greater independence and a place they can call their own.

In analyzing the rates paid it may be noted that there were only 3 with expenses below $3 a week and all 3 of these were provided with at least two meals a day at their place of employment. In the 8 cases of women with expenses of $3 and under $4 per week, 2 were furnished with extra meals, a third had free rent, another had a small room under the roof heated only by an oil stove, a fifth had a small, unheated room, a sixth had an unfurnished room which she heated with a gas stove, while the remaining 2 practically starved themselves in their efforts toward economy. Fourteen housekeeping women paid $4 and under $5 per week. Of these, 2 regularly had meals provided with their employment, 2 were invited out so much as to materially reduce their food expenditure; in 4 cases the rooms were unfurnished and in 4 cases the tenants had to provide their own heat. Of the remaining women who paid between $4 and $5, 2 lived with friends and 2 shared their apartments with relatives, paying a little less than half the total expense.

Of the 6 housekeeping women paying $5 and under $6 per week only 1 was able to provide adequate housing and food and she was sharing a 3-room apartment with her son. Sixteen women were paying $6 and under $8, and of these 13 were apparently comfortably situated, the majority sharing a small apartment with some friend or relative and sharing equally the expense. Thus, it seems quite evident that under normal circumstances at least $6 a week was necessary for a housekeeping woman to maintain the minimum of decent comfort even when the utmost economy was practiced. The weekly expenditure shown for food and room was the expenditure at the end of the scheduled year, and in some cases exceeded the weekly income. This meant that, at that particular time, the individual in question was living beyond her income. (Pages 7-8.)

(4) *Working girls' homes.*

Only 19 of the women scheduled were found to be living in working girls' homes. In the particular homes in which these women were living the rate for board and lodging was usually apportioned according to the wages received. Thus, the accommodation offered was usually considerably cheaper than could be obtained by these women in other places. That this form of living was so little availed of seems to have been due primarily to the fact that the total accommodation of such homes in Washington is very limited, as the homes in existence seemed to have been constantly full to capacity.

To determine this point with accuracy, a special survey of working girls' homes in Washington was made by the bureau in December, 1917, and a visit made to all of them with the exception of one which accommodate only 11 girls. In addition, a visit was made to the home recently established by the Telephone Co. for the accommodation of its operators brought in from other cities. This accommodates some 200 persons, but it is open only to telephone employees.

Excluding the Telephone Co.'s home, eight homes were found. The maximum number of persons they could accommodate was about 400.

Only two of these homes reported a majority of single rooms; the remaining 6 had nearly all double rooms and in several cases even three in a room. In two cases there were dormitories, each accommodating six women. All of the homes were heated by steam or hot water except two, one of which had furnace hot-air heat, while the other had individual heating stoves. In all cases laundry privileges were allowed to some extent, but in only one place did the girls do all their own laundry, and in that instance they were charged a fee of 25 cents a month extra. (Page 9-10.)

Expenditures for Sickness, Amusement, and Other Incidentals.

Food, clothing, and shelter demand the major portion of the income of every person of moderate wages or salary. But they do not exhaust even what may be termed the primary needs of human existence. Medical attention when sick and some amusement when well are certainly primary needs. The income of a working woman, as that of every other person, must be able to meet some expenditure for these purposes, and also should be able to meet the costs of many other items, such as insurance, organization dues, car fare, gifts, etc.

The accompanying table (Table 6) indicates the amount and character of the expenditures made for all purposes other than food, clothing, and lodging, by the wage-earning women covered by this investigation. The data of the table are limited to those women, 137 in number, who were living away from home and who were entirely self-supporting. It is among such women, wholly dependent upon their own resources, that the matter of income apportionment is of particular interest and significance. A few of the more striking points of the table may be briefly commented upon.

Sickness.—Of the 137 women included, 93, or almost 70 per cent, had some expense for sickness during the year, the average for the whole group of 137 being $14. The proportion of women having expenditure for sickness was fairly uniform in the different income groups. The average amount spent tended to increase with increasing income, but not as rapidly as with many other items. Thus, for those with incomes of less than $300 per year, the average expenditure for sickness was $11.74, while among those with incomes of $800 to $1,100 the average was $18.31.

Amusements and vacations.—Expenditures for amusements average $7.44 per year for the total group of 137 women, and expenditures for vacation averaged $13.16. These amounts represent average weekly expendi-

tures of only 14 cents and 25 cents, respectively, per individual. Both of these items tended to increase rapidly with increasing incomes, especially the item of vacation expenses. Of the 17 women with incomes of less than $300 per year, only 4 reported any expenditures for vacation purposes, the average for this group being only $1.56 per year. Among the women with incomes of $800 to $1,100, 12 out of the 13 scheduled reported vacation expenditures, the average being $46.27.

Insurance.—Insurance was carried by almost 75 per cent of the 137 women, the average expenditure of the whole group being $9.65.

Organizations.—Only 11 of the 137 women were members of labor organizations, and all of those were women with annual incomes of at least $500.

School tuition.—Eleven women incurred expenses for school tuition during the year, all of these being women with incomes of at least $500.

Car fare.—Car fare to and from work is unavoidable in the case of women living beyond a certain distance of their places of employment and must be spent at times by many other women. Eighty-three of the 137 women had such expenses, the average for the whole number being $10.85.

Books and newspapers.—Expenditures for this item were very small. Of the 17 women with incomes under $300 per year only 6 reported any expenditures for this purpose, the average of all 17 being but 93 cents per year. Even for the women with incomes of from $800 to $1,100 per year, expenditures for reading matter averaged only $4.71 per year, or less than 10 cents per week. (Pages 10-11-12.)

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. The Cost of Living of Wage-Earning Women in the District of Columbia. Bulletin No. 1. January 29, 1919.

The Board is of the opinion that the essentials of decent living are (*a*) respectable lodgings, (*b*) three meals

a day, (*c*) suitable clothing, (*d*) some provision for recreation, self-improvement and care of health. To determine the cost of these minimum requirements was the aim of the following study.

Board and Room.

In 1916 the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics came to the conclusion, after careful investigation of the actual expenditures of the wage earning women in the District, that $6 was the bare minimum upon which the average woman could obtain adequate board and lodging in Washington, and that a somewhat larger amount was necessary to insure even a reasonable degree of comfort.*

In order to bring this figure up to date, some estimate of the increase in the cost of board and room must be adopted. At the request of the Minimum Wage Board, the Bureau of Labor Statistics secured a number of schedules showing the cost of board and room in December, 1918, as compared with the cost in December, 1916, in certain working girls' homes, private homes, and commercial boarding houses. The following table (No. 1) summarizes the results obtained and shows the percentage of increase in prices.

Table 1.—The Cost of Room and Board [Per Month] in the District of Columbia in December, 1918, as Compared With the Cost in December, 1916.

No. of Schedules	Accommodations	Average price in Dec., 1916	Percentage of increase	Average price in Dec., 1918
	Working Girls' Homes.			
22	Room and three meals	$15.35	82.4	$28.00
5	Room and three meals	23.20	40	32.60
	Private Homes.			
17	Room and three meals	$31.78	19.6	$38.00
5	Room and two meals	32.67	11.7	36.50
	Commercial Boarding Houses.			
33	Room and two meals	$31.49	25.6	$39.55
5	Room and two meals	38.00	13.2	43.00

*Monthly Review, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Vol. VI, No. 3, Mar., 1918, p. 3.

It will be observed that most of the homes provide room and two meals daily and that the number of schedules showing room and three meals is so small that the figures are not of great value. This is particularly true in the case of the five schedules under private homes. These women were all living with friends and a low rate was accepted because of their friendship or their inability to pay more. They were thus receiving better accommodations than their actual income afforded.

The percentage of increase in rates in the working girls' homes—82.4 per cent—is most striking. Rates of $3, $4 and $5 in 1915-16 have been superseded by rates of $6, $7 and $8. These homes, though run at the lowest possible expense, are in few cases entirely self-supporting. Some receive donations, other have received their equipment—buildings, furniture, etc.—as gifts. Consequently they are able to charge lower rates than commercial boarding houses, but even these low rates are too high for many of the working girls. Their places are being filled by better-paid government employees. In one large house which before the war was largely occupied by saleswomen, bindery women, manicurists, etc., all but two places are now filled by war-workers. The same tendency is shown in other working girls' homes visited.

In the boarding houses and private homes for which schedules were obtained, it was found that even at the rates paid, accommodations were not up to an acceptable standard. Of the 50 girls occupying the rooms investigated in boarding houses, 24, or almost half, were sleeping two in a bed. Only 10 were rooming alone; 24 were living two in a room, 12 three in a room and 4 in one room.

In the private houses the situation was still less desirable. Here 20 of the 29 girls scheduled were sleeping two in a bed. Only 6 were rooming alone; 20 were two in a room, and a group of 3 occupied one room. Some of the rooms were poorly heated, lighted and ventilated. In several instances the girls had to take care of their own rooms, and often no parlor or laundry privileges were allowed.

The government dormitories, not run for profit, and not intended to satisfy other than simple requirements, are charging a minimum of $45 a month for room and two meals. Some sacrifice in comfort and health must surely accompany the necessity of getting three meals and room for a smaller payment. Lunches alone at the rate of 20 cents a day would average $1.40 a week or $6 a month. This item must be added to the cost of board and room in all cases where room and two meals only are provided.

The increase in living expenses has admittedly been abnormal in the city of Washington, but aside from the extreme overcrowding and quite aside from the profiteering in rents, the increase in the cost of food, the most important element entering into room and board charges, has been sufficient to warrant a considerable increase in the charges made for room and board by commercial houses. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in the comparison of prices* shows that food in general was 75 per cent higher in October, 1918, than in the same month of 1913.

The National Industrial Conference Board in its report on "Wartime Changes in the Cost of Living," concludes as follows: "No matter what the base or starting point for comparisons, changes in food prices within any given period show on the whole a marked advance the country over. From the evidence available it appears that between the spring of 1914 and the spring of 1917, when the United States entered the war, food prices rose 35 per cent to 50 per cent and have continued to rise since that time. Although it is true that standards of living, transportation, accessibility to supply and other factors cause some local variations, 60 per cent to 65 per cent fairly reflects the advance in food prices from the outbreak of the war in the summer of 1914 to the middle of June, 1918.**

By November, 1918, according to the same authority,

*Monthly Labor Review, Vol. VII, No. 6, December, 1918, p. 91.
**Wartime Changes in the Cost of Living, National Industrial Conference Board, Research Report Number 9, August, 1918, p. 21.

there had been a further increase in prices, making the total advance during the war period 83 per cent.**

From a survey of these data, $9 per week, $39 per month, or $468 per year, seems to be the minimum requirement for board and room for a self-supporting, wage-earning woman in the District of Columbia today.

Clothing.

In determining the amount needed for a working woman's clothing, it is necessary to settle upon a list of articles as a minimum yearly requirement. The experience and opinion of 53 self-supporting women in the District in 1916 form the basis for the list drawn up by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Allowing for individual variation in prices and choice, the Bureau estimated that in 1916 these essential commodities would cost from $116 to $158.50.***

Table 2. Increase in the cost of Clothing of Working Women in the District of Columbia from December, 1916, to December, 1918.

(From the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics' estimate of the yearly requirements and cost of clothing of working women, based on the experience and opinions of 53 self-supporting women in the District in 1916, and on figures furnished by the Bureau concerning the percentage of increase, to December, 1918.)

**Cost of Living Supplement, Industrial News Survey, Dec. 30, 1918,—Jan. 6, 1919.

***Monthly Review, U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Vol. 6, No. 2, Feb., 1918, pp. 8-9.

Articles of Dress	Yearly cost 1916	Per cent increase	Yearly cost 1918
Outside Clothes			
Suits & Coats (1 alternate yrs.).	$25-30	35.94	$34- 40.80
Shirtwaists—6 at $1.00-$1.50	6-9	36.9	8.20- 12.30
Dress Waist	5-8	33.11	6.65- 10.65
One-piece Dress..	15	32.38	19.85
Wool Skirt	5-10	43.38	7.15- 14.35
Summer Skirts—2	3-5	46.83	4.40- 7.35
Party Dress (1 alt. yrs.)	12.50	26	15.75
Other Clothing			
Hats—3	10-15	50	15- 22.50
Shoes—3 pr.	12-17	37.5	16.50- 23.35
Gloves—2-3 pr. ..	2.50-5	60	4- 8
Stockings-5-10 pr.	3-7	66.6	5- 11.70
Corsets—2	2-5	70	3.40- 8.50
Underwear	5-10	100	10- 20
Miscellaneous ...	10	59.4	16
Total	116-158.50		165.90-231.10
Average Total.	$137.25		$198.50

(Page 5.)

The Bureau's investigators in January, 1919, collected data on the present cost of articles of the same grade and computed the percentage of increase since 1916. Table 2 shows the result of this investigation. In order to buy the same articles now, a woman must pay from $165.90 to $231.00, or an average of $198.50. Practically the same result is obtained by adding 59.4%, the average increase in cost of all articles of clothing as determined by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, to the 1916 cost. Taking the 1916 cost, $125, as a base, the 1919 cost would be $199.25.

Increase in cost has not been at all uniform, it will be noticed. All items advanced at least 25%; cotton goods, notably underwear, with an increase of a full

100%, show the greatest advance. The National Industrial Conference Board in its report on "Wartime Changes in the Cost of Living"* admirably summarizes the tendencies in clothing prices.

"It is evident that the price of every article important in the clothing budget of the average family increased greatly between 1914 and 1918. The price of yard goods showed the greatest advance. Cotton fabrics have mounted higher in price than have woolens, and the cheaper grades of all fabrics advanced more than the finer and more expensive grades. Increases in the price of wearing apparel seem to have been greatest for work clothes and for the less expensive grades. Hosiery and underwear advanced in price more than outer garments and furnishings, with the exception of shoes and gloves.

"Considering all of these factors in connection with the price data and trial budgets above presented, it appears that a fair estimate of the increase in the cost of clothing for a wage-earner's family between July, 1914, and June, 1918, would be 70% to 80%. As the increase for lower cost budgets tends to approach 80% rather than 70%, the average increase has been placed at 77%." By November, 1918, according to the same authority, there had been a further advance of 16%, making a total increase of 93% in the cost of clothing since the outbreak of the war.

Sundries.

The estimate for sundry items which the Board presents to the Conference was obtained from the same source as were the other budget items, that is, the figures of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics in their study of "The Cost of Living in the District of Columbia" in 1916.** The cost of the 1916 items has been brought up to date so far as possible. (Table 3.) This has been a much more difficult task in the case of the

*Wartime Changes in the Cost of Living, National Industrial Conference Board, Research Report No. 9, August, 1918.

**Monthly Review of the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Vol. 6, No. 3, Mar., 1918, pp. 10-18.

sundry expenditures than in the case of board and room and clothing, as it is impossible to measure accurately the percentage of increase in the cost of many of the items. For instance, it is well known that the cost of laundry has increased. Steam laundry rates for women's clothes have risen 33% since 1916, but few working women can afford to have their laundry done in the large commercial laundries. Most of them send their wash to colored women. Before 1916, 50 cents a week was the average charge for washing, but now most of these colored laundresses charge from 75 cents to $1.25 for the same service. Thus, 58 cents does not represent an adequate allowance for laundry at the present time.

Many of the other items, such as contributions to charity, expenditures for fruit and candy, depend so much on the individual that only an investigation of the present expenditures of numbers of women would yield reliable results. In the case of such items, the 1916 figures have been left unchanged.

Table 3. Comparison of Cost of Living of Working Women in the District of Columbia in December, 1916, and in December, 1918.

Items	Yearly cost 1916	% increase 1916 to 1918	Yearly cost 1918	Weekly cost 1918
Board and Room	$312	50%	$468.	$9
Clothing	125	59.4	199.25	3.83
Sundries				
Laundry	30.00		30.00	.58
Sickness	14.00	30%	18.20	.35
Dentistry	6.55	11	7.25	.14
Oculist	1.99	76	3.50	.07
Amusements	7.44	58(*a*)	9.60	.18
Vacation	13.16		13.16	.25
Fruit and Candy	5.70		5.70	.11
Insurance	9.65		9.65	.19
Charity	1.79		1.79	.03
Religion	4.54		4.54	.09
Labor organization	.30		.30	.005
Other organizations	.49		.49	.01
School tuition	1.70		1.70	.03
Carfare (to and from work)	10.85	20	13.00	.25
Carfare (other)	7.84	20	9.40	.18
Books and magazines	2.81	46(*b*)	3.45	.07
Gifts	14.96		14.96	.29
Other incidentals	14.85		18.45	.35
Total Sundries	152.22	8.5	165.14	3.175
Total	589.22	41.3	832.39	16.005

Figures given for sundries are average expenditures of 137 self-supporting working women interviewed by U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics in 1916.

(*a*) The 58% increase is in moving picture shows, which is counted as half of all amusement expenditure. (*b*) The 46% increase is in newspapers, counted as one-half the total.

The National Industrial Conference Board in November, 1918, allowed a 55% increase in sundries during the war period. It is evident that the average percentage of increase — 8.5% — allowed by the Board for all these items, is far below the actual increase. The Conference will be able to make a more accurate estimate of the requirements of the women concerned for these commodities and services.

Summary.

On the basis of the foregoing estimates for the various items of expenditure which make up the cost of living —$9 for board and room, $3.83 for clothing, $3.17 for sundries—the total cost of living of a working woman in the District of Columbia is $16 per week. (See Table 3.)

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Second Annual Report. December 31, 1919.

Proceedings of the Conferences.

In each conference it was obvious from the beginning of discussion that while prices of individual items of food or clothing are facts, the cost of living as a whole is to a considerable extent a matter of opinion.

The question of room and board was the first to be considered in each conference. At the initial meeting of the printing trades conference $9 a week was unanimously agreed upon. After accepting this figure the employers at a later meeting submitted evidence to prove that a large number of the women lived at home and that therefore the $9 figure was unduly high. The representatives of the public declared that this evidence was not germane to the discussion, since the minimum wage

must be high enough to maintain a self-supporting woman in health and comfort. They urged that $9 per week, the least sum for which board and room could be obtained in a commercial boarding house, must be adopted as the minimum allowance.

In the mercantile conference additional information on this subject was secured by calling on Mr. Edwin Hege, manager of the Rooms Registration Division of the United States Housing Corporation. He testified that the lowest-priced single rooms listed with them were offered at $10 per month. Such rooms were small and quite scarce, and furthermore few of the scanty supply were available for women. The lowest monthly rate at which board (15 meals per week) was offered through their office was $20. The average price of a single room and 15 meals per week, Mr. Hege stated, appeared to be about $35 to $40 per month, and the average price of half a room and 15 meals per week appeared to be about $35 per month. He did not believe that there would be a material decrease in the charges made for room and board in the near future.

In order to secure data as to amounts actually paid for rooms and board by women in the industry, the merchants submitted cost of living schedules to their employees. Tabulation of this information showed that of 699 women employed in stores at $16 or less per week the average expenditure for room and board of women living away from home was $7.62; of women living at home was $6.58. The representatives of the employees submitted $10.50 as the least sum for which adequate room and board could be procured. The figure of $9.30, finally accepted by the conference as the minimum allowance for room and board, was thus a composite of various estimates and was not entirely satisfactory to any party.

The allowance to be made for clothing was even more difficult to determine. In each conference an attempt was made to estimate the separate items of wearing

apparel required annually by a working woman before taking up the question of price. How many shirt waists, how many pairs of stockings, etc., does a woman who works in a printing shop or in a store need per year? Of course that depends upon the quality of the articles purchased and that in turn depends upon the price paid for them. In the printing trades conference witnesses were called from the leading stores to give testimony on the cost of clothing. In the mercantile conference both employers and employees were to a large extent experts on the subject. Additional data were presented by agents of the Woman's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor who were called upon to collect prices on a list of articles of clothing. The following table gives a clear picture of the divergence in opinion in the mercantile conference between the employers' and employees' groups and a representative of the public. (Pages 15-16.)

Table II.—A Comparison of the Clothing Budgets Presented by Employees, Employers and a Representative of the Public on the Mercantile Conference.

Article	Employees		Employers		Judge Sellers	
	No. per Year	Cost Per Year	No. per Year	Cost per Year	No. per Year	Cost per Year
Suit	½	$17.50	½	$14.75	½	$17.50
Coat	½	19.75	½	14.75	½	19.75
Waist	6	12.00	6	10.50	6	12.00
Dress Waist	1	5.50	1	5.00	1	5.50
Wool Dress	1	20.00	½	10.00	½	10.00
Wool Skirt	1	10.00	1	7.50	1	10.00
Summer Skirt	2	5.00	2	5.00	2	5.00
Dress-Up Dress	½	14.75	½	11.25	½	14.75
Hat	2	10.00	2	7.50	3	15.00
Dress Hat	1	8.00	1	5.00	.....	.....
Wash Dress	2	16.00	2	12.00	2	16.00
Shoes	4 pr.	31.50	4 pr.	24.50	4 pr.	31.50
Gloves	3 pr.	4.50	3 pr.	4.00	3 pr.	4.50
Hose, Lisle	9 pr.	5.40	..	7.08	.....	5.00
Hose, Silk	2 pr.	4.00	.....	.....	.....	.....
Corsets	2 pr.	5.00	2 pr.	4.00	2 pr.	5.00
Union Suits, Summer	8	5.00	10	6.91	8	5.00
Union Suits, Winter	3	4.50	.....	.....	3	4.50
Corset Covers	9	9.00	5	3.76	6	6.00
Gowns	6	9.00	4	4.00	6	4.00
Underskirts—						
White	2	3.00	2	3.00	2	3.00
Dark	1	3.95	1	2.00	1	3.95
Miscellaneous—						
Handkerchiefs	1 doz	1.80	1 doz	1.80	1 doz.	1.80
Apron	2	2.00	2	2.00	2	2.00
Kimono	½	1.00	½	1.00	½	1.00
Purse	1	3.00	1	2.00	1	3.00
Umbrella	½	1.50	½	1.50	1	1.50
Rubbers	1 pr.	1.25	1 pr.	1.25	1 pr.	1.25
Repairing	.....	2.25	.....	.....	.....	2.25
Suit and Skirt Repairing	.....	2.50	.....	2.50	.....	2.50
Shoes	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Neckwear	.....	1.25	.....	1.25	.....	1.25
Other Miscellaneous	.....	2.00	.....	2.00	.....	2.00
Total	.....	$241.90	.....	$178.40	.....	$216.50
					Less—	8.50
						$205.00
Per Week		$ 4.65		$ 3.43		$ 4.00

Neither conference adopted an itemized clothing budget. Only a lump-sum allowance could secure unanimous approval. The figures were $3.35 in the printing and publishing trades conference and $4 in the mercantile conference. The higher allowance in the latter case may be attributed to a number of factors. When the first conference made its report the indications were that cloth-

ing prices had reached the peak and were beginning to fall. This accounts for perhaps 50 cents difference in the two budgets. It was further argued that it took more to clothe a woman employed in the mercantile industry than one employed in the printing and publishing industry. In the latter case aprons and old clothes could be worn at work, while in the stores a vast majority of the women had to make a proper appearance before the public. These factors, together with differences in personnel of the two conferences, account for the difference in the allowances for clothing. (Page 17.)

What items should be included in sundries and what sums should be allowed for them were questions discussed by the conferences. The employers in the printing trades conference wished to rule out amusements and vacations as being nonessential items in the cost of living. The reply of the employees, to which the public agreed, was that some amusement and some vacation were necessary to maintain a woman in health. What amount would procure these necessities was of course more difficult to determine. The sundries budget finally adopted by the printing trades conference was as follows:

	Per week
Laundry	$0.75
Sickness, dentistry, and oculist	.50
Amusements	.20
Vacation	.25
Savings and insurance	.35
Church and charity	.10
Organizations	.10
Self-improvement	.10
Car fare	.60
Other incidentals	.20
Total	$3.15

In the mercantile conference $3.20 was allowed for the sundry items enumerated above, but no itemized budget was adopted.

It must be recognized that the wage adopted by one conference is in no sense an ultimate finding or necessarily a criterion for another conference to go by. Cost of living is such an unstandardized subject that a mathematically accurate determination is impossible. In each conference there are as many different opinions on the subject as there are members. In general the employers wish a wage sufficient to maintain existing standards of living in the industry while the employees contend that the standards of living should be improved. The wage finally agreed upon is not a scientific determination based entirely on facts but rather a compromise of opinion between the two groups, modified as it may be by the opinion of the representatives of the public. (Page 18.)

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Report of Representatives of the Employees in the Hotel and Restaurant Conference. 1920.

The clothing budget made out by the workers' representatives is based upon the workers' budgets submitted to the Conference on the Mercantile Industry, but it is modified with reference to particular items and also with reference to the increase in the cost of clothing since last June when the budget for the mercantile industry was made up.

Differences of requirements, however, between the women working in the hotels and restaurants and those in the stores may be noted, for example as follows:

More white waists are necessary because persons handling food and table linen and bed linen must maintain the highest possible standard of personal neatness. On the other hand the wool dress listed in the mercantile budget would not serve to alternate with white waists. That item in the present budget has been reduced by half, that is, it is estimated that the dress would last two years instead of one.

Shoes and stockings for waitresses and maids are heavy expenses because of the harder wear due to the

more laborious work the hotel employees have to perform. More frequent changes of underwear are necessary because of the heat of the kitchen and the greater exertion of the workers. Large aprons which are expensive are an important item for hotel and restaurant employees and the cost of laundry for these and for uniforms is greater. Car fare also is a great item in these cases because of the broken shifts which in most cases require two trips a day.

Clothing.

1 Suit every two years	$17.50
1 Coat every two years	19.75
8 Waists $2 apiece	16.00
1 Dress waist	7.00
1 Wool dress every two years	12.50
1 Wool skirt	10.00
2 Summer skirts	5.00
1 Dress-up-dress every two years	15.00
3 Hats summer, winter work hats and 1 dress hat every two years	14.00
2 Wash dresses, $8 apiece	16.00
4 Pairs shoes 2 pr. at $8 and 2 pr. at $4	24.00
3 Pair gloves 1 kid at $2.50 and 2 cotton at $1.05	4.60
12 Pair of stockings at 65 cents	7.80
2 Corsets $2.50 apiece	5.00
4 Summer union suits at $1.25 apiece	5.00
3 Winter union suits $1.75 apiece	5.25
6 Corset covers $.80 apiece	4.80
4 Night gowns $1.50 apiece	6.00
2 White petticoats $1.50 apiece	3.00
1 Dark underskirt	3.60
2 Doz. handkerchiefs $.15 apiece	3.60
8 Aprons $1.50 apiece	12.00
1 Kimono	2.00
1 Purse	1.50
1 Umbrella every two years	1.50

[Concluded on Page 962.]

[Concluded.]

1 Pair rubbers	1.50	
Repairs to clothing (suit, skirt, etc.)	2.50	
Repairing shoes	4.00	
Neckwear, 4 sets, at $.50 apiece	2.00	
Miscellaneous	2.00	
Total per year		$234.40
Total per week		4.51

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Report of the Conference on the Hotel, Restaurant, Apartment House, Club and Hospital Industries. February 3, 1920.

1. The Conference finds that the minimum wage for women workers in the occupations under inquiry should be $16.50 per week, and that any lesser wage is inadequate to supply the necessary cost of living to women workers in such occupations and to maintain them in health and to protect their morals. The figures upon which this wage is based are: Room $2.00, board $6.30, clothing $4.50, sundries $3.70.

2. The Conference recommends:

(b) That where the employer furnishes room or board or both to his employees he may make a charge for room of not more than $2.00 per week, for board at not more than the rate of $.30 per meal or $6.30 for 21 meals per week.

District of Columbia. Minimum Wage Board. Report of Representatives of the Employees in the Conference of the Laundry, Dyeing and Cleaning Industry. April 16, 1920.

2. That the expenditures of employees at their present rates of pay represent not necessarily a proper standard of living but merely the purchasing limits of their earnings.

3. We call attention to the following points:

(a) The heat in which we work necessitates more changes of clothing, especially more shirtwaists and underclothing, but because we wear light-weight underclothes, winter and summer, our total estimate for underwear is less than the estimate of the saleswomen.

(b) Because our work is laborious and perspiration excessive our expenses for shoes and stockings and corsets are greater than if we were doing a lighter kind of work. The machines we use wear out the soles of shoes and stockings very quickly, and starch and soapsuds wear out the uppers of the shoes.

(c) We wear waist aprons, or sometimes bungalow aprons, which cost us more than the saleswomen's aprons.

(d) Our laundry item corresponds to the hotel workers' laundry item rather than the saleswomen's because of the frequent changes of clothing necessary in our case on account of perspiration.

Budget of Women Laundry Workers.

		Per week
Board and Room		$10.00
Clothing		4.86
Sundries:		
Laundry	$1.50	
Sickness	.50	
Dentist	.15	
Oculist	.10	
Amusements	.34	
Vacation	.40	
Life Insurance and Savings	.35	
Church and Charity	.25	
Organizations	.15	
Self Improvement	.19	
Car Fare	.89	
Other Incidentals	.20	5.02
Total		$19.88

We do not claim that the foregoing figures are accurate to the cent. Allowing, however, for some little variation as between stores and between individuals' experience, we think the cost of living, for an individual woman in Washington at the present time, is over $19 per week.

In support of this conclusion we call attention to the fact that the Joint Congressional Commission on Reclassification of Salaries for the Civil Service, after extensive investigations as to the cost of living in the District of Columbia, fixed $19.60 per week or $1,020 per year as the minimum wage for laundry workers in the government service in Washington.

The Johnson-Nolan Minimum Wage Bill, which has passed the House and is now about to pass the Senate, fixes $3 per day, or $21 per week, as the minimum for all government workers, including laundry workers.

U. S. Department of Labor. Women's Bureau. Budget for Women Employed in the Laundries of the District of Columbia. October, 1920.

	Per week	
Board and room (1 in a room)	$11.25	
Clothing	4.54	
Sundries:		
Laundry	1.25	
Sickness	.50	
Dentist, oculist	.25	
Amusements	.33	
(Street car fare $.16, movie $.17)		
Vacation	.40	($20.80)
Life insurance and savings	.35	($18.20)
Church and charity	.20	($10.40)
Organizations	.15	($ 7.20)
Self improvement	.17	(Newspaper)
Car fare	.90	(12 trips on
Incidentals	.20	tickets)
	$20.49	

	Per week	
Board and room (2 in a room)	$10.25	
Clothing	4.54	
Sundries:		
Laundry	1.25	
Sickness	.50	
Dentist, oculist	.25	($13.00)
Amusements	.33	
(Street car fare $.16, movie $.17		
Vacation	.40	($20.80)
Life insurance and savings	.35	($18.20)
Church and charity	.20	($10.40)
Organizations	.15	($ 7.20)
Self improvement	.17	(Newspaper)
Car fare	.90	(12 trips on
Incidentals	.20	tickets)
	$19.49	

The Women's Bureau in order to present a budget for girls employed as laundry workers, that would not be excessive, but that would provide an income for each worker large enough to insure a decent standard of living, conducted an inquiry into the cost of living in the District of Columbia. (Due to the fact that a large proportion of the laundry employees are colored, and also due to the fact that it is generally believed that the cost of living is lower for colored than for white girls, particular attention was given to the actual prices charged colored girls in the District of Columbia.)

All of the prices in this budget are based on the supposition that the eight hours which a girl works per day should bring in a sum large enough so that she will not have to do all her own sewing and laundry, or cook her own meals, or care for her own room.

Cost of room and board:

To subdivide the item of $11.25 per week for room and board; this item is composed of an allowance of $6.00

per week or $25.00 per month for board (2 meals a day), $1.75 a week or $.25 a day for lunches, and $15.00 a month or $3.50 a week for a room.

This is a sufficient allowance for room rent so that a girl may have a room to herself, as the Women's Bureau feels this is the desirable standard. The second rate for room and board is $10.25 per week. This only allows $10.00 per month for room rent and means that a girl must have a room mate.

Cost of week's board:

In 1918 the Bureau of Labor Statistics declared that $6 per week for two meals a day was the lowest sum for which it was possible to obtain sufficient food.* It is common knowledge that the cost of living has risen steadily in the last two years, and that the decline of wholesale prices in the last two months has not reached the ultimate consumer. The National Industrial Conference Board, an association of Manufacturers, puts the rise at 44.4 per cent,** yet, because personal investigation disclosed a fair number of places where board could be had at this rate, the figure is retained. It should be stated, however, that in a great number of cheap but decent boarding houses the rate is not $25 but $30 per month.

Cost of meals at restaurants:

Board for colored girls in private homes or small boarding houses is, however, very difficult to find. The girls depend largely on small restaurants. The prices of a number of the small, cheap, and in some cases, dirty cafes frequented by them, are such that $6 per week would barely cover two meals a day. The following price list gives an idea of how carefully a girl would have to plan to keep within $.86 a day.

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*Bureau of Labor Statistics, Monthly Bulletin, March, 1918, p. 4.

**U. S. Railway Labor Board, Increase in the Cost of Living and Prices presented by W. Jett Lauck, May, 1920.

Ham and eggs (bread and butter)	$.30
Bacon and eggs (bread and butter)	.30
Ham (bread and butter)	.25
Eggs	.20
Beef or lamb stew	.25
Pork and beans	.30
Hash	.20
Bread and butter	.10
Pudding	.15
Milk	.10

Cost of lunches:

With these prices in mind it can be seen that the allowance of $.25 a day for lunch is not sufficient to provide the girl with a hot lunch. She must be content with a couple of sandwiches. The colored Y. M. C. A. which only pays its own expenses, charges $.12 for a lettuce or cheese sandwich but $.20 for a meat one.

Cost of rooms:

The price of a room was set after about 34 personal visits to rooms in all four sections of the city, the greater number being rooms for colored girls, and talks with various room-finding agencies such as the Y. W. C. A., with former members of the War Camp Community Centers room agency boards, and with representative colored citizens. Although rooms were found as cheap as $7 per month, every such room was unfurnished or not heated, lighted or cared for, or the house had no modern conveniences, and sometimes all of these conditions were combined. For $15 a month colored girls, as well as white girls, can obtain decent single furnished rooms, heated, lighted and cared for. Even at $15 a month a few landladies required that the girls launder their own bed linen and clean their own rooms. At $20 per month several fair-sized double rooms were found in colored homes. The lowest-priced double rooms for white girls were $25 per month.

Future charges for room and board:

The Federation of Citizens Associations of Washington in a newspaper statement published in the Christian Science Monitor of October 4th, says, concerning living costs in Washington: "Rents and food prices show no indication of declining, but on the contrary, seem to be rising."

The clothing allowance of $4.54 per week is based on the following detailed budget:

1 Suit every 2 years at $35 (sale)..	$17.50
1 Coat every 2 years at $35 (sale)..	17.50
1 Dress waist	5.95
3 Shirt waists (2 at $2.00, 1 at $2.50)	6.50
2 Middies at $2.....	4.00
1 Wool dress every 3 years at $20..	6.66
1 Wool skirt every 2 years at $12...	6.00
2 Summer skirts at $3.....	6.00
1 Dress-up dress every 2 years at $20	10.00
3 Hats at $5.....	15.00
3 Wash dresses, work dresses, at $8	24.00
4 Pairs shoes at $9.....	36.00
3 Pair gloves (1 pr. kid at $3.50 every 2 years, 2 pr. cotton at $1.25)	4.25
15 Pr. Stockings (12 pr. at $.59, 3 pr. at $1)	10.08
3 Corsets at $3.....	9.00
6 Envelope chemises at $1.50.....	9.00
6 Undershirts at $.35.....	2.10
3 Night gowns (1 flannel at $2.25, 2 summer at $2.00).....	6.25
4 Petticoats (2 cotton at $2, 2 flannel at $1.50).....	7.00
1 Dark underskirt every 2 years at $3.50	1.75
1 Dozen handkerchiefs at $.12½...	1.50

4 Aprons (2 waist aprons at $1, 2 bungalow aprons at $2.....	6.00
1 Kimono	2.50
1 Purse	1.98
1 Umbrella every 2 years at $3.50..	1.75
1 pair rubbers	1.50
Cleaning and pressing clothing....	2.50
Repairing shoes (at $2.50 half-soles and heels)	5.00
Clothing repairing	5.00
2 Pieces neckwear at $.50.....	1.00
Miscellaneous	3.00
	$236.27 per year
	4.54 per week

Choice of articles of clothing:

The articles listed on the preceding sheet are considered necessary for a woman to be comfortable and to look decent. Since laundry work is exceedingly hot work even under the best possible conditions, the women wear thin dresses at work the year round. An inspection of a number of laundries in the District of Columbia when the type of clothes worn by the workers was observed, forms the basis for the selection of certain articles and the number selected.

Woolen clothes:

For instance, woolen garments are expected to last two years in every case and in one case three years because the girls do not wear them during working hours.

Summer clothes:

To offset this a number of thin dresses, waists, middies and bungalow aprons have been allowed, since these garments are worn at work during the entire year. As it is very doubtful whether any of these thin articles will last over from one year to the next a complete replace-

ment is allowed for. The girls work with perspiration streaming down their faces and bodies, which must rot their clothes. Uniformly the girls wore clean dresses, even though they were old and faded, and the frequent washings necessary to maintain this standard also wear clothes out quickly.

Underwear:

Underwear and corsets need frequent replacements from both these causes. In addition, the girls on any machine which requires constant foot pressure, break corset stays from the continued bending.

Shoes and stockings:

Shoes and stockings are worn out both by constant standing and by the constant pressure of the sole of the shoe against a foot press. (The majority of the girls work at machines where such pressure is necessary. Most of the girls tend one such machine but in each laundry one or two girls tend as high as four.) The shoes and stockings also are rotted by perspiration. On account of all these factors and also because the sum allowed for a pair of stockings ($.59) will only purchase a rather poor grade, the Women's Bureau has not only allowed a large number of pairs of work stockings, but has allowed three pairs of better grade lisle stockings for evening or Sunday wear. The number of pairs of shoes was also based on these facts. In a few of the laundries the girls wore very old, broken shoes, but in others they were neatly shod. It is a question whether any advantage of coolness gained by broken shoes is not more than offset by the harm done in the way of flat foot, spinal and internal dislocation, which can easily be caused by standing all day in badly fitting, run-over, worn-out shoes. There was no reason to believe that the girls who could afford decent shoes preferred broken ones because of comfort. If this were the case the custom would be much more universally followed.

Prices for clothing:

The prices quoted in the following budget were obtained by shopping in five of the cheaper Washington stores at intervals during July, August, late September and October, 1920. This was a period when prices were low due to the nation-wide price cutting in retail stores and also due to the custom of Washington merchants of having extensive annual sales during July and August, and to special October sales this year. In the greater number of cases it was impossible to get the prices from which the articles were reduced. The prices are not the lowest obtainable, particularly in the case of some of the smaller articles but are the lowest prices for which an article that would wear any length of time could be bought. Moreover, these prices were found after a much longer time devoted to shopping than any girl who is employed eight hours a day can possibly give. A third factor that makes clothes higher when actually purchased is that many girls must buy on a credit basis. This is hard for them to get and often means that they must pay considerably more for an article. In one 7th Street store, an article would be held until paid for, making a difference of 25 per cent in the price. (Page 4.)

The various items that enter into the sundry items have been based on current prices in Washington.

Laundry:

The laundry item is put at this sum because it seems to be an absolute minimum charge among washwomen for laundries that include the number of articles that the hot work done by these girls requires them to wear.

Sickness:

The sum allowed for sickness, $.50, is sufficient for sickness insurance which would pay a girl $12.00 a week. Once again this is a bare minimum. If board and room is $11.25 a week, this sum will not cover a doctor's bill and the girl will return to work in debt.

Dentist and oculist:

The allowance of $.25 a week for dentist and oculist can be judged better perhaps by calling it $13.00 a year. This would not do more than buy a girl a pair of glasses. The girl who doesn't need glasses is likely to need dentist's care. This sum will not do both.

Amusements:

Amusements at $.33 allow for one movie a week and car fare to and from the movie theater.

Vacation:

The vacation allowance would provide a girl with $20.00 a year. When it is taken into consideration that the girl loses her wage for every day she takes off, and that living costs go right on, this sum cannot provide the worker with more than a week's vacation, either spent in Washington, or very near the city.

Life insurance and savings:

Thirty-five cents a week for life insurance and savings would provide a $633.00 death policy or a $300.00—20-year life policy.

Church and charity:

The allowance for church and charity permits a girl the customary weekly contribution of $.10 and a sum of $5.00 per year to give to charity.

Organizations:

Organizations are allowed $7.80 a year. This would permit a girl to belong to a union or to a fraternal organization.

Self-improvement:

The self-improvement fund merely allows enough for a daily newspaper.

Car fare:

The car fare covers the trips to and from work.

Incidentals:

A small amount weekly ($.20) is allowed the girl for incidentals. Such things as toilet articles, darning cotton, lingerie tape, shoe laces, shoe polish and a multitude of such small necessities are not provided for elsewhere in the budget. (Page 6.)

Arkansas.

Arkansas Minimum Wage and Maximum Hour Commission. Order No. 2. Mercantile Establishments, City of Fort Smith. August 4, 1920.

Due to unusual economic conditions, the making up of a budget of the cost of living of a self-supporting woman of ordinary ability was exceptionally difficult. The following budget, however, was adopted by the Commission:

Items	Amount per week
Board and room	$8.00
Clothing	3.00
Laundry	.45
Street car fare	.72
Church	.10
Recreation	.30
Insurance	.15
Savings account	.20
Incidentals	.33
	$13.25

Attention is directed to the fact that only the necessities of life are included in the budget. Nothing is allowed for vacation, doctor or dentist, oculist, newspapers and magazines, self-improvement, or benefit associations, all of which are included in budgets estimated by commissions in other States in making wage awards

California.

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. Study of the Cost of Living. November 22, 1922.

From time to time since the adoption of the $16.00 minimum wage, the Commission has had test investigations made to determine any changes in the cost of clothing. At the end of August, 1922, an investigation was made of minimum clothing cost in San Francisco and Oakland. The same stores were visited as those in which studies were made in April, 1921, and April, 1922, and whenever possible the prices obtained were for exactly the same articles. (Page 1.)

The prices are in every case comparable, because the studies in April were made immediately preceding the Easter or spring season; the present study precedes the fall and winter one.

The findings in general were as follows:

1. Coats, suits and dresses are lower in price in September than they were April, 1922, and markedly lower than in April, 1921. Materials are in every case as good, and in the majority of cases better in the September articles than in those shown in April, 1922. As for comparison with April, 1921, the September articles are decidedly superior in every case. There are likewise fuller lines from which selections can be made. Coats, suits and dresses have wearing qualities which will insure service for at least two years. In comparison with garments which could be purchased in March, 1920, before the adoption of the $16.00 wage, those purchasable today are of infinitely better grade, since in 1919 and 1920 woolen materials of standard quality were not obtainable by manufacturers.

2. The prices of all other articles included in the budget have remained practically the same from April, 1922, to September 22, except gloves, which are somewhat re-

duced. There are other slight differences, some up, some downward, which can be explained as market fluctuations at the time of purchase. From April 1921, to September 1922, however, there is a reduction in practically every article. This is true likewise from March, 1920, to September 1922, for which period there is, also, a marked improvement in quality of all articles.

The same general statement can be repeated as was made in the other reports. The standard for selection was that of durability and reasonable attractiveness. The selection was made from regular stock.

An investigation was made in Los Angeles of minimum clothing costs on September 25th, to correspond with that made in San Francisco at the end of August, 1922. It was found that these costs were practically the same as in San Francisco for similar articles of like grade. (Pages 1-2.)

Food—San Francisco—September, October, 1922:

In investigating the cost of food for the minimum wage budget the cafeteria and dairy lunch were taken as the standard. Both the cafeteria and dairy lunch buy food of good quality and it is prepared and served under hygienic conditions. The amount of service is reduced to a minimum and, therefore, the money spent goes further than in the ordinary restaurant.

Minimum Food Standard for Self-Dependent Woman.

In order to determine the necessary amount of food in a minimum-wage budget some standard is necessary. No one person can say what articles of food another person would choose but it is possible to determine the amount of food necessary to keep a person in health. Many experiments have been made by scientists to determine the amount of food necessary for men, women and growing children. In these calculations the unit of measurement is the calorie. There is little standardization of portions

in cafeterias and restaurants—the size of the portion varies in different restaurants and depends largely on the individual who is serving. Any dietary based on food served in cafeterias or restaurants and showing the number of calories must be only approximately correct. Professor Rose of Columbia University in "Feeding the Family" gives the daily energy requirement of the average woman doing active work developing muscular strength as not less than twenty-five hundred to three thousand calories a day. Professor Jaffa of the University of California states that a dietary furnishing 2,500 calories per day is a minimum subsistence for a woman. The following menus have been made out to show how much it costs in the restaurants of San Francisco and Oakland to meet this health requirement. It must be remembered that these meals are only samples, and that substitution of similar dishes is possible without any decreasing of food value or increasing of costs. Three meals per day which will maintain a woman, who is working, in health and strength can be purchased for from 90 cents to $1 a day in cafeterias and dairy lunches in San Francisco and Oakland.

Average Cost of Meals.

Figures on average checks were obtained showing the amounts actually spent in certain restaurants patronized by both men and women. The White Lunch makes an average of all their restaurants by dividing their entire receipts by the total number of their customers. This average is 25 cents a meal or 75 cents a day. The average checks at the Leighton Dairy Lunch on O'Farrell Street are:

Breakfast	24c to 25c	
Lunch	24c to 25c	Average for day
Dinner	26c to 27c	75c to 77c

The Y. W. C. A. cafeteria keeps a very careful average of all their checks. Their patrons are largely women and

so their figures may be taken as an index of what women actually spend for their meals. Their checks for the last two months have averaged:

Breakfast	20c to 21c	
Lunch	29c to 30c	Average for day
Dinner	42c to 43c	91c to 94c

(Page 21.)

Los Angeles, California—October 16 to 19, 1922.

The investigation shows that a woman can purchase in Los Angeles nourishing meals of good quality for $1.00 a day. (Page 29.)

Rooms. San Francisco—September, 1922.

Determination of Residence Districts of Women.

In order to determine the residence districts of employed women in San Francisco, a study was made of the actual residence of about one thousand women employed in the following factories representing the needle trades industry. . . .

The place of residence of each individual worker was indicated on a city map. From this it appeared that while there was some concentration of residence in three well-defined districts—the Hayes Valley section, the North Beach district and the general Mission district, the women were scattered as far as the Richmond district and a number of women lived in Islais Creek district, the Potrero, Daly City and Visitacion Valley. It was, therefore, determined that the investigation of the cost of rooms might properly be city-wide but that special attention should be paid to the districts in which there was any concentration of workers. (Page 42.)

Standard of Rooms.

The Commission's standard is a single room in a respectable neighborhood. The standard provides for a woman rooming alone. The lighting and ventilation of

the room must be adequate from a health point of view. Adequate washing facilities must be provided, i. e., either a basin in the room or unlimited use of a clean bath-room, and there must be bathing facilities. Some means of heating the room must be provided. The room must be clean and its furniture in good repair. The furniture should include at least a comfortable bed, sufficient clean bedding, one or more chairs, a bureau or some receptacle for holding clothing, a closet, wardrobe or curtained space for hanging clothing. (Page 43.) Ninety-two rooms were actually visited by agents of the Commission. Of these, thirteen were found not to conform to the Commission's standard. Of the seventy-nine rooms conforming to the Commission's standard, 95.0 per cent rented for less than $20 a month; 93.7 per cent rented for less than $19 a month; 86.1 per cent rented for less than $18 a month; 82.3 per cent for less than $17½ a month; 79.8 per cent for less than $17 a month; 72.2 per cent for less than $16 a month; 70.9 per cent for less than $15½ a month; 46.9 per cent for less than $15 a month; 40.6 per cent for less than $14 a month; 39.3 per cent for less than $13½ a month; 34.2 per cent for less than $13 a month; 31.7 per cent for less than $12½ a month; 16.5 per cent for less than $12 a month; 12.7 per cent for less than $11 a month; 1.3 per cent for less than $10 a month. (Pages 43-44.)

Practically no rooms were obtainable in the North Beach district in which a large number of women live. The personnel director of the Bemis Bag Company which is situated in this district, made the statement that practically all of the workers in that section live in family units. This statement was further substantiated by the workers of the Telegraph Hill settlement. Miss Johnston of the Settlement, who has been a resident for many years, states that it is very unusual for a woman to live alone in a rented room. Miss Costa of the Settlement, a visiting nurse, made the same statement. Miss Avery, who is in charge of the Girls' Clubs at the Settlement, stated that practically the entire club membership was made up of girls living with their families. A can-

vass of the district showed no rooms to rent signs. The Italian paper had no advertisements for rented rooms. (Page 45.)

No Standard of Price.

An outstanding fact in this investigation is that there is apparently no standard as to price of rooms. The regular rooming houses intended primarily for transient guests may have standard prices, but these were not investigated, as for the most part they were not in desirable districts for women. The price of a room is by no means indicative of its quality. Several rooms renting for $20 a month were rejected because they were dirty and in bad condition, while a number of the $12 rooms were as attractive as rooms for which $15 or $16 was asked elsewhere. Some rates were obviously influenced by the district, as in the case of rooms north of Sacramento and west of Van Ness. These rooms were not more desirable than rooms which rented for $2 or $4 less in other districts, nor were they as desirable from the point of view of an employed woman as the less expensive rooms because they were not particularly accessible to places of employment.

Evidence on Number of Women Occupying Single Room.

An effort was made to determine the amounts actually paid for room rent by self-supporting women living in single rooms and earning $16 a week. The study included 963 women employed in four factories in San Francisco and two laundries in Los Angeles. The investigation showed that 294 women or 39.5 per cent of the total number earned $16 a week. Of these 294 women only 12 women or 4 per cent were living alone in single rented rooms. (Pages 45-46.)

A total number of 126 rooms were inspected, 113 of which met the required standard. Of these there were 94.6 per cent renting under $22.50 a month; 68.1 per cent under $20 a month; 61.9 per cent under $18 a month; 55.7 per cent under $17 a month; 34.5 per cent under $16 a month; and 31.8 per cent under $15 a month.

General Rent Situation in Los Angeles.

There is seemingly no shortage of vacant rooms in any part of the city. With the exception of the Wiltshire-Hollywood district, where rent is uniformly high, there is no standard price room rent. In each district and even on the same street rooms rented for varied prices. (Page 51.)

California. Industrial Welfare Commission. What California Has Done to Protect its Women Workers. April, 1921.

A study of the cost of living was begun by the Commission in July, 1918. It included the results of the investigations of increases in the cost of living made by the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, the studies of the cost of living on the Pacific Coast made by the University of Washington, by the National Industrial Conference Board and by the University of California, as well as studies made by agents of the Commission.

A public hearing was held in San Francisco on December 6, 1918. From the evidence thus obtained, Executive Commissioner Edson recommended a budget of $13.57 as the minimum cost of living of a self-dependent woman. This study was accepted and the Commission, within a period of two months, issued wage orders in the mercantile industry, fruit and vegetable canning industry, fish canning industry, laundry and dry cleaning industry, fruit and vegetable packing industry, in general and professional offices, all unclassified occupations and in the manufacturing and hotel and restaurant industries, on the basis of a $13.50 weekly minimum wage.

Realizing that there had been a considerable increase in the cost of living since the establishment of the $13.50 minimum wage, the Commission, on April 6, 1920, directed that an investigation be made of the cost of living of a self-dependent woman. Information on living costs was obtained from budgets submitted by women

workers in a number of industries and from a general investigation carried on by agents of the Commission. Conferences were held by the Commission with employers and workers in all industries, and a public hearing was held in San Francisco on March 24, 1920.

On the basis of the information thus obtained, Executive Commissioner Edson prepared a minimum budget of $16.11 a week. The Commission submitted this tentative budget to the following groups: The Hotel and Apartment House Association, which said that the room rent was an absolute minimum; the Retail Dry Goods Association, which approved the clothing budget; and hotel and cafeteria managers who approved the amount allowed for the food budget as being the best possible estimate, based on the cost of food in cafeterias and moderate-priced restaurants. The budget has never been challenged by any group of employers or workers. (Page 8.)

Kansas.

Kansas. Court of Industrial Relations. Women's Division. Cost of Living Survey of Wage Earning Women. August 31, 1921.

A wage and hour study was made in the summer of 1920 by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. The wages shown in that survey were representative of conditions in Kansas at its best. There is no reason to believe that wages have been increased in Kansas or elsewhere since the wage survey of 1920. Therefore the cost-of-living study [June and July, 1921] is doubly significant at this time. (Page 7.)

Rooms.

Sleeping Rooms:

Since room rent is a basic item in the cost of living, the first step in estimating the amount required for a living wage is to determine the price of a standard room.

In this investigation the term "standard room" has been taken to mean a room having good light, ventilation, adequate heat, and a closet or a good substitute for a closet, in a house of good character, sanitary and cleanly, having proper toilet facilities, including available hot water, and granting parlor and laundry privileges.

In the larger cities, house after house renting a large number of rooms was found. There were usually old, run-down family residences made into regular rooming houses. The rooms were small, inadequately or poorly furnished, poorly heated and ventilated, with no closets, and with inadequate toilet and bath facilities. In this type of a house few landladies provided parlor and laundry privileges. There wasn't room enough for all of the roomers to launder, and there was nothing like a living room in the house—everything was rented, to the front doorstep. Landladies assumed that girls would entertain men callers in their rooms. In a few places girls were found cooking and sleeping in the same room.

A summary of tables I, II and III shows there is little variation in rents in the three groups of cities studied, namely, cities having more than 10,000 population, cities having between 5,000 and 10,000 population, and cities having less than 5,000.

Of the 926 sleeping rooms inspected, 528 of which were in the first group, 157 in the second, and 241 in the third group, the average rate of $3.40 a week is representative of the three groups. A difference of 48 cents a week exists between the average rates in the first and second groups, while only 2 cents a week represents the difference in average rentals in cities in the second and third groups, the second group averaging $3.23 and the third group $3.25.

The average rental of $3.40 will provile a clean, modern, comfortably furnished, well-heated, light and well-ventilated room. This rate, however, does not cover the rent for two in a room. An increase from 33⅓ to 66⅔ per cent of the total rent has been asked by renters for rooms shared by two women. A 33⅓ per cent increase

would be a minimum estimated average for such rooms. The average range in rates from $2.08 to $5.24 a week covers the poorer as well as the better class of rooms. A good sleeping room at $2.50 was found to be an exception. (Page 10.)

The majority of rooms coming under the term "standard" ranged in rent from $3 to $3.50 a week. Such rooms cannot be found under the average rent, except in occasional instances, usually where a landlady is alone and wishes the company of a girl.

Light-Housekeeping Rooms:

Conditions in light-housekeeping rooms are not truthfully illustrated by the tables, as the average rental does not provide livable quarters. Even the maximum "range in rates" as shown by the grand total would provide only a fair room, or possibly two rooms, for light-housekeeping. This is explained by the fact that light-housekeeping rooms are not usually found in modern residences, but are found rather in dilapidated houses where it has been necessary to "accommodate tenants," or else tenants would accommodate themselves, cooking over alcohol lamps or eating cold lunches to avoid the waste of eating at restaurants. Such tenants, a poorer class of people, have consequently been provided with an oil stove or a small range and are satisfied to inconvenience themselves in order to save. For example, it is not unusual for them to carry water up a long, steep flight of stairs for cooking, drinking and washing. (Page 11.)

Five-dollar rooms generally were reported as "not desirable." Fuel for heating as well as cooking was almost without exception charged up to tenants in the cheaper rooms. In the higher-priced rooms heat was generally furnished, although light, and gas or oil for cooking were furnished by the tenant. Light housekeeping does not materially reduce living expenses unless more than two girls club together. In one light-housekeeping suite two girls lived for $8.75 a week each. This

was in a moderately priced, plainly furnished suite over a store building in the downtown district. The girls saved car fare, but contributed not less than two hours a day each to the upkeep of their rooms.

Summary of the Cost of Rooms.

It will be noticed that our suggested budgets covering room rent are higher in the majority of cases than the allowance granted by conference groups. We have based our allowance upon actual investigation of conditions, and our suggested budgets for room rent are average rates for "standard" rooms in the communities visited. It is possible, for the amounts suggested, to obtain a limited number of desirable rooms. The low rates estimated by conference groups were undoubtedly based upon the supposition that two girls would share one room. We have not made allowance for two in a room, as we believe a standard budget for the individual worker should not include "doubling up" on a room, any more than it should include a like performance for clothing. One suit or coat shared by two would be quite as fair for the individual worker, and probably would inconvenience her less than sharing a small room with an uncongenial roommate. It is possible for two girls to share a room, but it is not safe to assume that all girls can find a good roommate; therefore in this study an amount has been allowed that will provide a room for each worker. (Page 12.)

Board and Room.

Many inquiries about board disclosed the fact that board and room were seldom found at the same house; that the boarding house is practically an institution of the past, and that to-day the working girl must depend upon cafés and cafeterias for board unless she does light housekeeping. (Page 14.)

Café and cafeteria rates varied somewhat. The minimum rates were not always taken from the same restaurants, but represent the cheapest prices in town for various articles on the menu.

What is absolutely necessary to maintain bodily vigor is a question for dietists to decide. It is commonly assumed, however, that fruit, a cereal, or an egg, toast and coffee make up a simple breakfast menu, and it is on this assumption that the survey has outlined the following sample menus:

BREAKFAST.

Fruit (or cereal). Drink.
Toast.

LUNCHEON.

Sandwich. Drink.
Vegetable (or fruit).

DINNER.

Meat. Potato.
Bread and butter.
Vegetable. Drink.
Dessert.

The dinner menu was usually obtained by ordering what is called a "plate dinner."

The increase in rates for restaurant board in small towns is probably accounted for by the lack of competition for trade in those towns. Better board at a lower rate in larger cities was generally found. (Page 16.)

Summary of the Cost of Board.

In the tables the average rate of $6.346 is a minimum expenditure for board for the state as a whole. The majority of conferences were fairly generous in their estimates on this item, several groups granting a higher rate than we suggested for their communities. Other groups, however, estimated way below the minimum cost of board in their communities. The survey as a whole showed that the average minimum rate for board at cafés and cafeterias was a trifle lower than the average minimum boarding-house rate, although the maximum average rate at cafés ran a little higher than the average maximum boarding-house rate. (Page 17.)

Clothing.

Clothing, the third important item to be considered, must be sufficient to protect the body, to provide changes enough to make a reasonable standard of personal cleanliness possible, and suitable enough in appearance and material to serve on every occasion.

In estimating the cost of clothing it must be remembered that a person depending upon a weekly income is at a disadvantage as compared with one who has a bank account or a financial standing permitting credit. It is one thing to be able to buy so as to get the benefit of special prices for articles of a better grade, and quite another thing to be forced by a small weekly balance to buy cheap garments whenever necessity demands, or to buy on the installment plan, paying excessively in the end. The average woman cannot depend on discounts on her clothing such as received by girls working in some mercantile establishments, nor can she do her own sewign, or keep her wardrobe in the condition possible for a woman with plenty of time and convenience.

The direct investigation of the costs of clothing was based upon the budget shown in the introduction to this report, which, it is believed, contains the minimum amount of clothing needed by a girl for one year. This budget was submitted to merchants, who gave either a direct estimate of clothing costs based upon regular prices of clothing in their own stores, or permitted the investigator to obtain the prices by visiting the various departments. In either case the quality of the goods was guaranteed and the assurance received that the articles would give one or two years' service, according to requirements, if given reasonably good care by the wearer. In this way information was obtained from more than 125 mercantile stores covering moderately priced, serviceable clothing. (Page 21.)

Clothing Budget for Wage-earning Women.

1. Dresses (1 cotton, 1 worsted)
2. Suits (1 every 2 years)
3. Aprons
4. Coats (1 every 2 years)
5. Petticoats (2 cotton, 2 sateen)
6. Underwear (4 cotton union suits)
7. Nightgowns (2 summer, 2 winter)
8. Corsets (2)
9. Corset waists (4)
10. Shoes (4 pairs)
11. Rubbers (1 pair)
12. Stockings (6 pairs)
13. Handkerchiefs (1 doz.)
14. Gloves (1 kid, 1 cotton or silk)
15. Hats (2)
16. Neckwear
17. Blouses (2)
18. One kimono
19. Cleaning and pressing
20. Clothing repairing
21. Repairing shoes
22. One purse
23. One umbrella (every 2 years)

(Pages 8-9.)

The item "clothing repairing" was approved by only seven groups out of a total of fifteen conferences; therefore this item has been eliminated from the final averages on clothing costs. The item "rubbers" was approved and disapproved, but one pair a year was generally allowed. Shoes and the number of pairs of hose both came up for discussion. Occasionally a group would reduce the number of pairs of shoes from four to three and then give a generous allowance for shoe repairing, or if four pairs of shoes were decided upon the shoe-repairing item was cut. Employers were inclined to be generous in their clothing estimates until they found that the total was climbing too high. In one conference, after the merchants had unanimously agreed upon "one suit a year," and had decided that a girl should have at least one pair of two-dollar silk hose, the final decision was given as "no silk" and "one suit every two years."

Club women were inclined to be more generous in their estimates, and generally so in the item of "shoes," as high as a 50 per cent increase over the estimates of the men being noted. Where one suit a year was allowed by a group it was generally conceded that at least an addi-

tional worsted skirt be allowed. The number of wash dresses was increased from two to four by several groups, and so were the items listed under "underwear." (Pages 21-22.)

Under "outside clothing," the item "suit, one every year," was decided upon after considerable discussion and investigation. The hard wear given a suit by a girl who has only two wash dresses and a woolen dress with which to "change off" is too great to permit its being worn a second year. The addition of a wool skirt to the budget might eliminate the extra suit, but as prices on separate skirts are nearly as high as prices on entire suits, it was thought the slight difference in cost was warranted, as the suit jacket would afford protection in cool weather and would enable a girl to be neatly dressed at all times. A suit serving two seasons would become very shabby unless additional outside clothing was provided. A winter coat every two years, however, is sufficient, as it is worn only during the cold weather, less than half a year.

Shoes are another item in the budget requiring special attention. A great deal of foot trouble has been found among the girls who are constantly on their feet. In many cases they wear shoes that are unfit, and in many cases badly fitting, worn-out shoes, looking for comfort. These conditions could readily be remedied if proper footwear were provided. At least two pairs of high shoes and two pairs of oxfords a year are needed for women who are on their feet practically the entire working day. This we believe to be a reasonable allowance. (One woman agent assisting in the survey wore out a pair of $7 oxfords in two months' time.)

The item of "clothing" may also require an explanation. While the amount allowed seems not to be very generous for the purchase of stockings, it is made upon the information supplied by the girls themselves. The club women allowed five pairs of lisle and one pair of silk for better wear. In the budget figured by agents of the Women's Bureau an allowance is made for only six pairs of lisle hose.

Two pairs of "rubbers" have been allowed, for summer and winter wear, as it was thought this protection was necessary, especially in the smaller towns, for streets are not always found in the best condition.

The item of "cleaning and pressing" covers one cleaning of the two suits and the dress a year. This was thought necessary, as these garments are given continuous wear in all kinds of weather.

"Shoe repairs" must be taken into consideration, and a sufficient amount allowed for resoling two pairs and for reheeling four pairs a year. Minimum rates on this work have been obtained. Proper care of shoes is an important item of the expense budget and should not be eliminated or grouped with the item of "shoes." Conference groups were generally in favor of a fairly generous amount for this item. (Pages 22-23.)

Summary of the Cost of Clothing.

Table X.—Clothing Budget in Kansas for One Year. Made up from Suggested Budgets in Tables VII, VIII, IX. (Results of Direct Investigation.)

Articles	Average in first-class city.	Average in second-class city.	Average in third-class city.
Outside Clothing:			
Suit, 1 every year	$32.06	$32.14	$26.38
Coat, 1 in 2 years	14.43	14.64	13.85
Shoes, 2 pair, low	11.87	11.53	9.80
Shoes, 2 pair, high	13.31	12.13	10.64
Rubbers, 1 pair storm and 1 pair toe	1.78	1.69	1.75
Umbrella, 1 every two years	1.29	1.16	1.08
Hats, 1 summer and 1 winter	10.56	9.93	10.46
Gloves, 1 pair kid	2.97	3.13	2.79
Gloves, 1 pair fabric	.93	1.02	.96
Purse, 1 every year	2.81	2.39	1.98

[Concluded on Page 990.]

[Concluded.]

Waists, Dresses and Accessories:			
Waists, 2 cotton.....	4.05	4.35	3.60
Waists, 1 silk.....	5.07	4.79	4.95
Dresses, 2 cotton.....	11.41	10.01	8.78
Dresses, 1 worsted.....	19.01	18.89	17.11
Handkerchiefs, 1 dozen..	1.50	1.43	.82
Kimono, 1 cotton crepe..	2.53	2.75	2.15
Aprons, 3.....	3.75	3.93	3.17
Neckwear, 2 collars.....	1.57	1.31	1.15
Neckwear, 1 ribbon bow tie	.10	.10	.10
Underwear:			
Gauze vests, 4.....	1.22	1.06	1.05
Teddybears, 4.....	4.79	5.14	4.33
Summer knitted suits, 4.	2.99	3.14	3.57
Brassieres, 4.....	2.13	1.91	2.11
Petticoats, 2 cotton.....	2.76	2.86	2.44
Petticoats, 2 sateen.....	3.17	3.20	2.81
Nightgowns, 2 summer..	2.23	2.52	2.22
Nightgowns, 2 winter....	3.11	3.36	2.92
Corsets, 2.....	4.91	3.90	3.65
Stockings, 6 pair, lisle...	4.18	3.76	3.39
Incidentals:			
Cleaning and pressing, suit twice, dress once..	4.46	4.53	4.58
Repairing shoes, half soles, 2.....	2.26	2.33	2.12
Repairing shoes, heels, 4.	2.02	2.11	1.88
Total by year.....	$181.23	$177.14	$158.59
Average by week.....	3.485	3.406	3.049
Average for state by week..	$3.313	.....	.....

Sundry Items.

Information for this division of the minimum expense budget was derived from group conferences, from

individual budgets submitted by employees, and from recommendations by reputable dentists, oculists and physicians in support of certain items. Conference groups almost without exception recognized the items as legitimate expenditures which should be included in a cost-of-living study. (Page 24.)

Explanation of Items.

Laundry. Because investigation showed that it was not always possible for a girl to receive special privileges in rooming houses, it was considered necessary to include the item of laundry in the budget. Budgets made out by employees show this as an essential item of expense. Conference groups made allowance for it, though no allowance made was considered large enough to make it unnecessary for the girl to do much of her own laundering.

Sickness. Budgets submitted by the girls show that medical attendance was necessary in the majority of cases. This need was recognized by conference groups, members of which allowed from ten cents to a dollar a week for medical attendance. Letters from reputable physicians in the state show that medical advice should be considered a legitimate item of the expense budget, as women who are given proper medical care when they need it, and know they can afford it, have better health and become, therefore, more efficient workers.

Dentist, Oculist. As it has long been recognized that the care of the teeth and the eyes is essential to good health, the inclusion of this item in the budget is considered necessary. Conference groups allowed from 7 to 50 cents a week for the care of the eyes and teeth, based upon the suggestion that at least two cleanings of teeth a year are necessary.

Amusement. That amusement is considered an important factor in promoting efficiency is shown by group action on this item. Merchants and club women in their estimates allowed from 25 cents to $1 a week for amuse-

ments. Individual budgets suggest picture shows as the most common and most accessible amusement.

Vacation. The vacation allowance granted in group conferences ranged from 19 to 50 cents a week. Reports from the girls show that present salaries do not permit a vacation in the majority of cases. Living expenses go on regardless of vacation, and a reduction in wages during the vacation period, unless supplemented by a fair vacation allowance, would not permit of a vacation at all. Only one conference eliminated this item altogether, and one grouped it with amusements. It was the sentiment of the one group that it should not be allowed, because it was claimed all girls employed in that town received vacations on pay. This is not, however, general. In another conference it was not decided what amount should be allowed, although it was agreed that this item should be included.

Life Insurance, Savings. Very few budgets from individual workers indicate that it is possible to save, or if saving is indicated, self-denial on items essential to an American standard of living is noted. In most conferences it seemed to be generally agreed that some amount should be allowed for savings, yet no one seemed to have any estimate to offer. The savings amount is, in a minimum budget, really an amount to help tide one over in an emergency. The item usually agreed upon was some form of insurance. It was agreed by most groups that this insurance was not only a necessary protection to the girls but to the community as well. (Pages 24-25.)

Church and Charity. Almost without exception, groups made a small allowance for this item. It has been considered a necessary part of the expense budget, but budgets from individual workers indicate that it is not possible, except in cases of better-paid workers, to contribute to this item. In some cases conference groups said that girls should not contribute anything to either of these amounts. "Let those who can afford it give to the churches." On the other hand, girls say they will

not go to church if they cannot help; in some churches they would be discriminated against. One girl said, "It's pretty embarrassing always to pass up the collection box." Another one said, "Yes, and be called 'yellow' if you don't give to the Red Cross."

Organization. Membership in at least one organization of the worker's choice should be made possible. This was the point of view of conference groups, the majority deciding to include this item in the budget.

Self-improvement. Although not generally allowed by conference groups, this item has been included in the budget, as it is believed a living wage should be sufficient to grant certain benefits to be derived through educational channels. No item allowed has been a larger amount than would provide for a daily newspaper.

Car Fare. This is an essential item of expense in the larger cities in the state, in which are employed the majority of workers. While this item was not essential in the majority of towns, it was left in the budget to offset additional expense of shoe leather which walking in bad weather would make necessary.

Incidentals. Because it has been impossible to tabulate the innumerable small necessities not included elsewhere in the budget, this item has been added to care for minor expenditures, covering toilet articles, shoe laces, shoe polish, pencils, pens, ink, stationery, stamps, hairpins lingerie tape, needles, thread, darning cotton, etc. An estimate contained in a government bulletin (Monthly Labor Review, U. S. Department of Labor; June, 1920) shows that 8.5 per cent of the total clothing budget should be allowed for incidentals.

Summary of Sundry Costs.

Tables XI, XII and XIII show the action by group conferences on items listed under "sundries." Our own estimates for these items are the same for all towns, as these minor costs are believed to vary little, if any, in the state; therefore, only the total for sundries is given

for each community. A comparison of the total amounts suggested by group conferences with the total given in the "suggested budget" will show that in many instances the "suggested budget" is less than the estimates of merchants and club women. (Page 26.)

General Cost-of-living Budget—Suggested.

	By the year.	By the week.
1. Room	$176.80	$3.40
2. Board	330.20	6.35
3. Clothing	172.12	3.31
4. Sundries:		
a. Laundry	26.00	.50
b. Sickness	20.28	.39
c. Dentist, oculist	5.20	.10
d. Amusements	26.00	.50
e. Vacation	19.76	.38
f. Life insurance, savings	15.60	.30
g. Church and charity	10.40	.20
h. Organizations	5.20	.10
i. Self-improvement	7.80	.15
j. Car fare	54.60	1.05
k. Incidentals	10.40	.20
Totals, sundry items	$201.24	$3.87
Totals, all items	$880.36	$16.93

The allowance for each item in the budget will enable a girl to have the following:

ROOM: An individual standard sleeping room.

BOARD: A sufficient amount of clean, wholesome food at average minimum café rates.

CLOTHING: Clothing sufficient to enable a girl to be neatly and comfortably dressed.

SUNDRIES:

Laundry: A small bundle of laundry; not sufficient to cover the entire cost if a girl is expected to wear a fresh apron every day.

Sickness: Medical attendance and advice when absolutely necessary.

Dentist: Either dentist or oculist fees, but not sufficient for both.

Amusements: One picture show and car fare to and from the show each week.

Vacation: One week of vacation; not far from the city.

Life insurance, savings: A $500, twenty-year-payment life policy.

Church and charity: The customary weekly church contribution of 10 cents and $5 per year for charity.

Organizations: Membership in the Y. W. C. A. and half of the membership privileges.

Self-improvement: A daily newspaper was all.

Car fare: Allowance for car fare twice a day for seven days; covers car fare to church.

Incidentals: Innumerable minor articles which it has been found impossible to itemize in the budget, such as toilet articles, shoe laces, shoe polish, pencils, pens, ink, stationery, stamps, hairpins, lingerie tape, needles, thread, darning cotton, etc. (Page 40.)

Kansas. Court of Industrial Relations. Second Annual Report for the year ending December 31, 1921.

General Cost-of-Living Budget—Suggested.

The distribution of expenses among the suggested budget items is as follows:

	By year.	By week.
1. Room	$176.80	$3.40
2. Board	330.20	6.35
3. Clothing	172.12	3.31
4. Sundries:		
a. Laundry	26.00	.50
b. Sickness	20.28	.39
c. Dentist, Oculist	5.20	.10
d. Amusements	26.00	.50
e. Vacation	19.76	.38
f. Life insurance, savings	15.60	.30
g. Church and charity	10.40	.20
h. Organizations	5.20	.10
i. Self-improvement	7.80	.15
j. Carfare	54.60	1.05
k. Incidentals	10.40	.20
Total, sundries	$201.24	$3.87
Total, all items	$880.36	$16.93

(Page 91.)

Massachusetts.

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Bulletin of Current Activities. June, 1920.

How the Boards Reach their Determinations.

The cost of living, however, is not the only factor which the boards must consider in making their decision as to the minimum wage. The law requires them to consider also the financial condition of the occupation; that is, whether it can stand a living wage. For this reason some of the wage boards have recommended rates below

the amount they found as the cost of living. Thus the knit goods wage board, after adopting a budget of $15.30, fixed a minimum rate of $13.75. It should be remembered that the board is acting under its legal obligations in taking such action, and that the commission has no authority to change the findings of the board. With the exception of this instance, however, all of the boards recently in session have established the minimum wage at the cost of living as they determined it. The majority of the early boards, on the other hand, fixed the minimum from $1 to $1.50 below the cost of living. Even with this reduction the resulting rates meant, at the time they were entered, a considerable improvement in the wage situation.

It should be remembered in connection with the minimum wage that the rate fixed by the boards is an actual minimum and not the average or standard wage. It is intended merely to establish a limit below which wages should not fall. (Page 13.)

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries, Division of Minimum Wage. No. 17. Paper Box Occupation Decree. May 26,, 1920.

The Board held its first meeting on March 18, 1920, and after four meetings, on April 29, 1920, submitted to the Commission a report of its determinations, together with the reasons therefor and the facts relating thereto. This report was signed by all the members.

Regarding the needs of female employees in the paper-box industry, and its recommendations based thereon, the board unanimously adopted on April 15, the following budget:

Items.	Amount per week.
Board and lodging	$9.00
Clothing	3.25
Laundry	.60
Doctor and dentist	.50
Church	.15
Newspapers and magazines	.25
Vacation	.50
Recreation and self-improvement	.50
Insurance	.10
Contingent fund	.40
Incidentals	.25
Total	$15.50

In submitting this budget the following items are noted:

Car Fares.—No allowance for car fares between the residence of the worker and the place of employment was included, because it appeared that a very large proportion, if not the majority, of the employees live within walking distance of their place of employment, and such an item could not therefore be included in a minimum budget.

Vacation.—The allowance is intended to cover the expenses of a vacation of two weeks, which was found to be necessary to maintain the worker in health.

Recreation and Self-improvement.—It was decided to combine these items under one head because an allowance for both is necessary, but the division of such an allowance would vary according to the character of the worker.

Insurance.—This amount was allowed to cover cost of industrial insurance or the fees of benefit associations, based upon the minimum amount actually paid by the worker.

Contingent Fund.—This term was adopted as a better term than "savings," because a minimum wage worker is not expected to save money, but only tempo-

rarily to lay aside sufficient to provide for usual contingencies.

Incidentals.—The allowance for this item is to include those things necessary in a cost of living budget which are not included in the other items. (Pages 2-3.)

It is also recommended that this minimum be varied to meet changes in the cost of living:

This board believes, and therefore recommends, that the minimum wage should vary with the index figures given in the table of statistics furnished by the Bureau of Labor and Statistics of the United States Department of Labor, and that if thus varied justice will be done the industry, the employees, and the public.

A change in the minimum wage should only be made when there is a real change in the cost of living, and it should, in our opinion, be made by the Commission only upon the request of a reasonable number of employers or employees of the industry.

We therefore recommend that this minimum wage of $15.50, which is based largely on the cost of living existing during April, 1920, and which it is recommended shall go into effect July 1, 1920, continue until further order of the Commission made on or about January 1, or July 1, of any year upon petition of either ten paper-box manufacturers or fifty employees of paper-box manufacturers, five from each of ten different factories; that upon such a petition the Commission shall establish the minimum wage at a figure which shall bear the same proportion to the sum of $15.50 as the index figure in the table of the relative retail prices of the principal articles of food in the United States, published by the Bureau of Labor and Statistics of the United States Department of Labor in the Monthly Labor Review for the month of October or April preceding, bears to the index figure in the said table for the month of April, 1920.

The board further recommends that the notice of the decree to be posted by employers contain a statement like the following:

The wage board, upon the determinations of which this decree is based, earnestly recommends both to employers and to employees in the paper-box industry that they view this decree only as defining a minimum living wage, and that they recognize that in order to reduce the cost of living it is essential that both employers and employees co-operate to secure a maximum production. (Pages 3-4.)

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Bulletin of Current Activities. June, 1920.

An itemized list of incidentals prepared for the paper-box wage board is given below:—

Itemized List of Incidentals Prepared for Paper-Box Wage Board, April, 1920.

Collars and neckties	$1.25
Handkerchiefs	1.00
Shoe and corset lacings	.25
Shoe blacking	.20
Tooth paste and brushes	1.25
Comb and brush	1.00
Side combs and hairpins, etc	.75
Shields	2.00
Miscellaneous	.35
Darning cottons, threads, safety and common pins, needles	.20
Talcum powder	1.75
Stationery and stamps	1.75
Toilet soap	1.25
Total	$13.00

Approximate average per week, $0.25.

(Page 13.)

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. No. 16. Women's Clothing Occupation Decree. May 6, 1920.

The board held its first meeting on January 14, 1920, and after nine meetings, on March 31, 1920, submitted to the Commission a unanimous report of its determinations, together with the reasons therefor and the facts relating thereto.

Regarding the needs of female employees in the women's clothing occupation, and its recommendations based thereon, the board reports as follows:

In determining the cost of living budget, the board had before it the budgets of previous wage boards, studies of the cost of living by agencies of the government and private organizations, and facts gathered and submitted by members of the board. Each item of the budget was considered separately with the following results:

Minimum Budget.

	Favored by employee members.	Favored by all other members.
1. Board and lodging	$9.50	$9.50
2. Clothing	3.25	3.25
3. Laundry	.45	.45
4. Doctor and Dentist	.45	.40
5. Church	.20	.10
6. Vacation	.45	.40
7. Recreation	.45	.37
8. Education	.18	.18
9. Savings	.50	.30
10. Carfare	.20	.20
11. Incidentals	.10	.10
Total	$15.73	$15.25

In connection with this budget, the board makes the following explanation:

Item No. 1 was adopted after personal investigation of living conditions in a number of cities and towns. The

item is a minimum for the worker who boards, and eats all meals out. The room provided is the cheapest room within walking distance of the factory.

The clothing item (No. 2) was adopted after detailed consideration of a clothing budget, based on between-season prices for serviceable apparel.

A nominal savings item (No. 9) was adopted, but it should be noted that this item does not represent any attempt to insure against seasonality of employment, which is an important factor in this industry.

With respect to the budget as a whole, it should be observed that the board was dealing with living conditions as they prevailed at the beginning of this year, the highest point yet reached in the rising cost of living. The board considered the possibility of a fall in prices, but felt that it could not base a recommendation on conjectures as to the future, but must deal with facts as they now exist. Under the power of the Commission to reconvene the boards on petition, it may be possible to make a readjustment at some future time should there be a radical change in the price level.

The fact that the budget makes no provision for loss of employment due to the seasonal character of certain branches of the industry is noted by the board with the following statement:

> It was felt that the problem of seasonality is too large and complex to admit of handling through the medium of a minimum wage, and therefore the board has voted to recommend this problem to the attention and study of the Department of Labor and Industries. (Pages 2-3.)

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. No. 19. Minor Lines of Confectionery and Food Preparations Occupation Decree. October 4, 1921.

Regarding the needs of female employees in the minor lines of confectionery and food preparations industry the board adopted, on April 13, 1921, the following budget:—

Items.	Amount per week.
Board and lodging	$8.50
Clothing	2.50
Laundry	.20
Car fares	.40
Doctor and dentist	.50
Church	.15
Self-improvement: recreation and community interests	.50
Vacation	.20
Reserve for emergency	.30
Incidentals	.25
Total	$13.50

In submitting this budget the following items are noted:—

Vacation.—The amount set for vacation was not considered to be adequate, but this item was included in order to show that the board emphatically approved granting employees a vacation. Actual leave of absence from the factory for recuperation was considered to be the essence of a vacation. Where this was granted it was thought the amount set under the head "Self-improvement: recreation and community interests" should be diverted to the use of a vacation.

Self-improvement: Recreation and Community Interests.—This title was believed to provide for certain well-defined needs in the life of every one. It is broad enough to include newspapers and magazines, and was set at a figure sufficient to be adequate where no actual vacation was given.

Reserve for Emergency.—The item "Savings" was thought, possibly, to suggest investment for the purpose of accumulating a capital fund for which provision could not properly be made in considering the minimum wage, and this term was accordingly changed to "Reserve for emergency," which more clearly expressed the need to be met by this item.

Insurance.—This item was omitted, not because it was disapproved, but because in conditions facing the industry at the present time it was felt an allowance should be made only for the most necessary expenditures.

Regarding the financial condition of the industry and the effect of establishing a minimum rate which would equal the cost of living, the board reports as follows:—

The members of the board chosen from the employers were emphatic in their case that the industry could not afford a minimum wage fixed at $13.50 for the adult, experienced worker. But the evidence on this subject proved difficult to secure. Employers, either from inadvertence or lack of interest, failed to respond to questionnaires which were sent out. The most impressing evidence of the financial condition of the industry was the number of factories which were not hiring help, even at the existing low wages, but which preferred to be idle or nearly idle rather than operate at a greater loss. The committee appointed to investigate this subject reported that owing to the business depression, which was a matter of common knowledge, no exact figures on sales or profits could be found. The industry within the scope of this inquiry could not endure a wage based upon the budget, and the committee recommended a minimum wage of $12 for the experienced, adult workers. The factors pointed out by the committee as producing the business depression were liquidation of stocks produced at rates above those current; heavy losses from the sugar market; pressure of banks due to shortage of money; small sales on new orders, due to a determination on the part of the public not to buy until lower levels are reached; and out-of-State competition. . . . In an endeavor to adjust the burden as equitably as possible between employer and employee, the following recommendations were finally unanimously voted: (Pages 2-3.)

1. For those sixteen years of age and over, with three months' experience, not less than $12 a week. . . . (Page 4.)

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. No. 20. Paper Box Occupation Decree. (Revised.) April 27, 1922.

In submitting this report the board explained as follows the method of arriving at its determinations:—

The previous Paper Box Wage Board in its report to the Commission recommended that the minimum wage should vary with the index figures in the table of the relative retail prices of the principal articles of food in the United States published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the United States Department of Labor in the Monthly Labor Review. The present board at the outset, and again in finally considering the questions before it, came to the conclusion, first, that the finding of a minimum wage of $15.50 recommended by the previous wage board was, at the time and under the conditions then prevailing, fair; second, that a more just and equitable result would be arrived at by reducing the minimum wage in accordance with the best statistics available as to the fall in the cost of living occurring since the previous determination rather than by preparing a budget representing the minimum cost of living of a self-supporting woman in this industry. An examination of the various statistics showed that the recommendation of the previous board, that the change in the minimum wage should be made based upon retail food prices, would be inequitable because this change was not representative of the change that had taken place in all the factors entering into the budget of a self-supporting woman in this industry. It also showed that while various statistics available were not in complete accordance, a fair result based upon considering and balancing the statistics as a whole would fix the present minimum wage at $13.50.

Regarding the financial condition of the industry, the board found that a minimum wage of $13.50 would not have an injurious effect. In this connection the board stated that some consideration was given to this matter in determining the reduction of the minimum wage to the amount reached. (Page 2.)

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. No. 21. Women's Clothing Occupation Decree. (Second Revision.) April 27, 1922.

The board held its first meeting on December 21, 1921, and after eight meetings, on February 3, 1922, submitted to the Commission a unanimous[4] report of its findings, together with a statement of the reasons therefor and the facts relating thereto.

The board accepted the recommendations of the representatives of the public on the various wage boards then in session regarding basis for action and procedure.

These recommendations follow:—

1. *Regarding a Fair Basis for the Cost of Living Budget.*—That the fact that a girl lives at home is not to be considered in fixing a minimum rate.

2. *Regarding the Financial Condition of the Industry.*—That the minimum should not be reduced below the standard fixed as the cost of living except under serious and unusual conditions established by evidence presented by the employers; and, in case any board recommends a minimum rate below the cost of living, that the representatives of the public on the board should be responsible for seeing that a petition is presented for reconvening the board at an early date.

4. *Time for completing Work.*—That the reconvened wage boards should submit their determinations within two months from the date of their first meeting, if possible.

5.[5] *Regarding Date for Decree to become effective.*—That not more than three months should intervene between the date of the wage board's determinations and the date the decree should become effective. (Page 2.)

[4]The report was submitted with the signatures of thirteen of the fifteen members. The two members who were absent at the final meeting of the board subsequently signed the report, thus making the findings unanimous.

[5]Recommendation of the sub-committee appointed by the full committee.

Minimum Budget.

Items.	Amount per week.
Board and lodging	$8.50
Clothing	2.50
Laundry	.35
Doctor, dentist and oculist	.40
Car fare	.20
Church	.20
Self-improvement (including newspapers, etc.)	.25
Vacation	.40
Recreation	.37
Reserve for emergency	.30
Mutual association dues and insurance	.25
Incidentals	.25
Total	$13.97[1]

Regarding the amount for board and lodging, explanation is made that the $8.50 allowed for these two items was divided, in the opinion of the board, into $5.75 for meals and $2.75 for room. (Page 3.)

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. No. 25. Laundry Occupation Decree. May 19, 1922.

The board held its first meeting on March 22, 1922, and after four meetings submitted to the Commission on April 20 a report of its determinations, together with the reasons therefor and the facts relating thereto. This report was signed by eight of the thirteen members of the board, including the chairman, all of the representatives of the employees, and one of the representatives of the employers.

Regarding the cost of living for female employees in the laundry occupation, the board reported as follows:—

It was agreed to take the former budget as fair at the time it was adopted, and modify that by the change which

[1]When the budget was finally adopted, 3 cents was added to it, making the total $14.

Massachusetts. Department of Labor and Industries. Division of Minimum Wage. Report for the year ending November 30, 1921.

Itemized Cost of Living Budgets

(As adopted by Massachusetts wage boards.)

	Brush Board (January, 1914).	Candy Makers' Board (Summer, 1914).	Laundry Board (Winter, 1915).	Women's Clothing Board (Spring, 1916).	Men's Clothing and Raincoat Board (Spring, 1917).[1]	Men's Furnishings Board (Summer, 1917).	Muslin Underwear Board (Winter, 1918).	Retail Millinery Board (Spring, 1918).	Office and Other Building Cleaners' Board (Spring, 1918).	Wholesale Millinery Board (Fall, 1918).	Canning and Preserving Board (Spring, 1919).	Candy Board (Spring, 1919).	Corset Board (Fall, 1919).	Knit Goods Board (Fall, 1919).	Women's Clothing Board (Reconvened, Winter, 1920).	Paper Box Board (Spring, 1920).	Minor Confectionery Board (Spring, 1921).	Brush Board (Reconvened) (Winter, 1921-22).	Women's Clothing Board (Reconvened, Winter, 1921-22).	Muslin Underwear Board (Reconvened, Winter, 1921-22).
Board and lodging	$5 25	$5 25	$5 25	$5 75	$5 50	$6 00	$6 00	$7 00	$7 00	$7 00	$6 00	$7 00	$7 00	$8 50	$9 50	$9 00	$8 50	$9 00	$8 50	$8 50
Clothing	1 44	1 50	1 50	1 50	1 90	1 75	1 50	1 92	1 75	2 00	2 25	2 25	2 50	3 25	3 25	3 25	2 50	2 50	2 50	2 10
Laundry	50	45	50	25	35	30	25	30	30	50	30	50	46	50	45	60	20	25	35	30
Car fares	70	60	60	10	40	60	60	60	60	84	25	76	40	75	20	-	40	25	20	60
Doctor and dentist	20	25	25	25	25	20	40	20	45	30	35	30	40	30	40[2]	50	50	25[3]	40[3]	50[3]
Church	10	11	11	10	10	10	10	11	13	13	15	11	15	10	10[2]	15	15	25	20	15
Newspapers and magazines	16	11	16	18	15	15	-	11	11	18	20	18	17	20	18	25	-	-	-	-
Vacation	19	20	20	25	25	35	-	35	25	40	40	40	45	50	40[2]	50	20	50	40	40
Recreation	17	20	20	25	25	-	-	25	20	25	30	30	30	40	37[2]	50	-	-	37	25
Savings[4]	-	-	-	25	50	25	-	25	25	30	30[5]	30[5]	37	20	30[2]	40	30[6]	50[6]	30[6]	30[6]
Incidentals	-	-	-	10	20	50	60	25	35	25	25	25	38	30	10	25	25	25	25	25

Organization dues	–	–	–	–	15	15	20	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	15[7]	25[7]	15[7]
Insurance	–	–	–	–	–	10	–	10	15	10	–[4]	–[4]	12	10	–	10	–	–	–[5]	–[5]	–[5]
Self-improvement	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	20	–	25	25	15	15	20	–	–[9]	50	50[9]	25	25
Benefit associations	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	15	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	$8 71	$8 67[10]	$8 77	$8 96	$10 00	$10 45	$9 65	$11 64	$11 54	$12 50	$11 00	$12 50	$13 00	$15 30	$15 25	$15 50	$13 50	$14 40	$13 97	$13 75

[1]The Men's Clothing and Raincoat Board (reconvened, fall of 1919) voted unanimously a minimum rate of $15 to supersede the $9 rate, the new rate to become effective on February 1, 1920.

[2]The employee members of the board favored the following amounts for these items: doctor and dentist, 45 cents; church, 20 cents; vacation, 45 cents; recreation, 45 cents; savings, 50 cents, bringing the total budget to $15.76. The budget as presented above was favored by all other members.

[3]Includes "oculist."

[4]This item was classed as "reserve for deficiency" by the Corset Wage Board. The Paper Box Wage Board adopted the term "contingent fund" in place of "savings."

[5]The Canning and Preserving Wage Board and the Candy Wage Board included insurance in the figure given for savings.

[6]Called "reserve for emergency."

[7]Includes "insurance."

[8]The Paper Box Wage Board combined self-improvement with recreation.

[9]Includes "newspapers."

[10]$8.75 was voted unanimously by the Candy Makers' Wage Board from the above budget as the necessary cost of living, allowing 8 cents extra for miscellaneous requirements.

(Appendix No. 4.)

has occurred since. As basis for estimating the change, the board decided to accept the index numbers of the Massachusetts Commission on the Necessaries of Life. According to these figures the budget of $8.77 adopted in 1915 would in 1922 amount to approximately $13.50.

The board therefore found the minimum amount upon which a self-supporting woman in the occupation could maintain herself in health to be $13.50 a week, an increase of approximately 54 per cent over the former rate.

With respect to the financial condition of the industry, it was the opinion of the board that it should be possible for the industry to stand a minimum rate based on the cost of living budget.

The board accordingly found that the minimum rate of wages for female employees of ordinary ability in the laundry occupation should be not less than $13.50 a week.

It was felt by the board that the term of experience, one year, required under the former decree was too long, and that five months was adequate for a woman of ordinary ability to gain experience in the occupation. Accordingly this was fixed as the term for the learning period. (Pages 1-2.)

North Dakota.

North Dakota. Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Minimum Wage Department. Bulletin No. 1. Report by Secretary and Special Investigator. From August 4, 1919, to December 31, 1919.

From Table II it would seem that the small towns pay higher wages, particularly in those occupations furnishing neither board nor room to the employees. . . . It is a fact that in the smaller towns the mercantile employees especially receive greater compensation for their labors. This is due to the scarcity of labor in these communities and the difficulty in retaining workers who would rather move to the big cities. (Page 8.)

Considering all items of expense [in making up a standard minimum budget] it is doubtful whether they

vary to any considerable extent in different parts of the state. Room and board may be more expensive in the five large cities, Fargo, Grand Forks, Minot, Devil's Lake and Bismarck, but on the other hand the cost of clothing and sundries is higher in the small towns. (Page 10.)

Table II.—Showing Number of Towns in Each Population Group with Average of Lowest Wages Paid.

Population	No. of Towns	No. of Establishments	Average of Lowest Wages by Towns						
			$9.75	$10 to $10.99	$11 to $11.99	$12.25	$13.50	$14.25 to $14.50	$15
Over 10,000	2	70	1	..	1	..	..	..	..
4 to 8,000	5	127	..	..	5	..	....	..	..
2 to 4,000	4	50	..	3	1	..	..	..	..
1 to 2,000	9	77	..	2	5	1	..	1	..
Under 1,000	6	32	..	1	..	1	2	1	1

(Condensed) (Page 8)

North Dakota. Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Minimum Wage Department. Bulletin No. 1. Report by Secretary and Special Investigator. From August 4, 1919, to December 31, 1919.

In estimating the minimum cost of living for all working women, it would seem advisable to classify workers into two classes:

1. Women whose occupations demand them to be well dressed.

2. Women who by wearing other apparel during working hours save considerable expense.

Class 1.	Class 2.
Mercantile employees	Laundry workers
Office and clerical help	Chambermaids
Waitresses	Factory workers
Telephone operators	Kitchen help—restaurants, hotels, hospitals

The difference in expense for those two classes of workers is estimated at 75c a week. This item reduces the cost of clothing for Class 2 to $3.25 per week.

From the above classification and discussion the minimum expense for women workers in North Dakota is suggested as follows:

	Class 1	Class 2
Room	$2.25	$2.25
Board	7.00	7.00
Sundries	3.00	3.00
Clothing	4.00	3.25
Total	$16.25	$15.50

(Pages 10-11.)

North Dakota. Workmen's Compensation Bureau. Minimum Wage Department. Second Biennial Report. July 1, 1920, to June 20, 1922.

[Cost of Living Survey. Begun June, 1921, under the direction of the Women's Bureau of the U. S. Department of Labor.] (Page 5.)

Cost of Room.

Of those interviewed, 237 women paid a definite sum of money for rooms, 185 of whom occupied rooms where no cooking could be done.

58 or 31 per cent paid under $10 a month.
43 or 23 per cent paid $10 and under $12 a month.
84 or 45 per cent paid $14 and over a month.

185 (Condensed.) (Pages 9, 11.)

Of the 52 women interviewed who did light housekeeping,

18 or 34 per cent paid under $10 a month.
15 or 28 per cent paid $10 and under $12 a month.
19 or 36 per cent paid $14 and over a month.

52 (Condensed.)

A division of single and double rooms for light housekeeping was not made, but most of those who paid under $10 a month occupied a room with another. Rooms for which less than $10 was paid were not located in modern homes and were not provided with proper facilities for light housekeeping. (Page 13.)

Board.

Of the 141 women adrift, who paid for their entire board, 11 out of 19 in the first wage group [those earning less than $15 a week] paid $5.00 and under $6.00 a week. Of the 42 in the second wage group [those earning $15 to $16.99 a week] 26 paid $6.00 and under $7.00 a week; and of the 80 women in the third wage group [those earning $17 and over a week] 50 paid $7.00 a week and over for their board. (Page 15.)

Of the 37 women who spent less than $6.00 a week for board, 16 ate at cafeterias conducted by the telephone company in Fargo and Grand Forks, except on Sunday, when they ate at restaurants. The meals furnished at these cafeterias were being served at 20c a meal (at cost if not below). The meals which these women purchased on Sunday averaged $1.00 to $1.50 a day.

The median cost of food [for the 52 women who prepared their own meals] was $20.00 a month and over.

A few women who lived away from home paid for their board and room as one item of expense. Of the 16 women who paid for their board and room as one item of expense, 6, who paid $6.00 and under $8.00 a week, lived in a boarding house which was being partially maintained as a charitable institution. Of the 5 women who worked for their room and board, three worked for both board and room, and two worked for board only.

Of the 282 who were adrift, 74 received board or board and room as part payment of their wage. (Page 18.)

Laundry Expense.

Of the total number of women interviewed, 185 had their laundry done at home without expense or labor to

themselves. Twenty of the women living at home had their laundry work done outside the home, for which there was an expense to themselves. Of the 102 women who had their entire laundry work done outside, the median cost was $1.14 per week. (Page 21.)

Doctor, Dentist and Oculist Bills.

Of the 594 women interviewed, doctor, dentist or oculist bills were incurred by 453 within twelve months preceding the investigation.

The total number of women who incurred doctor bills was 234, for whom the average annual expense was $64.40. We wish to note in this connection that the year preceding the survey was probably phenomenal in this respect on account of the flu epidemic and the serious illness resulting from this disease.

The total number of women having dentist bills was 336, with an average expense for the past twelve months of $28.75. (Page 21.)

The total number of women having oculist bills was 123, with an average expense for the past twelve months of $19.78.

The average annual expense for all such professional treatment for these 453 women was $59.95.

Averaging only the doctor bills by occupation the following table is given:

Table X.—Women Who Had Incurred Medical Expenses By Occupation.

Occupation.	Total No.	No. having Dr. bills.	Average annual medical expense.
Clerks	171	72	$90.14
Laundry workers	94	30	68.88
Hotel workers	124	44	55.54
Telephone workers	113	52	53.10
Factory workers	47	17	37.69
Office workers	45	19	32.85

(Page 22.)

Clothing.

It will be found that with almost all articles of clothing, the first two industrial groups, office and mercantile, wear not a greater number but more expensive clothing than the other groups. In the case of aprons the number is determined by the nature of the occupation—chambermaids, waitresses and laundresses leading. About 15 per cent of the women interviewed made part or all of their dresses, waists and skirts. Over 60 per cent of them made part or all of their underwear and aprons. On an average there was a difference of from 23 to 40 per cent in the cost of articles made at home and bought ready made. However, it was not possible to designate this in the table because, when giving costs, a division was not made by the woman interviewed. For this reason the average price of these articles, given in Table XI, is, if anything, lower than the actual average purchasing price of the articles. (Pages 22, 24.)

TABLE XI.—Average Cost of Clothing Per Year.

[Summarized.]

Office	$361.68
Mercantile	314.33
Waitress	294.10
Telephone	271.93
Factory	252.22
Laundry	252.84
Chambermaid	187.65
Average	$277.82

(Condensed.) (Page 23.)

Incidentals.

Table XIV. gives all the incidental expenses incurred by one woman interviewed, from July 1, 1920, to June 30, 1921. The costs for board, room, laundry and clothing are not included in this table. While this is the only

budget which was obtained which included these incidental expenses, it seems to represent a normal average expenditure for incidentals and is, if anything, conservative, because there is not a single item given for reading material or entertainment (aside one item for attending the county fair). The total amount, $74.01, makes an average weekly expense of $1.42 for incidentals. This amount includes four items of expense, totalling $12.55, for Christmas presents. Deducting this amount from the total leaves $61.46 a year or $1.19 a week as an average expense for incidentals. (Page 27.)

Table XIV.—List of Incidental Expenses for the Period of From July 1, 1920, to June 30, 1921.

(Copied from memorandum submitted to Bureau.)

$0.25	spent	.07	tag day
.20	carnival	.25	soap
.25	church and ss.	.15	church
.10	church lunch	.26	medicine
.45	cherries	.10	church
.10	church	.60	bananas
.60	rubber heels	.60	rubber heels
.50	camphor	.77	medicine
1.60	fair	1.85	towels
.10	Sunday school	.50	tickets
.60	ice cream for family	.10	church
.10	church lunch	.40	pattern
.15	Sunday school	.15	church
.78	soap and tooth paste	1.25	lining and belting
.10	shoe polish	7.50	Xmas present
.25	ice cream	1.55	ribbon
.78	show and candy	1.50	beading
.20	flowers and lemon	.10	shoe laces
.25	ice cream	.15	church
.45	hair ribbon	3.74	Xmas present
.20	hair pins and net	.50	stamps
.15	candy	.15	stamps
.50	camphor	.20	church

.05 Sunday school
6.42 railroad fare
.81 goods for Xmas
.35 light
.99 nuts, etc.
.15 church
.10 stamps
.10 church
1.00 flowers
.10 church
.50 lace for camisole
.38 ribbon
.15 church
.20 elastic
.52 ointment
.45 crochet cotton
.87 bananas for home
.15 church
.40 grapefruit
.05 church
.10 candy
.75 soap and camphor
.15 church and ss.
.25 colorite
.15 bananas
.15 flowers for aunty
.15 church and ss.
.15 crochet cotton
.33 oranges
.20 church and ss.
.15 candy
.90 pictures and film
.37 gifts
.10 girls' class
1.50 union dues
.25 half doz. oranges
.10 church lunch
.15 flowers
.65 camphor and glue
.10 church lunch

.05 Sunday school
.10 Sunday school meeting
.30 crochet thread
.36 flowers
.15 lingerie clasps
.18 oranges
1.00 flowers
.50 machine oil
.50 present
.10 shoe polish
.25 soap
.15 church
1.35 class pin
.18 oranges
.20 ribbon, 1 yard
.15 crochet thread
.12 elastic
.15 church
.40 ice cream at home
.26 medicine
.40 pickles
.05 Sunday school
.50 name on watch
1.00 crochet cotton
.10 church and ss.
1.65 medicine
.10 flowers
1.00 crochet cotton
.15 Sunday school
3.00 union dues
.20 pictures
.25 soap
.25 thread
.95 shoe repair
.15 oranges
.50 bananas
.15 church and ss.
.17 candy
.32 raisins

.15 church and ss.	.35 tape, etc.
.50 camphor	.30 musk melon
.15 church	.15 church
.15 lemons	.55 ice cream took home
.10 church lunch	1.75 shoe repair
.15 church	.10 pop
.15 church	.25 soap
.18 ice cream	
.25 half doz. oranges	$74.01 Total

(Pages 28-29.)

Summary

Table XV. summarizes the foregoing tables and exhibits, by giving the average expense of the individual according to occupation. (Page 27.)

Table XV.—Average Weekly Expense for Women by Occupation, Giving Median Cost of Board, Room and Laundry for Women Adrift; and Averages of Other Expenses [except incidentals].

Occupation	Expense per Week (Median)			Expense per Week (Average)				Total
	Room	Board	Laundry	Dr.	Dentist	Oculist	Clothing	
Office	2.77	7.00	1.14	.65	.55	.38	6.96	$19.43
Mercantile	2.77	7.00	1.14	1.73	.55	.38	6.04	19.61
Telephone	2.77	7.00	1.14	1.02	.55	.38	5.22	18.08
Factory	2.77	7.00	1.14	.72	.55	.38	4.85	17.41
Laundry	2.77	7.00	*	1.33	.55	.38	4.86	16.88
Waitress	2.77	*	1.14	1.07	.55	.38	5.65	11.56
Maids, etc.	2.77	*	1.14	1.07	.55	.38	3.80	9.71

*The item so listed is furnished by the employer as part payment of the wage and there is, therefore, no expense for this item to the woman.

(Page 30.)

Pennsylvania.

U. S. Department of Labor. Bulletin of Woman in Industry Service No. 4. Wages of Candy Makers in Philadelphia in 1919.

Estimates of the Cost of Living.

In New York State the Consumers' League, after a careful examination of girls' budgets, stated that in the

early months of 1918, $14.80 was the minimum on which a girl could live. The Consumers' League of Eastern Pennsylvania named $14.66 as the minimum, explaining that it made no allowance for savings or health insurance, which the league considered essential in any budget. In the District of Columbia a conference composed of representatives of employers, workers, and the public and one representative of the minimum wage board, appointed under Act of Congress to recommend a minimum wage for the printing and publishing houses of the District, has just recommended to the minimum wage board a minimum of $15.50, [decreed minimum $15.50] declaring it to be "the minimum wage upon which a woman without dependents can maintain herself at a proper standard of living in the District of Columbia."

The difference between these recommendations for New York, Pennsylvania, and the District of Columbia is slight. In none of these reports is a wage of $14 or less considered adequate as a minimum.

How nearly does the girl working in the candy industry in Philadelphia earn this essential minimum? In a week of January, 1919, less than one-fourth, 22.6 per cent, of the women workers in the candy industry earned $14 and over, and one-half earned less than $10.30.

How does the girl who earns less than $14 make both ends meet? Her room probably costs $2.50 a week at the least and her board, covering only two meals on week days, and three meals on Sunday, will cost an additional $5. Then there are lunches, car fares, clothing, laundry, insurance, savings and recreation, all of which are required as an inevitable part of the cost of living. If a worker earns $10.30, which is the median wage in the candy industry, and pays $7.50 for room and board, she has left $2.80 for all other expenses. These necessities must be paid for in some such way as was illustrated among the candy makers who were interviewed in this inquiry. The first result of low earnings is that the girls must go without proper food, clothing, or medical care, so that the industry levies a toll upon their health. In

some instances charitable assistance was necessary. Coal and sometimes medical assistance were obtained from public or private charity. In families where there were two or three wage earners it was evident that either the entire family lived at a standard lower than the requirements for health and welfare or that those wage earners who were receiving somewhat more than the minimum were contributing to the support of those who were underpaid. If, as was the case frequently, the underpaid workers have had sufficient experience to be beyond the stage of apprenticeship and as adults are contributing their full time to an industry, it is evident that, from a social point of view, the failure of the industry to make the cost of living the basis for determining the minimum wage means that the industry is securing contributions from the wages paid in other industries or that it is levying a tax upon the amount which should be available for the requirements of a proper standard of living for the workers. (Pages 26-27.)

Washington.

Washington. Department of Labor and Industries. Evidence at public hearing for the telephone and telegraph occupations, or in any public occupation other than public housekeeping, laundry, dry cleaning and dye works, mercantile and manufacturing. October 6, 1921.

Statement of F. W. Harris, Statistician of the Department of Labor and Industries.

This budget, which I am about to read, is based on a very careful investigation of cost of living in the cities of Seattle and Tacoma and is brought right up to date. (Page 3.)

Clothing.

1 Suit	$25.00	$25.00	
1 Coat $35 (2 yrs.)	17.50	17.50	
1 Cotton skirt	5.00	5.00	
3 Waists	2.00	6.00	
2 Aprons	1.25	2.50	
1 pr. Dress Shoes	5.00	5.00	
1 pr. Work Shoes	5.00	5.00	
1 pr. Oxfords	5.00	5.00	
6 pr. Hose	.50	3.00	
2 Corsets	2.50	5.00	
2 Union Suits, heavy	1.75	3.50	
2 Union Suits, light	1.00	2.00	
2 Petticoats	2.00	4.00	
2 Nightgowns	1.50	3.00	
1 Straw Hat	5.00	5.00	
1 Winter Hat	5.00	5.00	
1 pr. Gloves	2.00	2.00	
1 pr. Gloves	1.00	1.00	
1 Umbrella	2.50	2.50	
12 Handkerchiefs	.08 1/3	1.00	
1 pr. Rubbers	.85	.85	
1 House Dress	2.00	2.00	
2 Corset Waists	1.00	2.00	
Shoes Repair	6.00	6.00	
4 Chemise	.75	3.00	
2 Bloomers	1.00	2.00	$123.85

Miscellaneous

Laundry, 75c per week	39.00	
Car Fare, 8 fares at 8 1/3c	34.67	
Stationery and Postage	3.00	
Toilet Supplies	10.00	
Association Dues, etc.	10.00	
Sundries	7.00	
Health Vacations	15.00	
Doctor and Dentist	10.00	128.67

Board and Room.

Board—Breakfast, 25c; Dinner, 45c.....	255.50	
Lunch—25c per day.....	91.25	
Room—$7.50 per month (2 girls).....	90.00	426.75
		$689.27
Average Cost per week.....		13.25

(Pages 3-4.)

Mr. E. L. Breen: Do I understand this is made up on the average basis of $13.20 that some things may be a little higher and others may be a little lower, say an umbrella need not cost $2.50, it may be purchased for $1.00, it is merely a general average, no individual item could be used except as an average?—*Commissioner Edward Clifford:* Yes. (Page 5.)

Wisconsin.

Wisconsin. Industrial Commission. Biennial Report. 1918-1920.

The living wage thus determined by the Industrial Commission was made uniform throughout the state. This action was taken because it was found that the cost of the necessities of life differed very little in the small towns from the large cities, although the expenditures for other items than those absolutely necessary were on the average considerably higher in the larger cities. The minimum wage, however, is intended to cover only a bare minimum of reasonable comfort, and is in no sense a desirable wage. (Page 60.)

3. The Evils of Inadequate Wages for Women.

(1) Social Effects.

(a) On the Health of the Workers.

Authorities agree that the adequacy or inadequacy of wages determines the standard of health of the workers, and hence the standard of public health. No one can maintain health whose earnings are too small to afford the necessities of existence, and to obtain these necessities adequate wages are indispensable.

The dangers to the health of women from low wages are twofold: lack of adequate nourishment and lack of medical care in sickness.

Investigation proves that with insufficient wages, food is necessarily cut down below the level of subsistence. In order to meet unavoidable expenses for lodging and clothing, working women often reduce their diet to the lowest possible point and health inevitably suffers. Moreover persons who are underfed suffer greater injury from insufficient clothing than those who are well nourished.

The vicious circle of "poor wages," "poor health," "poor wages," "poor health," says Dr. Armstrong turns out to be more frequently a descending spiral into the regions of destitution.

The Sanitarian's Definition of a Living Wage. DONALD B. ARMSTRONG, *M.D., Assistant Secretary, National Tuberculosis Association; Executive Officer, Framingham Community Health and Tuberculosis Demonstration, Framingham, Mass. Modern Medicine, Vol. 2, No. 2, February, 1920.*

On the constructive side, the family income must make possible an adequate amount of recreation, leisure, and education, if real healthful living is to be possible.

Probably the sanitarian more than anyone else is conscious of the fact that the great majority of families live in a vicious circle. The circle is made up of alternating segments which might be labelled "poor wages," "poor health," "poor wages," "poor health," and so on. The simile of the circle is somewhat misleading, for this turns out to be more frequently a descending spiral into the regions of destitution. The problem for the sanitarian is how to find a place to break into that circle, and to put these families on the ascending stair in which the steps are "good wages," and "good health."

It is of course impossible to put these living essentials, —the things that must be secured for the average family before it can be put on the road to economic freedom, health, and happiness,—into money terms. It is, however, extremely important to realize the range of these elements and to keep them in mind when working, legislating, and agitating for an adequate income.

It must be evident that a higher standard of living must be established. A higher conception of living standards would in itself presumably do much to accelerate wage increases and to retard wage reduction. If the worker himself knew the value of happiness, and the necessity for leisure, recreation, and education, as prerequisites to happiness, this in itself would be perhaps the greatest stimulus to a living wage. All of us, including the worker, must come to realize that the definition of a living wage depends wholly on the definition of living; that understood, the wage will tend to take care of itself. (Page 100.)

Framingham Monograph No. 3, Sanitary Series 1. Vital Statistics. Framingham Community Health and Tuberculosis Demonstration. National Tuberculosis Association. August, 1918.

Precinct Characteristics [condensed].

The precincts of Framingham and their corresponding enumeration districts, according to the 1915 census, are made up as follows:

Precinct I. . . . for the most part an above average district as regards economic and hygienic conditions. Rural conditions are usually satisfactory as regards sanitation.

Precinct II. . . . There is practically only one industry there, namely, a woolen mill. The population is predominantly American and Irish, and contains a fairly large number of Italians, Jews, and French Canadians. Hygienic conditions . . . are poor. The community has no sewers, wells and privies being fairly numerous. Housing is inferior.

Precinct III. (part of) . . . above average as to economic and sanitary conditions, and is made up largely of American, middle-class population, the males being engaged in commercial pursuits in the town. . . .

Precinct III. (part of) . . . surrounding the paper products factory, populated largely by Irish Americans, with no very heavy percentage of foreign born elements. Hygienic conditions are fair, about average for the town as a whole.

Precinct IV. . . . is constituted of a variety of nationalities, including most of the Framingham Jews and a few Italians. Irish stock predominates and economic and hygienic conditions are about the same as in Precinct III, about average for the community as a whole.

Precinct V. . . . contains most of the Italian population in Framingham. Hygienic conditions are poor, only part of the community is sewered, and housing is inferior. Congestion is great, lodgers are numerous, and the adults are employed under comparatively hazardous working conditions. (Page 40.)

Tuberculosis.

The precinct death rates from tuberculosis are shown in Table XV. Including transfers, it is evident that the rates per 100,000 are highest in Precincts V, IV, in the southern half of Precinct III, and in Precinct II, in the

order named. The northern half of Precinct III has the lowest rate, the latter being less than half that in Precinct V, while Precinct I also has an appreciably lower rate than half than the town in general. In other words, the more prosperous residential districts show the lower death rates. If the comparison is limited to the pulmonary form of the disease, much the same relationships are shown. (Page 16.)

Diarrhea and Enteritis under Two.

Calculated on the basis of total population, Precinct V has by far the highest death rate from diarrhea and enteritis, followed by Precinct IV, the southern half of Precinct III, Precinct I, the northern half of Precinct III, and Precinct II, in the order named. When the rates are calculated on the basis of population under five years of age, Precinct V is again found in the lead, followed by Precincts IV, I, the southern and northern halves of Precinct III, and Precinct II, in the order named. (Page 19.)

Infant Mortality.

On the basis of this one year's returns, however, it appears that the higher baby death rates prevailed in Precincts IV and V. Precinct II was in third place, followed by the southern half of Precinct III, Precinct I, and the northern half of Precinct III, in the order named. It is evident that the rate of mortality was higher in the less prosperous districts. Stillbirths were also relatively more frequent in these districts. (Page 21.)

Conclusions.

The mortality in the different precincts shows very strikingly that the less affluent precincts are at a distinct disadvantage. The general death rate of the precincts, when standardized for differences in age distribution, shows Precinct V to have the highest rate, followed in order by the southern half of Precinct III, Precincts IV, II, I, and the northern half of Precinct III. The standard-

ized rate in Precinct V, 16.51 per 1,000, is to be compared with that in the northern half of Precinct I, which is 10.71 per 1,000. In other words, eliminating differences due to age distribution, the people in Precinct V have suffered a rate of mortality 54.2 per cent greater than that experienced by the people in the northern half of Precinct III. Furthermore, these differences in the general death rates of the precincts are, for the most part, repeated in the cases of the chief preventable causes. With regard to infant mortality the precinct showings are very much the same as in the case of the general death rate. The northern half of Precinct III and Precinct I have the lowest rates. With regard to tuberculosis the same is true, as may also be said of the contagious diseases of children. Even the so-called degenerative diseases, such as heart disease and Bright's disease, when computed against their appropriate age groups, show the same general phenomena.

In other words, the less prosperous districts have markedly higher general death rates, and markedly higher rates from the chief causes of mortality, a fact which indicates the importance of the economic factor and the need for special effort in disease preventive work in poorer districts. (Page 23.)

Table XV.

Deaths from Tuberculosis Among Residents of Framingham (Residents and Transfers) 1907-1916, by Precincts; with Corresponding Death Rates.

Precinct	Deaths		Population Jan. 1, '12	Death rates per 100,000 Population		Population 20-64 yrs. Jan. 1, '12	Deaths per 100,000 20-64 yrs.
	Tb. of the Lungs	All forms of Tb.		Tb. of the Lungs	All forms of Tb.		Tb. of the Lungs
I	13	17	2027	64.1	83.9	1242	104.7
II	19	21	2084	91.2	100.8	1238	153.5
IIIa	13	14	2211	58.8	63.3	1429	91.0
IIIb	19	26	2457	77.3	105.8	1472	129.1
IV	19	26	2451	77.5	106.1	1444	131.6
V	27	35	2721	99.2	128.6	1605	168.2
Total ...	110	139	13951	78.8	99.6	8430	130.5

(Page 32.)

Table XVI.

Cases of Tuberculosis Reported to the Board of Health, by Year and Precinct, Framingham, 1907-1916.

Year	I	II	IIIa	IIIb	IV	V	Total	Non-Res.	Total
1907.....	No cases reported in this year.								
1908.....	2	0	1	1	1	0	5	1	6
1909.....	3	3	3	2	3	1	15	0	15
1910.....	2	0	3	4	3	3	15	2	17
1911.....	0	0	1	4	6	2	13	1	14
1912.....	2	0	1	9	2	6	20	3	23
1913.....	3	1	1	3	2	6	16	0	16
1914.....	4	2	1	2	2	4	15	0	15
1915.....	3	2	2	1	0	6	14	4	18
1916.....	1	3	1	1	5	9	20	1	21
Total...	20	11	14	27	24	37	133	12	145

Note: Duplicate reports of the same case have been eliminated in making up this table.

(Page 33.)

Illinois. Health Insurance Commission. Report. May 1, 1919.

There is a close relation between low family incomes and sickness and premature death. It has been said, "the fact is, poverty is the greatest problem in public health."[1] This poverty may be due to the disruption of families by the death or desertion of the chief breadwinner, to old age or incapacity, to large families, to unemployment, or to low wages—as it very frequently is. But whatever its cause, in the absence of property to fall back on, it means inadequate food, poor housing, insufficient clothing and poor medical care. It means continuing at work when rest and recuperation are needed. If due to lack of employment, this adds worry, nervous strain and perhaps irregular living.

Numerous investigations have been made of the amount of sickness in relation to family income or wages. All of these investigations have shown that low wages and inadequate incomes are accompanied by an excessive amount of sickness. Of course, the question may be

[1] Quoted from Warren and Sydenstricker, "The Relation of Wages to the Public Health," American Journal of Public Health, December, 1918, p. 883.

raised whether the low wages may not be caused in many cases by poor physical condition attended by frequent illness. The question raised must be answered in the affirmative. Yet, it is true that low wages and inadequate incomes undermine the health of both the worker and his dependents.

As already indicated, the investigations made for this Commission showed that there is an excessive amount of sickness among the families with the smallest incomes relative to the need of income to provide the necessaries of life. Among the wage-earning families best off in this respect disabling sickness occurred in 63.4 per 100; among those less well off, in 73.0 per 100; among those least well off, in 76.0 per 100. These results are confirmed by the findings of other investigators. "Sydenstricker, working in the Pellagra investigations of Goldberger in seven cotton mill villages in South Carolina, kept an accurate record of all of the cases of disabling sickness found among a population of 4,000 in May and June of 1916. A tabulation of these records according to family income showed that among persons of similar sexes, ages and occupations, the sickness rate per 1,000 varied from 18.5 in the highest class to 70.1 in the lowest income class."[1] An excessive number of cases of tuberculosis, anaemia, and poor nutrition were found among the most poorly paid workers in the garment industry of New York.[2] It is stated in the report on Vital Statistics made by the "Framingham Survey," that "the less prosperous districts (of the city) have markedly higher death rates from the chief causes of mortality, a fact which indicates the importance of the economic factor and the need for special effort in disease preventive work in poorer districts."[3]

The reports of the Health Department of the City of Chicago show the greatest prevalence of children's diseases and the highest death rates in the most congested parts of the city and where the number of families with

[1] Warren and Sydenstricker, cited above, p. 887.
[2] U. S. Public Health Service, Public Health Reports, May 26, 1916.
[3] Framingham Health Demonstration, Monograph No. 3, p. 23.

small incomes is relatively large. The most intensive investigation of children's diseases has, however, been made by the Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor. Several investigations have been made, and similar results have been arrived at. The infant mortality rates by fathers' earnings may be quoted from the Baltimore investigations, the largest of the several thus far made.

Inadequate incomes undermine health. Moreover, they may cause persons of immature years and mothers to enter employment. Employees of tender years increase the sickness hazard in industry.[1] (Pages 31-32.)

Special Report I. A Study of Wage-Earning Families in Chicago.

The number and proportion by economic status, of wage-earners sick to their total number is indicated as follows:

Normal economic status	Total number of wage earners	Number sick	Per cent. sick
Class A (the better off families)	2,770	746	26.9
Class B (families with meager incomes)	937	273	29.1
Class C (families with deficient incomes)	373	139	37.3
Class D (families with incomes not reported in full)	215	36	16.7
Class O (families "on own account")	160	27	16.9
Class R (families "retired")	19	1	5.3
Total	4,474	1,222	27.3

According to these figures, the proportion of wage-earners sick increased with descent in the scale of

[1] See Hayhurst Industrial Health Hazards and Occupational Diseases in Ohio p. 8, *et seq.*

economic condition. The proportion of wage-earners sick in Class C was over one-third larger than in Class A. (Page 204.) (See page 194.)

U. S. Public Health Service. Disabling Sickness Among the Population of Seven Cotton-Mill Villages of South Carolina in Relation to Family Income. EDGAR SYDENSTRICKER, *Public Health Statistician,* G. A. WHEELER, *Assistant Surgeon, and* JOSEPH GOLDBERGER, *Surgeon, United States Public Health Service. Reprint No. 492 from the Public Health Reports, November 22, 1918-1919.*

I. Introduction.

In connection with the study of the relation of dietary, economic, and other conditions to pellagra incidence in seven cotton-mill villages of South Carolina in 1916,* a census of disabling sickness among the population was made during May and June, 1916. Statements were also obtained by the enumerators as to the number of days lost from work by wage-earning persons on account of disability and from other causes during the period from January 1, 1916, to the date of inquiry.

These data have been correlated with certain facts concerning the economic status of mill workers' families as ascertained by the same study, and the results are presented in the following pages.

The study covered 747 households, which, at the date of the census, were composed of 4,161 individuals. Only households of white cotton-mill workers (operatives) were included. The villages are situated in the northwestern part of South Carolina. Each had a population of between 500 and 800 persons, and each constituted a separate and distinct industrial community in which practically the only opportunity for employment was in the cotton mill. The villages may be regarded as generally typical of cotton-mill communities in that section of South Carolina,

* Goldberger, J., Wheeler, G. A., and Sydenstricker, E.: A study of the Diet of Nonpellagrous and of Pellagrous Households in Textile Mill Communities in 1916. Journal American Medical Association, Sept. 21, 1918 (71:944-949).

from the standpoints both of community conditions affecting health and of the economic status of the population. While the morbidity experience afforded by this study is not extensive and caution should be exercised in drawing broad conclusions, the data are presented for the reason that the results seem definite enough to be suggestive of the value of considering differences in family income along with other conditions, in analyzing differences in disability incidence.

The bases and method of the census and of the classification of the population according to family income are first briefly explained. The tabulations then follow. (Page 3.)

II. Method of Census.

Experienced enumerators visited each mill worker's household in the seven mill villages on a date between May 1 and June 30, 1916, and secured, among other data, facts as to the sex, age, occupation, earnings, and regularity of employment of each individual member of the household and as to the income of the family as a whole. Such individuals as were found to be unable to work on account of sickness or accident at the time of the visit were noted and the length of such disability up to the date of inquiry was ascertained. (Page 4.)

III. Classification of the Population According to Income.

In classifying the population of the seven cotton-mill villages according to their economic status, family income was used as the basis. Practically all (89 per cent.) of the individuals composing the population were members of families who subsisted from family income. The small proportion not subsisting from family income were boarders in the families studied, and may be regarded as living under almost the same conditions as the members of the families with which they boarded. The total population considered thus has been classified according to the income of the families of which they were members or with which they boarded.

1. *Data.* . . . It was believed, however, after trial tabulations of the results, that family income during the half month preceding the week in which the enumerator's visit was made would be a fairly accurate and representative indication of family income during the general period under special consideration (the late spring of 1916). (Page 5.)

The basis for classifying families with respect to income, therefore, strictly was the total money income of each family during a 15-day period in May or June, 1916, thus affording a cross-section view of the economic status of the population. (Page 6.)

2. *Method.* . . . Since family income, for the purpose of this study, was used as an index of the economic status of the individuals who composed the family group, it was necessary to take into consideration the number of such individuals in comparing one family with another. A per capita statement of income, however, while more accurate than the statement of total income, was subject to the inaccuracy arising from differences in the age and sex of the members of the families to be compared. It appeared advisable, therefore, to employ a common denominator to which could be reduced the individuals of both sexes and of all ages in order to afford a more nearly representative method of expression of the relative size of the families to be compared. In the absence of a better common denominator for this purpose, the Atwater scale of basal food requirements was employed, and the size of each family was computed according to this scale and expressed in terms of "adult male units."* The assumption in the use of this scale was that the expenditures for individuals varied according to sex and age in the same proportion as their basal food requirements. (Pages 6-7.)

For preliminary purposes, therefore, the total income of each family, as defined above, has been divided by the number of "adult male units" subsisting on the family income, and the resulting figure has been termed the "family income per adult male unit." (Page 8.)

* Principles of Nutrition and Nutritive Value of Food, by W. O. Atwater: U. S. Department of Agriculture, Farmers' Bulletin No. 142 (1915 ed.), p. 33.

IV. Disability Incidence According to Income.

Upon the foregoing basis of income classification the sickness rate among persons who were members of households with low incomes was found to be markedly higher than among persons with a more favorable economic status. This condition was found to prevail not only among wage-earning persons, but also among non-wage-earning persons. The data are given in Table III and the rates are plotted in Figure I.

Table III.—Cases of Disabling Sickness and Rate per 1,000 Persons, as Ascertained by a Census of Seven Cotton-mill Villages of South Carolina during May and June, 1916, Classified According to Family Income.

All Persons.

Half-month family income per adult male unit*	Number of persons considered	Sick Persons** Number	Sick Persons** Per 1,000 persons considered
Less than $6	1,312	92	70.1
$6 to $7.99	1,038	50	48.2
$8 to $9.99	784	27	34.4
$10 and over	1,027	19	18.5
All incomes	4,161	188	45.2

Wage-Earning Persons.

Half-month family income per adult male unit	Number of persons considered	Sick Persons Number	Sick Persons Per 1,000 persons considered
Less than $6	450	36	80.0
$6 to $7.99	426	22	51.6
$8 to $9.99	426	8	18.8
$10 and over	538	8	14.9
All incomes	1,840	74	40.2

* According to the Atwater scale of basal food requirements.
** Exclusive of disability due to confinement.

Non-Wage-Earning Persons.

Half-month family income per adult male unit	Number of persons considered	Sick Persons	
		Number	Per 1,000 persons considered
Less than $6	862	56	65.0
$6 to $7.99	612	28	45.8
$8 to $9.99	358	19	53.1
$10 and over	489	11	22.5
All incomes	2,321	114	49.1

The results of the sickness census are corroborated, as far as wage-earning persons are concerned, by the records of working days lost on account of disability during the period January to May, 1916. These records are presented in brief form in Table IV.*

Table IV.—Number and Per Cent of Total Possible Working Days Lost from all Causes and from Disability by Wage-Earning Members of Families in Seven Cotton-mill Villages of South Carolina during January-May, 1916, the Wage Earners Being Classified According to Family Income.

Half month family income per adult male unit	Average number of wage-earning persons per month	Total number of possible working days	Days not at work From all causes: Number of days	From all causes: Per cent. of total possible working days	From disability: Number of days	From disability: Per cent. of total possible working days	Per cent. of total days not at work, lost on account of disability
Less than $6	395	49,753	7,786	15.5	2,938	5.9	38.0
$6 to $7.99	349	44,948	4,631	10.3	1,611	3.6	34.7
$8 to $9.99	306	39,191	3,114	7.9	1,005	2.6	32.3
$10 and over	491	50,026	5,326	10.6	1,153	2.3	21.6
All incomes	1,541	183,918	20,807	11.3	6,707	3.6	32.2

* It will be noted that the percentages of working days lost on account of disability during the five-months' period (Table IV) appear to be lower in most instances than the percentages of wage earners actually found to be incapacitated on the date of inquiry (Table III). When the percentages of working days lost on account of disability were compared for months, it was also seen that the rate of disability was somewhat higher in May than in preceding months. This higher rate, as shown by the census in May-June and by percentages of working days lost, was probably due in part to the fact that instances of short illnesses prior to the date of inquiry were not recalled by the informants. In view of the relatively high rate of pellagra prevalence in May and June, however, it appears proper to suggest that a higher rate of disability in May and June probably actually occurred, partly, at least, because of pellagra.

It is of interest to compare the sick rate per 1,000 persons of different family incomes in these cotton-mill villages with that found in other sickness censuses. The sick rate per 1,000 persons (only sickness involving inability to work being considered) as ascertained by a number of community-sickness surveys conducted in various localities in the United States by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. was found to be 18.8 for 579,197 persons of all ages.*

If this rate of 18.8 may be considered as a normal one, the suggestion is afforded that in these South Carolina mill villages the normal sick rate was approximated only among those persons who were members of families with half-month income per adult male unit of $10** and over, and that in families with incomes lower than this level the sickness rate was markedly higher. (Pages 9-11.)

In practically every age period for either sex the sick rate was distinctly greater in families of low incomes than in families with incomes above the average. (Pages 12-13.)

Conclusions.

While extreme caution should be exercised in drawing broad conclusions from so small an amount of data, the experience derived from the census of sickness and from the records of working days lost on account of sickness in the seven cotton-mill villages studied appears to suggest the following:

1. A higher sickness (involving inability to work) rate and a greater amount of working time lost on account of

* See Appendix B: Combined Sickness Experience of the Company's Surveys, 1915 to 1917, of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co.'s publication, "Sickness Survey of Principal Cities in Pennsylvania and West Virginia," by Lee K. Frankel, Ph.D., third vice-president, and Louis I. Dublin, Ph.D., statistician. The "combined sickness experience" referred to included the results of sickness surveys made in localities in Pennsylvania, West Virginia and North Carolina, Kansas City (Mo.), Boston, Rochester, Trenton and Chelsea (New York City).

** Expressed in terms of gross annual family income this would be approximately $800 for a "normal" family of 3.3 adult male units (man, wife, and 3 children under 14 years of age). To render this figure comparable to family income statistics for typical communities elsewhere in the United States, an addition should be made for higher rent expenditures since the rent cost for cotton mill families in the villages studied was relatively very low. Allowing for an expenditure for rent similar to that for families of this income in other localties, as shown by various studies of workingmen's family budgets, the equivalent annual income would be approximately $900 or over.

such sickness were found among members of families whose incomes were low than among members of families with a more favorable economic status. This condition appeared for persons of either sex and of similar ages. Only when a family income approximated $10 per half month per adult male unit (or about $900 a year for a family of "normal" size in 1916) did the sickness rate appear to be as low as that suggested by similar censuses in a number of localities in the United States as the normal rate.

2. Low economic status appeared to be a more striking concomitant of high sickness rate among females than employment in millwork.

3. A greater proportion of disabling illness, of relatively long duration, appeared among persons whose family income was below the average than among persons with a more favorable economic status.

To what extent low family income was a cause of higher sickness rate and to what extent it was an effect of disability (and thus of inability to increase income) can not, of course, be determined from these data. The condition, however, is manifest that a greater amount of disabling sickness existed among persons who were living among less favorable economic conditions than among persons whose economic status was more favorable—a condition which has been pointed out by previous observations in the literature on the social aspects of ill health and indicated by several recent studies.* The data here presented afford additional ground for the suggestion that in the analysis of morbidity facts the factor of economic status should be given proper emphasis. (Page 16.)

* Footnote omitted here.

U. S. Public Health Service. Health of Garment Workers. The Relation of Economic Status to Health. B. S. WARREN, *Surgeon, and* EDGAR SYDENSTRICKER, *Public Health Statistician, United States Public Health Service. With Introduction by* J. W. SCHEREschewsky, *Surgeon, United States Public Health Service. Reprint No. 341, Public Health Reports. May 26, 1916.*

Introduction.

During the summer of 1914 the condition of the health of garment workers in the women's garment trades in New York City was investigated by the Public Health Service at the solicitation of the joint board of sanitary control of these trades. Part of the investigation consisted of careful physical examination of some 3,000 garment workers—2,000 males and 1,000 females. This examination involved the collection of a large mass of data consisting not only of bodily measurements and facts as to the physical status, but also of other data of a social or economic character. In the report of this investigation, published as Public Health Bulletin No. 71, the data collected were tabulated with a view to bringing out the chief points of interest relative to the state of health of such workers. Because, however, of the self-evident relation between the economic status of the worker and his condition of health, these data might furnish interesting facts if tabulated from this standpoint.

In the following paper by Surg. B. S. Warren and Public Health Statistician Edgar Sydenstricker, the data collected in this investigation have been submitted to such an analysis, with convincing results. As remarked by these writers, while it is well understood that poverty and ill health go hand in hand, data showing this objectively are rare in the literature. The publication of additional data of this character must, therefore, always be regarded as a distinct contribution to the foundations for improving the physical welfare of man. (Page 3.)

Health of Garment Workers in Relation to Their Economic Status.

. . . In the following pages are briefly presented (1) A classification of male married garment workers according to annual earnings on the basis of the adequacy of annual earnings to afford incomes sufficient for the maintenance of families under healthful living conditions; (2) Certain data on the child mortality in the families of these workers and on the physical status of the workers themselves according to income groups; and (3) Data indicating the degree of the regularity of their employment according to income groups. (Page 4.)

Health of Garment Workers According to Income.

Using the foregoing classification according to income —the highest income group including those with what might be considered an adequate family income and the lowest groups including those with income plainly inadequate for maintaining healthful conditions of living—the data relative to child mortality and physical status of the heads of the families are briefly summarized in the following paragraphs:

Child Mortality.—The mortality rate of children in the lowest and highest income groups showed the following variations:

Annual earnings of heads of families	Total number of children	Average number children born per family	Average number children living per family	Average number children dead per family	Per cent. of mortality among children
Under $500	1,434	3.78	2.99	0.78	20.69
$500-$699	1,961	3.34	2.78	.56	16.72
$700 and over	1,270	2.75	2.43	.32	11.65

As these statistics show, the per cent. of mortality of children in the group where heads of families earned less than $500 a year was 82 per cent. greater than, or nearly twice as high as, the percent of mortality of children in the group where the family heads earned $700 or more a year.

These data indicate the same general variations in child mortality among families of different incomes as those shown by some other recent investigations.*

Nutrition of Garment Workers.—The percentage of male married garment workers in a state of poor nutrition showed wide variations in the three income groups. Approximately twice as great a proportion were poorly nourished in the group earning less than $500 a year as in the group earning $700 or more a year, as shown in the following tabulation:

Annual earnings of family heads	Total Number	Per cent. classed as "poor" in nutrition†
Under $500	372	25.00
$500-$699	566	15.02
$700 and over	456	12.72

Anemia.—Determinations of the percentage of hemoglobin of each garment worker showed marked differences among the individuals in the three income groups. Those showing hemoglobin percentages below 80 were classed as anemic, the Talquist scale being used in making the determinations. The proportion of individuals having hemoglobin percentages under 80 was over twice as high

*An investigation of infant mortality by the Federal Children's Bureau in Johnstown, Pa., showed that in families where the father earned less than $521 a year, or less than $10 a week, the infant mortality rate was 255.7 as contrasted with 134.7 for the community as a whole, and 101.4 in families where the father earned $900 or more a year. (Infant Mortality—Results of a Field Study in Johnstown, Pa., p. 45.) In a similar investigation in Montclair, N. J., the children's bureau found that the infant mortality rate in families where the income was less than $12 a week was more than twice as high as in families where the income was $23 or more a week. Both of these investigations were of births (excluding stillborn) among families of all incomes in the localities during a year. A study of infant mortality in Fall River, Mass., in 1913, showed that a much higher rate was prevalent among families of low-paid textile workers than in other families (L. I. Dublin: Infant Mortality in Fall River, Mass. American Statistical Association Publications, XIV: 505-520). A study of mortality in Birmingham, England, by Robertson, showed that in families where the father earned less than a pound a week the infant mortality was 196 in 1910 and 211 in 1909 as contrasted with 127 in 1910 and 146 in 1909 in families where the father earned a pound or more a week. (John Robertson, M.D., B.Sc.: Infant Mortality in Relation to Factory Labor, Transactions of the Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography, Washington, 1912, Vol. III, Part II, p. 950.)

†While the personal equation of the examiner is undoubtedly a factor in the classification of an individual as to his state of development and nutrition, nevertheless such observations are of value. (Schereschewsky: sup. cit. p. 37.)

in the group earning less than $500 a year as in the group earning $700 or more a year. It is interesting to note that not only was the proportion of anemic individuals greatest in the lowest income group, but the average hemoglobin percentage was lowest in that group. The results of the tabulations on the basis of income are presented below:

Annual earnings of family heads	Total number	Average hemoglobin index—Talquist	Per cent. with hemoglobin index under 80
Under $500	372	85.94	9.94
$500-$699	566	86.99	5.65
$700 and over	456	87.35	4.42

Prevalence of Tuberculosis.—The proportion of tuberculous individuals among the garment workers who were heads of families showed extremely wide variations when the highest and lowest income groups were compared. The following tabulation exhibits this comparison:

Annual earnings of family heads	Total number	Per cent. of family heads tuberculous
Under $500	372	5.64
$500-$699	566	5.30
$700 and over	456	.44

The significance of this wide difference is further seen when the tuberculosis rate in the lowest income group is compared with the average rate found among large numbers of wage earners, without regard to income. The rate for all male garment workers, including the single as well as the married, who were examined, was 3.11.[1] The examination of about 20,000 workers in varied industries in Cincinnati by Robinson showed a tuberculosis rate of 1.1 per cent.[2] The rate of 5.64 per cent. in the lowest income group is much higher than the rate found in

[1] Schereschewsky: sup. cit. p. 94.
[2] U. S. Public Health Service Bulletin, No. 73, p. 58.

several other physical examinations of large numbers of wage earners.[1]

Irregularity of Employment.

No discussion of the relation of economic conditions to the wage-worker's health in the garment industry should leave out of consideration the great irregularity of employment.

As a recent investigation of the regularity of employment in this industry has shown,[2] the year is made up of two busy seasons and two dull seasons, each lasting from 12 to 14 weeks. Thus for about one-half of the year there is a serious lack of employment for the workers in the industry. The economic significance to the worker of this seasonal irregularity is seen in the facts that nearly one-half of the workers are without opportunity for employment in the industry in the dullest seasons, and that less than 18 per cent. of them are regularly employed throughout the year. It is evident, therefore, that the competition among workers in this industry is great and that a process of selection of those who work more regularly than others is continually in progress. How far efficiency, as measured by physical condition of the worker, plays a part can not, of course, be definitely stated. Nor can it be determined with any degree of exactness whether inefficiency is more of a cause than an effect of the unemployment of any individual worker. The fact, however, is not without significance that the workers in the lowest income group were at the same time in poorer physical condition and were less regularly employed than the workers in the higher income groups.

[1] Examinations by Dr. George M. Price, director of the New York State Factory Investigating Commission, showed the following tuberculosis rates: 800 bakers, 2.4 per cent.; 800 tailors, 1.6 per cent.; 600 tobacco workers, 1.6 per cent. (George M. Price, M.D.: Occupational Diseases and the Physical Examination of Workers, Transactions of the Fifteenth International Congress on Hygiene and Demography, Washington, 1912, Vol. III, Pt. II, p. 847.) Examinations of over 7,000 employees of the Sears, Roebuck Co., in Chicago, by Dr. H. E. Mock, during a period of five years, showed a tuberculosis rate of 4 per cent. (H. E. Mock, M.D.: An Efficient System of Medical Examination of Employees, Transactions of the Tenth Annual Meeting of the National Association for the Study and Prevention of Tuberculosis, Washington, D. C., 1914, p. 44.) All of the rates quoted above are without regard to income of the workers.

[2] U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics: Bulletin 147, Wages and Regularity of Employment in the Cloak, Suit and Skirt Industry. See pages 7-48 for data relating to the industry in New York City.

The regularity of employment of the workers in each of the three income groups is suggested by comparing their full-time weekly earnings when at work with their actual annual earnings.*

This comparison is shown in the following table:

Annual earnings of family heads	Average rate of weekly earnings	Average actual annual earnings	Per cent. of maximum possible annual earnings actually received
Under $500	$19	$381	38
$500 to $699	23	577	48
$700 and over	27	866	61

It is thus seen that the average worker in the lowest income group received only 38 per cent. of what he could have earned had he been able to secure employment for every week in the year at his usual full-time weekly wage. This is in sharp contrast to the 61 per cent. received by the average worker in the highest income group.

The situation is clearly suggested, therefore, that the greatest number of poorly nourished, anemic, tuberculous workers in an extremely seasonal industry were in that group composed of the lowest paid and the least regularly employed. (Pages 7-10.)

Principles of Economics. EDWIN R. A. SELIGMAN, *LL.D., Professor of Political Economy, Columbia University. Ninth Edition, Revised. New York and London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1921.*

The unfortunate individuals within the poverty line are wretchedly housed, inadequately clothed and underfed. The results show themselves directly in the far higher average death rate, the greatly increased infant mortality, and the marked inferiority in height, weight and general

* If the rate of weekly earnings is multiplied by 52, the maximum possible annual earnings is obtained for comparison. Thus in the group of those actually earning less than $500, the average weekly income multiplied by 52 would make $988; in the group of those actually earning between $500 and $699 it would make $1,196, and in the group actually earning 700 or more, it would make $1,404.

physical condition. Of the indirect influences on industrial efficiency, on national character and on moral development it is not necessary to speak. (Page 677.)

While detailed figures are still lacking, no one who is conversant with social conditions in large American cities can doubt that if in prosperous England over a quarter of the urban population is below the poverty line, and another large part scarcely above it, the situation is not fundamentally different in the industrial portions of America. It is true that only one-third of the population live in cities as against two-thirds in England, and it is indisputable that the American standard of life is higher. But whether it is thirty per cent. or only fifteen per cent. of the American urban population that is submerged below the poverty line, the fact that in our much vaunted modern civilization there should be millions of human beings who do not possess an income adequate for bare physical efficiency is sufficiently appalling. (Page 678.)

The Causes of Poverty.

In Rowntree's careful investigation it was found that where the family earnings (all of them expended on the bare necessaries of life, and not including other useful or wasteful expense) were insufficient for mere physical efficiency, the immediate causes were as follows: death of chief wage-earner, 15.63 per cent; illness or old age of chief wage-earner, 5.11 per cent.; irregularity of work, 5.14 per cent.; size of family, 22.15 per cent.; regular but insufficient wages, 51.96 per cent.

The startling fact, however, is that, even with an average family and regular work, over one-half of those living in poverty at any moment are reduced to that state simply because, notwithstanding the exercise of thrift, sobriety and care, the income is inadequate for support. (Pages 679, 680, 681.)

An Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems. GORDON S. WATKINS, *Associate Professor of Economics, University of Illinois. New York, Crowell, 1922.*

Inadequate incomes make it impossible for the working classes to enjoy desirable conditions of housing, proper and sufficient food and clothing, efficient medical and dental care, and necessary periods of rest and recreation. This necessitous condition, together with the industrial employment of mothers, accidents, diseases, and fatigue resulting from employment, accounts for the excessive rates of morbidity and mortality among low-income groups. It has been said that as we ascend the social scale the span of life lengthens and the death rate diminishes gradually, the death rate of the poorest class of workers being three and one-half times that of the well-to-do. A French economist makes practically the same observation when he states that the average life is three times as long in the rich classes as in the poor; so that, by a cruel irony of fate, the smaller the share of wealth which falls to a man, the greater tribute he pays to illness, death, and crime.* In Glasgow, Scotland, the death rate of occupants of one and two room cottages was 25.7 per thousand, and among those occupying houses of five or more rooms the death rate was only 11.2 per thousand.

One-third of all American school children of pre-school and school age are said to be malnourished, and from 20 to 40 per cent. of those graduating from elementary schools are physically unfit; three-fourths of the 22,000,000 school children in this country have health defects that injure them as prospective citizens, and at least 4,500,000 are suffering from malnutrition. It is estimated that among children with health defects there are 5,000,000 with defective eyes and from 11,000,000 to 16,000,000 with defective teeth. It has been found that while the food required by a child in a Philadelphia working-class family during the first sixteen years of life would cost $1,750, the family was actually able to expend only $718, or approximately 41 per cent. of what should have been spent

* Charles Gide, Political Economy, pp. 452, 453.

to guarantee the minimum requirements of health and decency.* Ignorance as well as poverty accounts for a good deal of unhygienic living, but there is an irreducible minimum of income below which it is impossible to provide adequate and proper diet. Moreover, it should be remembered that ignorance itself is often a product of poverty. (Pages 63-65.)

Social well-being is inextricably related to income, and those whose incomes are lowest must pay severe penalties in malnutrition, disease and death. Except in the case of the highly skilled and well-organized wage-earning groups the income of industrial workers is not adequate to guarantee the necessary protection of minimum standards of health, comfort, and decency. This will be found especially true in the case of wage-earning women and children, whose earnings are discussed in later chapters. (Page 67.)

Public Health and Insurance. Sir Arthur Newsholme, *K. C. B., M. D., F. R. C. P., Lecturer on Public Health Administration at the School of Hygiene and Public Health, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland; Late Principal Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, England. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1920.*

The problems of industrialism in relation to health cannot be adequately discussed apart from a consideration of the remuneration for work, which necessarily depends on the power of the worker to strike a satisfactory bargain with his employer, and the extent to which he can ensure regular employment. If these conditions cannot be fulfilled, or if the breadwinner is dead or disabled, poverty results, using this word here in the sense of inability to provide for the personal and family essentials of health. (Page 162.)

* Standards of Child Welfare, U. S. Children's Bureau, Publication No. 60, pp. 238, 248, 250. See also pp. 26-30.

Poverty and Social Progress. MAURICE PARMELEE, *Ph. D., New York, Macmillan, 1916.*

The significance of low wage and income rates for a large part of the population, as giving rise to poverty and its attendant evils, will become more apparent in the next two chapters as we discuss the standard of living in its relation to the extent of poverty. (Page 83.)

. . . We have seen that the number of paupers may include as much as one per cent., but that the number of those receiving charitable aid probably includes from five to ten per cent. of the total population. The number of the poor, namely, those who are in more or less imminent danger of becoming pauperized and whose incomes are not sufficiently large to maintain the standard of living we have discussed, doubtless is much greater. Our wage statistics have shown that a large part of the wage-earning families must be in poverty and in some cases in pauperism, except when the earnings of the head of the family are supplemented by the earnings of other members of the family. We have seen that in all probability many of the working-class are in a state of poverty during certain periods of their lives. We know that at a time of industrial depression the number of the poor and of the paupers increases greatly, owing to the increase in unemployment, under-employment, and under-payment. (Pages 104-105.)

So that while we may not arrive at any definite estimate of the extent of poverty in this country, we have plenty of evidence that the number of those who do not even reach the lower minimum standard of living is very great, probably exceeding ten per cent. of the total population. It goes without saying that those who fail to reach the higher standard of living which we have discussed, which furnishes the material basis for some mental and cultural development, form a very much greater proportion of the population, but it is still more difficult to estimate the exact number. (Pages 105-106.)

However, it must be remembered that there is danger in exaggerating the extent to which poverty and pauper-

ism are due to disease. We have already cited in an earlier chapter an opinion from a writer on this subject in which there may have been such exaggeration, and the same may be true of the following passage: "We are apt to forget that, in all countries, at all ages, it is sickness to which the greatest bulk of destitution is immediately due."* The word "immediately" may save this statement from error, for without this word it would certainly be wrong. This is evident when we consider the extent to which poverty and dependency are caused by low wages and unemployment. As a matter of fact, defectiveness and disease are to a large extent due to a pre-existing state of poverty, but then react upon that poverty so as to stimulate its increase to a considerable degree. (Page 300.)

Great Britain. Ministry of Munitions. Health of Munition Workers Committee. Interim Report. Industrial Efficiency and Fatigue. Part II. Medical Studies. London, 1917.

Medical Studies.

1. Report on the Health and Physical Condition of Male Munition Workers.

15. *Wages.*—For the most part I found that wages were adequate to provide good food for the workers, and in this direction the general rise in wages has been beneficial. Many of the small boys dwelt on this subject at great length, informing me that since they have gone into the munition factories and taken home good wages they had been much better fed. In some cases, however, the wages earned were certainly not sufficient to furnish satisfactory home conditions for the workers and their families, and in others, though high wages were earned, often by several members of the family, the overcrowding at home was considerable. It is hardly my province to discuss further this most controversial and complex subject of wages, though in all its ramifications it has

* S. and B. Webb, *The Prevention of Destitution*, London, 1911, p. 15.

clear bearings of an indirect kind on the health of workers. (Page 104.)

Great Britain. Ministry of Munitions. Health of Munition Workers Committee. Final Report. Industrial Health and Efficiency. London, 1918. Appendix B (II). General Findings of Inquiries into the Health of Women Munition Workers. Janet M. Campbell, *M.D., M. S.*

Nutrition.

Women are now beginning to realise that a heavy day's work in a factory under discipline and in touch with the rhythm of machinery requires a better and more substantial dietary than miscellaneous work at home. Most working women have never acquired the habit of taking solid and regular meals, partly because when food is not abundant the woman goes short rather than the man, partly because women as a whole have never commanded sufficiently good wages to enable them to purchase adequate food as well as the various other articles, necessities or luxuries, which they also desire. The bread and butter and tea dietary is practically a thing of the past as far as munition workers are concerned, though the evidence from one factory visited indicates clearly the disadvantages to health of unsuitable food. This is due to the higher wages which allow better food to be bought, to the increased appetite and desire for solid food following upon regular work under fairly good conditions of hygiene, and to the growing taste for the substantial middle-day meal in place of sandwiches brought from home and supplemented by sweets, pastry, tinned pine-apple, etc., from the canteen. The increase in the number of well-equipped and managed canteens, and the daily object lesson of cheap, appetising meals, nicely served, are gradually promoting a habit of eating well which has undoubtedly saved many women from unnecessary fatigue and physical disability or breakdown. (Page 146.)

The Importance of Welfare Work.

. . . Women have become so accustomed to work for low wages and under bad conditions that they are only beginning to learn what is needful for their physical and mental health. (Page 147.)

Fatigue.

. . . Thus it is clear that the amount of fatigue revealed by the Inquiry is less, and possibly much less, in amount and degree than the actual fatigue experienced by the workers as a whole. On the other hand, there are various reasons why the fatigue should not be so great as might be anticipated from a mere recital of hours and processes. For example:

(c) The higher wages obtained are in themselves an incentive to good and regular work, but they have important secondary results in that they lead to a higher standard of living, better food and clothing, and so to improved nutrition and a greater power of resistance to fatigue and disease. (Page 148.)

Factories No. 7 and 8 (near London) fall into another category. . . . The workers, on the other hand, were markedly ill-nourished and of poor physique. In both these cases the workers are drawn from a small town and rural district where low wages have always been the rule, and the people are habituated to an inadequate dietary. (Page 149.)

National Health Insurance. Medical Research Committee. Special Report Series, No. 22. An Inquiry into the Prevalence and Aetiology of Tuberculosis Among Industrial Workers, with Special Reference to Female Munition Workers. London, 1919.

Part I. Occupational Mortality Among Males.

Industrial Status. Under this heading we have to record the fact that occupations making equal demands

upon the physique (and, perhaps, mental powers) are not equally well remunerated. . . . Since the higher the remuneration of the employed person the greater his opportunities of securing an hygienic home environment, it follows that status must powerfully bias the mortality or morbidity rate of any occupation. (Page 6.)

Great Britain. Ministry of Health. On the State of the Public Health. Report of the Chief Medical Officer for the Year 1920. London, 1921.

144. These returns since 1847 are, however, full of encouragement. They witness to the gradual conquest of a disease [tuberculosis]. With the exception of the war period there has been no going back. Making all reasonable allowances for changes in death certification, there has been on the whole a steady and substantial decline from 1850 to the present year, in spite of progressive urbanisation. . . . Higher wages and cheap bread, better homes and a more sanitary environment, reform in the factory system and shorter hours of work, these things associated with education and wider knowledge can have but one result in the long run. (Page 81.)

Great Britain. Ministry of Health. On the State of the Public Health. Report of the Chief Medical Officer for the Year 1921. London, 1922.

It is difficult to say whether or not this check in the decline in the mortality from pulmonary tuberculosis was due to a large extent to unemployment during 1920. The close association of poverty or lack of adequate nutrition with a tendency to higher tuberculosis death rates is increasingly evident.

125. Further statistics illustrating this association have recently become available. In Germany the tuberculosis death rate increased from 1914 onwards until in 1916 it was double the pre-war rate and still higher in 1917. In 1918 there were 40,000 more deaths in Germany from tuberculosis than in 1913. A decline began in the

latter part of 1918 and continued in 1919, the fall being attributed to improvement in the food supply. In Poland tuberculosis was declining up to 1914. After the outbreak of war it rapidly increased. In 1916 the death roll from this cause was stated to be "staggering." In 1917 in Warsaw four out of every 100 were said to have died from this cause, which accounted for a quarter of the certified deaths. The number of tuberculous children increased in even larger proportion than adults, until in 1917, 60 per cent. of the child mortality was ascribed to tuberculosis. . . . At the end of the war the mortality curve took an abrupt turn downwards. The mortality decreased from the day of the departure of the German army and the cancelling of the rigorous food requisition which had been in force during the German occupation. The decrease continued in 1919, and in 1920 the death rate reached approximately the same level as in 1914. (Pages 62-63.)

Canada. Labour Gazette. December, 1921.

The Board of Health of Hamilton, Ontario, has gone on record as favoring the minimum wage for the various trades, the Medical Officer of Health having presented a report in which he traced the considerable amount of sickness and disease prevailing in the city to the inability of the poorer families to buy the necessaries of life. (Page 442.)

(b) On the Next Generation.

THE EFFECT OF POVERTY ON INFANTS

Health is the foundation of the state. It is a matter of common knowledge, universally accepted, that when the health of women has been injured in industrial work, not only is the working efficiency of the community impaired, but the deterioration is handed down to succeeding generations. The health of the race is conditioned upon preserving the health of women, the future mothers of the Republic.

No better gauge of the effects of inadequate wages upon the health of the next generation exists than the rate of infant mortality in different communities. The investigations of the Federal Children's Bureau show that the infant mortality rate rises or falls almost pari passu with an increase or decrease in the family income.

U. S. Department of Labor. Children's Bureau. Annual Report of the Chief. 1917.

Infant Mortality Inquiry.

The infant mortality inquiry was the first field investigation of infant welfare undertaken by the bureau. It was begun in 1913 during the first year of the bureau's existence, and was designed to continue over a considerable number of years. The approach and method were in large measure new. It did not attempt a medical discussion of causes of death; it was planned rather to show the economic, civic, and family conditions surrounding infants in a series of typical communities. Most of the localities chosen for study have been industrial cities with a high infant mortality rate.

Cities are selected in which births are registered, and the babies born in the given year are studied so as to learn the circumstances under which each child has lived or died during the 12 months following his birth. (Page 12.)

Field studies have been completed in eight cities ranging in population from 21,550 to 96,652, according to the census of 1910 and differing widely in characteristics. The cities embrace a choice residential suburb and towns in which the chief industries are steel, textiles, shoes, metals, and rubber: Johnstown, Pa., Montclair, N. J., Manchester, N. H., Brockton, Mass., Saginaw, Mich., New Bedford, Mass., Waterbury, Conn., and Akron, Ohio. (Page 13.)

Infant Mortality and Father's Earnings.

Because of the advance in living cost at the present time the relation of income to infant mortality is of particular importance. In these studies the earnings of the father have been taken as the income basis and the infant mortality calculated for successive income groups based on father's earnings. Each report shows approximately the amounts contributed by the mothers to the family income. The rise of the infant death rate when the mothers of young babies leave home to work is shown also, and this fact gives an added justification for considering the father's earnings the index of the family well being.

Certain combined results for the eight cities are given herewith for the first time. It must be borne in mind that the rates given in the Children's Bureau infant mortality reports are more conservative than those of the census reports, because of certain exclusions made for increased precision in case study. These figures are averages inevitably concealing far greater variations of death and survival than they show.

The distribution of births and deaths in income groups shows that more than one-fourth, or 25.8 per cent., of all the fathers earned less than $550 a year; and the death rate for their babies was 162.5, or 1 in every 6. Only about one-eighth, or 13.1 per cent. of all the fathers earned $1,250 or more, and the death rate for their babies was 62.5, or 1 in 16.

The following table represents the infant mortality rates as related to father's earnings. The combined figures for the eight cities show that the mortality under 1 year of age among children born into families with incomes of $1,250 or over is less than two-fifths that of children whose fathers earn less than $550 a year.

Infant Mortality Rates By Father's Earnings.

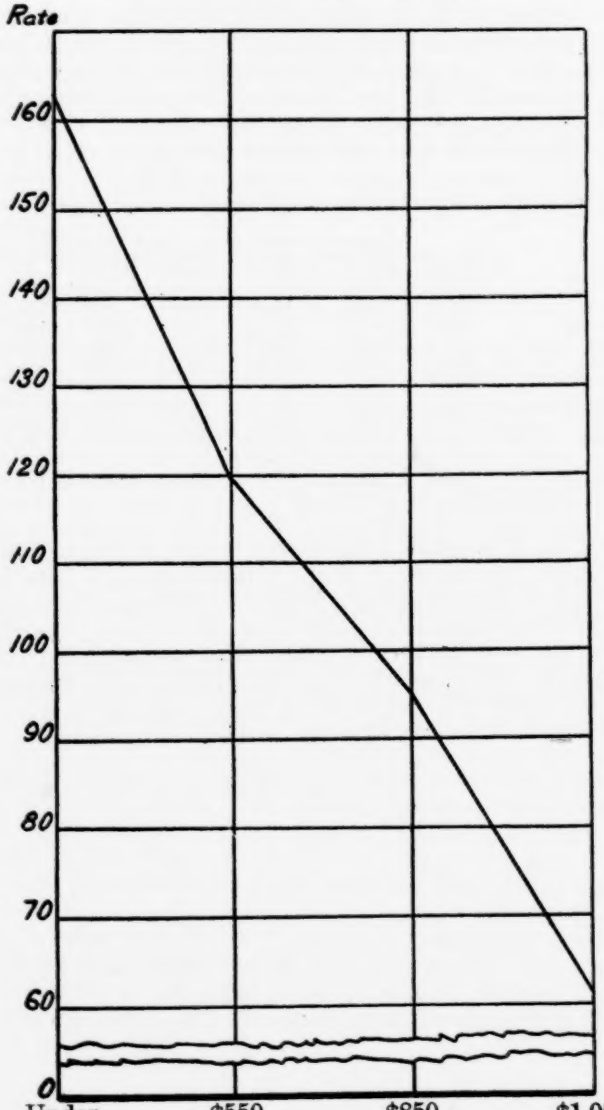
City	Deaths of infants under 1 year of age per 1,000 births, by specified annual earnings of father					
	Under $550	$550 to $849	$850 to $1,049	$1,050 and over	$1,250 and over	All earnings
Johnston	260.9	127.2	114.3	83.0	87.6	130.7
Manchester	204.2	167.4	125.0	63.2	58.3	165.0
Brockton	67.1	121.9	83.1	65.5	73.5	96.7
Saginaw	114.9	98.3	50.0	24.5	16.3	76.2
New Bedford	168.7	105.1	134.7	59.8	59.9	130.3
Waterbury	151.1	128.1	85.8	77.2	68.4	122.7
Akron	117.5	99.2	82.0	48.5	40.0	85.7
Montclair	*	70.0	*	42.4	44.6	75.9
All cities	162.5	119.8	95.6	61.7	62.5	116.5

* Not shown where base is less than 100.

The line of Diagram I illustrates for the average of the eight cities the tendency of the infant mortality rate to lessen as the income grows larger. Unfortunately the figures for the higher income groups are not large enough and are not sufficiently analyzed to indicate what may be the further lowering of infant mortality with greater incomes. Only 13.1 per cent, or about one-eighth, of all the fathers in the eight cities earned $1,250 or more.

Diagram I.

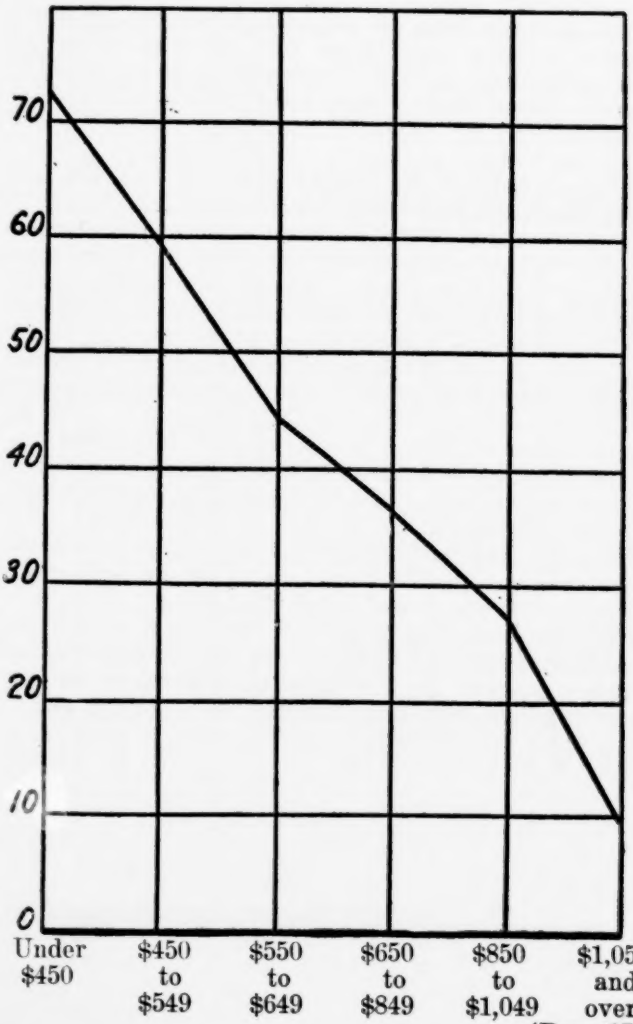
Combined Infant Mortality Rates for 8 Cities, According to Fathers' Earnings.



(Page 15.)

Diagram II.

Per Cent of Mothers Gainfully Employed in Manchester, N. H., During Year Following Baby's Birth When Fathers Earned Specified Amounts.



(Page 17.)

Diagram II, which is based on data for Manchester, N. H., relates the percentage of mothers gainfully employed in the year following the baby's birth, with the amounts earned by the fathers. It indicates clearly that women do not go out to work—leaving babies at home to die at more than twice the rate of more fortunate children—from sheer wayward preference for industrial life but for economic reasons, since the proportion of women gainfully employed reduces itself from 73.3 per cent. when the father earns under $450 to 9.6 per cent. if he earns $1,050 or more. These figures have been published only for Manchester, N. H., where a very large proportion of married women are employed.

It is believed that the father's earnings offer the fairest single gauge of the family well-being, but it must be borne in mind that there are many circumstances which affect the welfare of the family and which make the same amount of money go farther toward securing favorable conditions of infant life in one community than in another.

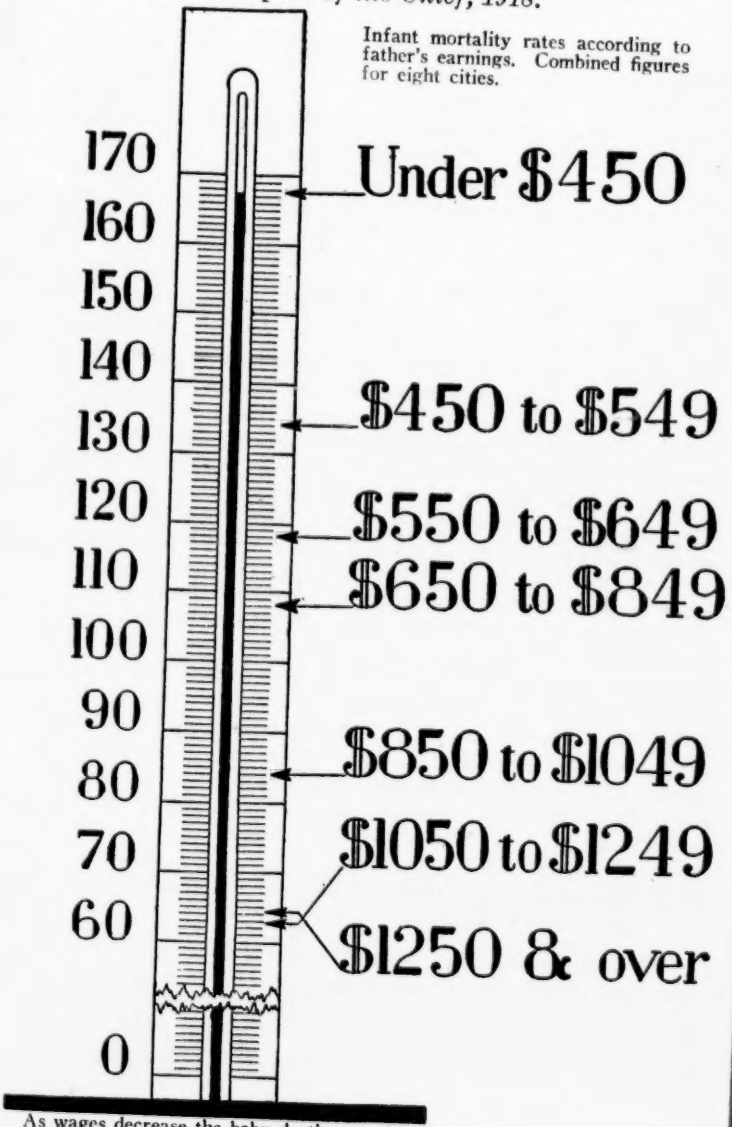
It is safe to say that no city or State recorded by the census in the mortality tables published during the present year shows a record which is not susceptible of greater reduction by civic effort easily within command. How far adequate income taken in connection with intelligent parenthood, together with good civic conditions, may reduce infant mortality rates is still a matter for future demonstration. (Pages 13-16.)

The infant mortality studies of the Children's Bureau show that an adequate income earned by the father of a family is a sine qua non of safety for babies. . . .

With the economic aspects of this great matter the bureau is empowered to do no more than to point out, as its studies proceed, the persistent coincidence of fathers' low earnings and high infant death rates. (Page 44.)

United States Department of Labor. Children's Bureau. Annual Report of the Chief, 1918.

Infant mortality rates according to father's earnings. Combined figures for eight cities.



As wages decrease the baby death rate rises.

(Page 11.)

This print is a reduction of an exhibit chart drawn in the form of a thermometer to illustrate the general relation between infant mortality and fathers' earnings as shown by eight combined studies of infant mortality made in the following cities: Johnstown, Pa.; Manchester, N. H.; New Bedford and Brockton, Mass.; Saginaw, Mich.; Akron, Ohio; Waterbury, Conn.; Baltimore, Md. The chart sums up the result of six years' study in so far as infant welfare and income are jointly involved. It represents intensive field investigation based upon interviews with mothers of nearly 23,000 live-born babies. (The similar diagram shown in the fifth annual report included Montclair, but did not include Baltimore.) The death rate for the babies whose fathers earned less than $450 was 167.8 per 1,000 births, or more than 1 in every 6. When the fathers earned $1,250 or more, the death rate for their babies was 64.3, or 1 in 16. The two income groups, where fathers earned less than $550, together include 26.7 per cent of the babies. The next two groups ($550 to $849) include 36.9 per cent. In the group earning from $850 to $1,049 were 15.2 per cent of the babies. Only 18.2 per cent had fathers earning $1,050 and over. 6.2 per cent earning $1,050 to $1,249, and 12.0 per cent earning $1,250 or more.

At the present writing earnings are probably increased for all these income groups. The figures recently published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of this department, however, showing general increases in cost of living, afford no indication that the advantage to infant life can be at this time in proportion to the presumable increase in fathers' cash earnings. (Pages 10-12.)

U. S. Repartment of Labor. Children's Bureau. Annual Report of the Chief. 1919.

The Children's Bureau series of reports on infant and maternal mortality in urban and rural areas has for the last seven years steadily accumulated evidence of a high degree of annual wastage of life and vigor. The studies show that poverty and ignorance are yokefellows and

that civic responsibility for decent conditions of living is only beginning to reach an expression which can help to ease the burden. . . .

Over 200,000 babies less than a year old die annually. These infant deaths are controllable almost without exception. Poverty is a constant condition of the highest infant mortality rates, and the rates steadily improve as income increases to a good living standard. (Page 25.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Children's Bureau. Annual Report of the Chief. 1920.

The bureau has completed its first study of infant mortality in a great city. Its previous investigations in smaller cities and rural districts have indicated the causes and accompanying conditions of mortality, but the findings in Baltimore are based on so large a mass of data as to carry greater authority.

To the individual the chances of life and death are fortuitous. In the great mass chance is eliminated, and the law of averages is inexorable.

From the findings in Baltimore certain facts stand forth to which we as a Nation can no longer close our eyes. Without qualification—regardless of color, race, or nationality—the infant death rate varies inversely with the father's income. When the father's income represented the ability to insure care and comfort ($1,850 a year or more) the infant death rate was one-fourth as high as when the father's earnings fell into the lowest wage group. (Page 8.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Children's Bureau. Save the Youngest. Bureau Publication No. 61. 1919.

Poverty is the Baby's Greatest Enemy.

The greatest proportion of baby deaths occurs in families with the smallest income. . . . The poorer the family, the greater the hardship of the mother and the greater the menace to the child.

Income plays a chief part in determining the location of the home as well as the kind of home. Unfavorable location and overcrowding are bad housing conditions that accompany low income. In the study of infant mortality made in Waterbury, Conn., by the Children's Bureau, the mortality rate for children born in rear houses or houses on alleys was 172, while the rate for children born in houses located on the street was 120.6. The study in Manchester, N. H., showed the infant mortality rate to be 123.3 where the persons in a room averaged less than one, and 261.7 where they averaged two but less than three.

Low income often drives the mother to work to add to the family budget. Many times this entails less care for the baby, the substitution of bottle feeding for breast feeding, and other untoward conditions. In Manchester, N. H., it was found that the mortality rate for babies whose mothers were employed outside the home was 312.9, while the rate for babies whose mothers had no employment save to care for their own households was 122.

Poverty may be accompanied by ignorance. It is important to remember that poverty lacks the defense against ignorance which is at the disposal of the well-to-do mother. Sir Arthur Newsholme says that the designation of maternal ignorance as the chief factor in child mortality is "a comfortable doctrine for the well-to-do person to adopt"; but he states that we have little reason for thinking that the ignorance of the working-class mother is much greater than of mothers in other classes of society. The ignorance of the working-class mother is a menace because she is socially helpless unless the community will take the responsibility of providing adequate medical and nursing care, adequate teaching of maternity and infant hygiene, adequate provision for decent housing and sanitation, and adequate income for the father.

The fathers of 88 per cent of the babies included in the Children's Bureau studies earned less than $1,250 a year; 27 per cent earned less than $550. As the income doubled the mortality rate was more than halved. Which is the more safe and sane conclusion to take, that 85 per cent of

all these hundreds of fathers were incorrigibly indolent or below normal mentality, or that a wage based on accepted standards of living must be secured? (Page 14.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Children's Bureau. Infant Mortality in Pittsburgh. Glenn Steele. Infant Mortality Series No. 12, Bureau Publication No. 86. 1921.

Pittsburgh lost more babies in 1920 in proportion to its births than any other of the large American cities for which reliable records are available.

Its wastage of young life for the year exceeded that of 17 cities of more than 250,000 population in the birth registration area.

The measurement of this loss by an infant mortality rate—the number of deaths of infants under 1 year of age per 1,000 born alive—shows that for every 1,000 babies born in Pittsburgh in 1920, 110 failed to survive throughout the year. Approximately, this means a loss during infancy of 1 life out of every 9. (Page 5.)

Causes of Death.

. . . That the immediate causes of death thus analyzed have their sources in those more remote and infinitely complex factors touching the social, economic, and civic conditions in Pittsburgh can be inferred.

The subject of infant mortality in its various aspects has had a large share of the attention of the Children's Bureau during the nine years of its existence. Careful investigations which have included surveys of civic conditions and inquiries into family life in communities of diverse types have furnished certain unvarying conclusions.

Low wages, poor housing, insanitary surroundings, ignorance, illiteracy, the lack of nursing and medical care were everywhere coincident with high infant mortality rates. (Page 18.)

Great Britain. Ministry of Health. First Annual Report, 1919-1920. London, 1920. Part I. Public Health.

The infant mortality rate of England and Wales in 1919 reached the low record of 89. The previous lowest rates were 91 in 1916 and 95 in 1912. While this record is no doubt due to a variety of causes, including the favorable climatic conditions, the comparative prosperity of the wage-earning classes and the continued depression of the birth rate, there can be no doubt that Maternity and Child Welfare work has materially contributed to its reduction, and the low rate is a substantial encouragement to further efforts. (Page 44.)

Great Britain. Ministry of Health. On the State of the Public Health. Report of the Chief Medical Officer for the Year 1920. London, 1921.

12. A high infant mortality implies (a) the loss of many infants; (b) the maiming of many surviving children, for conditions which kill some, injure others; (c) a high death-rate in the next four years of child life; and (d) the existence of unhealthy conditions in the mothers or in the home life of the people.

13. A correct understanding of this problem depends upon a knowledge of the principal facts concerning infant mortality, which may be summarized as follows:— That its incidence falls chiefly in the first three months and in the first week of the first three months; that in this country it is higher in urban than in rural areas; higher in the north than in the south; that it is higher among illegitimate children; that its incidence is dependent not upon the density of population, but upon local and domestic conditions characteristic of limited industrial areas or social classes of the community; that it is high among the poor and low among those better off (in 1911 in England and Wales the infant mortality of all classes was 132 per 1,000 births, of unskilled workers 152, of the

intermediate class 106, and of the middle and upper classes only 76;) . . .

14. The decline in infant mortality to 80 per 1,000 births in England and Wales in 1920 and to 90 per 1,000 births for the quinquennial periods 1916-1920 are remarkable figures and demonstrate what is perhaps the greatest triumph of Preventive Medicine. It represents of course an immense saving in life; it also expresses indirectly a better physical condition in children from one to five years of age and a more enlightened understanding of private and public hygiene. (Pages 13-14.)

Great Britain. Ministry of Health. On the State of the Public Health. Report of the Chief Medical Officer for the Year 1921. London, 1922.

The decline in infant mortality to 83 per 1,000 births in England and Wales in 1921 and to 88 per 1,000 births for the quinquennial period 1917-1921 are remarkable figures and mean that (calculated on the average infant mortality of 1901-10) there was in 1921 a further saving of 38,000 infant lives. (Page 14.)

England and Wales.

Infant Mortality, 1881-1921.

	Deaths per 1,000 births registered
1881-1885	139
1886-1890	145
1891-1895	151
1896-1900	156
1901-1905	138
1906-1910	117
1911-1915	110
1916-1920	90
1905	128
1906	132
1907	118
1908	120
1909	109
1910	105
1911	130
1912	95
1913	108
1914	105
1915	110
1916	91
1917	96
1918	97
1919	89
1920	80
1921	83

(Figures taken from Table, page 33.)

International Labour Office. International Labour Review. Geneva. September, 1922.

Factory Welfare Work.

Dr. E. Briau, in a communication[1] to the Society of Public Health (*Societe de medecine publique*), dated 22,

[1]Dr. E. Briau: *Organisation d'une maternité dans un centre de 35,000 habitants.* Rev. d'Hyg., Apr., 1922, pp. 369-377. Paris.

March, 1922, describes the first year's working of the maternity hospital which Messrs. Schneider had charged him to organise at the Creusot Works at the end of 1918. This maternity hospital was to round off the medical care work of the works and was designed to cover the needs of the population both in the town and in its environs.

The infant mortality statistics are quite definite. They show an infant mortality rate at Creusot considerably lower than in other towns of the same class. While for all towns in France the mortality rate of infants under one year of age is from 17 to 12 per cent for the years from 1898 to 1910, this rate at Creusot sinks to 12 to 6 per cent; the average rate over the twelve years was 14.5 per cent for all French towns, and 8.5 per cent at Creusot. Dr. Briau's explanation is that at Creusot the wives of the employees do not go to work, as their husbands' wages are good enough to keep them, nor, indeed, are they admitted to the shops unless widows or unmarried. There is no industry and no trade in the town except the Schneider works, so that they are able to devote themselves wholly to looking after the home and most of them are able to breast-feed their infants. Something must also be put down to the medical care organisation, which provides them with immediate medical assistance, and to the clean state in which the town is kept. (Pages 454-455.)

The Effect of Poverty on Children.

U. S. Department of Labor. Children's Bureau. What is Malnutrition? Children's Year Follow-up Series No. 1. Bureau Publication No. 59. 1919.

Underlying Causes.

Poverty.—Before we attempt to correct malnutrition, however, it is necessary to go still further back and inquire into the underlying causes of the specific ones. Why are children insufficiently fed? Why do they have too little sleep? Why are bad teeth and tonsils not attended to? The answer seems to be that poverty, ignorance, and lack of parental control, singly or together, are the responsible factors. Not long ago it was customary to lay practically all the blame on poverty. Recently, however, there is a tendency—because of the discovery of the importance of the other two factors—to disregard it somewhat as a cause of malnutrition. Either extreme, of course, is wrong. An intelligent woman can undoubtedly come much nearer providing an adequate diet for her family on a limited income than can an ignorant woman with the same money—she may even succeed where the other fails—but the fact remains that there is a certain minimum income below which not all the intelligence in the world can purchase an adequate diet. It must be remembered, too, that it is poverty in a host of cases which is the real cause of ignorance. Had these poorer people the means, would they not in fact move into a better part of town, live in better houses, and purchase a better diet merely because of the natural desire for more and varied foods? And would they not naturally come into contact with influences which would to a certain extent educate them? Indeed, if we desire proof that this is so, we need but recall the fact that in England, even in the midst of war, with mothers away from home working and the children more or less neglected, the per cent of markedly malnourished children decreased rather than increased, as it was feared and expected would be the case. This decrease, as before mentioned, is attributed by English authorities to the high wages which made it possible for families to

have better and more abundant food and more desirable living conditions.

Although we have come to know that poverty is not the only underlying cause of malnutrition, we must not forget after all that the first big step toward removing large numbers of children from the ranks of the undernourished would be to insure their parents an income considerably above the mere subsistence level. (Page 11.)

U. S. Department of Labor. Children's Bureau. Annual Report of the Chief. 1919.

The discussion at the child-welfare conferences served to emphasize what the work of Children's Year and the regular work of the Children's Bureau has already indicated—that child welfare is a national, even international, problem of first magnitude, and that the economic aspects of the problem are now most urgent. It was stated at the conferences, for instance, by Dr. William R. P. Emerson, that about one-third of all American children of pre-school and school age are malnourished, and that this condition makes it impossible for the schools to reach reasonable standards of achievement; and that 20 to 40 per cent of those graduating from elementary schools are physically unfit.*

Dr. Thomas D. Wood said that it was well known that "three-fourths of the 22,000,000 school children in the United States have health defects which are actually or potentially injurious to them as prospective citizens of the Republic"; and that "at least 4,500,000 are suffering from malnutrition." He estimates that among the children with health defects there are 5,000,000 with defective eyes and from 11,000,000 to 16,000,000 with defective teeth.**

This alarming testimony from physicians is further added to by the well-known economist, Prof. William F. Ogburn. In his studies made for the Bureau of Labor

*Standards of Child Welfare: A report of the Children's Bureau conferences, May and June, 1919. Children's Bureau Publication No. 60, page 238.
** Ibid., pages 248 and 250.

Statistics of the United States Department of Labor, Prof. Ogburn estimated that while the food actually consumed by a child in a Philadelphia working-class family during the first 16 years of life would cost $1,750, a family was actually able to expend only $718 in buying the child's food. The difference between those figures, according to Prof. Ogburn, indicates the economies and adjustments made in the family budget, and also suggests the reason for the malnutrition described by physicians and dietitians.* (Pages 29-30.)

Public Health and Insurance. *Sir* ARTHUR NEWSHOLME, *K. C. B., M. D., F. R. C. P. Lecturer on Public Health Administration at the School of Hygiene and Public Health, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland; Late Principal Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, England. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1920.*

There is a constant excess of sickness among the poor as compared with the well-to-do. Measures for the relief of poverty, therefore, may be regarded as within the scope of the physician's prescription. This may be accomplished for the moment by momentary or material help; but unless the causes of poverty are sought out and counteracted, the assistance given is merely palliative. For nothing is more certain than that poverty tends to become a self-perpetuating condition.

Thus poverty leads to premature employment of children, with detriment to their normal growth, followed by diminished efficiency in adult life. This implies low wages throughout life, and so poverty is passed on to a second generation. (Page 148.)

*Standards of Child Welfare: A report of the Children's Bureau conferences, May and June, 1919. Children's Bureau Publication No. 60, page 29.

(c) On General Standards of Living.

Investigation proves that the standard of living is fixed by the wages received. With insufficient wages, expenditures for living must be curtailed below the requirements of healthful existence. Overcrowding in housing with the consequent loss of all privacy, insufficient clothing, and the lack of all legitimate recreation, have been found to result from underpayment.

These privations involve not only individual suffering but a social loss. Where the individual's standards of living are too much depressed, the community's must inevitably decline.

U. S. Department of Labor. Children's Bureau. Minimum Standards for Child Welfare Adopted by the Washington and Regional Conferences on Child Welfare, 1919. Conference Series No. 2, Bureau Publication No. 62, 1919.

Resolutions on Standards Relating to "Children in Need of Special Care."

2. Adequate Income.

Home life which is, in the words of the conclusions of the White House Conference, "the highest and finest product of civilization," cannot be provided except upon the basis of an adequate income for each family. (Page 10.)

Commission on the Church and Social Service. Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America. [*Co-operating religious bodies and organizations: Northern Baptist Convention, Congregational, Disciples of Christ, Protestant Episcopal, Methodist Episcopal, Presbyterian in the U. S. A., Reformed Church in the U. S., Seventh Day Baptist, The International Committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations, The National Board of the Young Women's Christian Associations, The International Sunday School Lesson Committee, The Canadian Brotherhood Federation.*] *The Wage Question. February, 1922.*

At least twenty-five million people in the United States get their living as wage earners. A large majority of our whole population are dependent on the contents of pay envelopes and face hardship with any considerable reduction in the weekly stipend. A "ten per cent cut in wages" which occupies an inch in the newspaper and not more than a moment in the average reader's thought, may mean to a multitude of homes the beginning of malnutrition and disease. In many families it means moving to smaller quarters—less light, less air, less privacy, less of a home.

In the ranks of the unskilled who never aspire beyond the lower levels of well-being, a few cents more or less a day may determine the fate of a household. The wage level in a single industry may make all the difference between a prosperous community and a dull one; between intelligence and illiteracy on the part of its young people; between a wholesome community spirit and continual dissension; between comparative health and a high death rate. A true account of social causes and effects would trace a definite relationship between the pay envelope and infant mortality. The pay envelope contains health, education, happiness, character—even the possibility of the spiritual life. (Page 3.)

The Church has an interest in the wage question that is primary and inevitable, and a concern that nothing can

suppress. The human values with which the Church deals are inseparably bound up with the conditions under which its people live. Not only so, but the inadequacy of workers' incomes is the most fruitful source of human strife and the most common cause of interruption of brotherly relations in the world. It is for these reasons that the "Social Ideals of the Churches" declare that the churches stand for "A living wage as a minimum in every industry, and for the highest wage that each industry can afford," and further that "The first charge upon industry should be that of a wage sufficient to support an American standard of living."

In these words, which have been affirmed by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America and in substance by several great Protestant bodies, acting independently, a large section of Christian opinion on a pressing social problem has been summarized. (Pages 3-4.)

People cannot stop working because wages have gone below the standard maintenance line. Labor supply can be checked only through changes in immigration or the birth rate. There are, in fact, such changes, due to the depression of wages, but they obviously can have no reverse influence on a given situation in the "labor market." Therefore, a strict application of the "cost of production" and "supply and demand" theory to labor appears to be impossible. The depression of wages below the standard maintenance line (or, in "commodity" terms, the "cost of production" line) results not in regulating the supply but in *forcing down the living standard and degrading the workers themselves.* A Christian view of the matter, therefore, requires a recognized standard of life which will be consciously maintained, since it cannot be mechanically maintained.

Moreover, those who insist that the wage of labor must be fixed automatically like the price of a commodity in the open market, are not consistent in the matter. It is an accepted principle of management that "upkeep" must be taken account of as a fixed charge before divi-

dends are considered. The railroads have argued insistently that the federal railroad administration was marked by "under maintenance" and thus the efficiency of the roads was impaired. The correctness of this statement has been questioned by high authority but only the point of view concerns us here. What shall be said for an industrial policy that insists on adequate maintenance of buildings and machines and allows labor to wear out prematurely by neglecting its upkeep? Even from the purely "business" point of view industrial science, which has contrived so brilliantly in the direction of mechanical efficiency, needs aid from social science in order that men may not be subordinated to machines.

This is the economic objection to the commodity theory of labor. Ethically, it has been pronounced unsound by the Church, by labor, by many employers, and by socially-minded people generally, because it disregards the fact that while the owner of a commodity separates himself from it when he sells it, a man can never separate himself from his labor. With it goes not only his whole physical life but his personality as well. His life interests and his personal destiny are in overwhelming measure determined "on the job." This is the crux of present day labor controversy. There is a new tendency in economic theory to make economics a more strictly social science. For decades it has been taught in our schools as something akin to biological science. The human beings whose lives it takes account of have been treated as impersonal centers of three economic necessities—food, clothing and shelter. We have been taught to contemplate an "economic man" as the subject of the science rather than an ordinary human being whose demands cover a vastly wider range than physical necessities and whose impulses and instincts must be provided for if the social structure of which he is a part is not to suffer. . . .

The law of supply and demand does operate in relation to labor, and this, more than anything else, gives rise to the labor problem. But wherever this principle

is allowed to depress wages in disregard of considerations of humanity and of equity, it cuts directly across the Christian principle which the churches have enunciated. (Pages 7-8.)

Poverty and Social Progress. Maurice Parmelee, Ph.D. New York, Macmillan, 1916.

But we have had ample evidence of the manifold ways in which poverty obstructs the coming of the normal life. Because many of the poor do not have an adequate material basis for life in the way of food, clothing, housing, etc., many of them are injured physically and mentally. Because they are usually forced by their poverty to work long and hard at tasks which frequently are uncongenial, and for which frequently they are unfitted, they have not the time and strength to give expression to many of their natural human impulses. It is evident that this adequate material basis for life must be provided for physical and mental comfort, and that there must be sufficient leisure for self-directed avocational activities. (Page 452.)

U. S. Public Health Service. Public Health Bulletin No. 126. Transactions of the Conference on the Future of Public Health in the United States and the Education of Sanitarians. Washington, D. C., March 14 and 15, 1922. Public Health and the Future Commonwealth. Dr. Lewellys F. Barker, *Johns Hopkins University.*

Again, the growing conviction that the maintenance of physical and mental health of individuals is definitely related to the industrial, the social, and the economic conditions in which they find themselves would make it seem likely, too, that in the near future the public-health service will be compelled to play a role in the invention and application of contrivances that will insure for every person in the Commonwealth standards of living that are not incompatible with the preservation of health or the maintenance of an abounding vitality. (Page 145.)

Principles of the New Economics. LIONEL D. EDIE, *Associate Professor of History and Politics, Colgate University. New York, Crowell, 1922.*

In 1919, Mr. Meeker stated the findings arrived at by the government investigations as follows: "American families on the average are not fully nourished until their yearly income reaches $1,800. . . . The average income and the modal income both fall well below $1,600. . . . [These figures] do not mean that our working population is dying of slow starvation; nothing of the sort. But they do indicate that the workers of America are obliged to live on a diet too restricted and monotonous for the maintenance of as high a degree of efficiency and health as ought to be maintained as a reasonable minimum."* This finding is substantiated by the bulk of reputable authorities in the field, and may safely be taken as the impartial, scientific facts of the case.**

For purposes of full clearness, it is necessary to relate the so-called living wage level to two other levels of wage and life,—what may be called the poverty level and what may be called the comfort level. The poverty level is a demoralizing and devitalizing level. "Families living at this level receive charity in the form of gifts or free medical service or in other ways. Or if they do not do this they attempt to live on a level so low as to weaken them eventually to such an extent that disease inevitably overtakes them." Further, Parmelee, after an extended survey of the statistics and records bearing on the problem, concludes, "In view of the above facts, as well as various others that might be cited, it seems reasonable to assume that the number of persons in this country receiving charitable aid ranges from five to ten per cent., varying somewhat according to economic and other social conditions."*** Within the poverty level should be included those whose incomes are so low that although they do not resort to charity for subsistence, nevertheless exist

*Monthly Labor Review, Volume IX, pp. 7-13.
**See P. Douglas and F. Lamberton, American Economic Review, Vol. XI, pp. 409-426.
***Poverty and Social Progress, p. 103.

under conditions which involve degeneration and distress. As Parmelee states, "We have plenty of evidence that the number of those who do not even reach the lower minimum standard of living is very great, probably exceeding ten per cent of the population."*

For a group of several millions of people in the United States poverty of a sort which is devitalizing is a haunting fact. As a statement of plain scientific findings, the following words by Hollander are directly to the point: "There are great bodies of people in country and in city who from birth have less than enough food, clothing, and shelter; who from childhood must toil long and hard to secure even that insufficient amount; who can benefit little from the world's advance in material comfort and in spiritual beauty, because their bodies are under-nourished, their minds are overstrained and their souls deadened by bitter struggle and want. These are the real poor of every community—the masses who, not lacking in industry and thrift, are yet never really able to earn enough for decent existence and who toil on in constant fear that bare necessities may fail."**

The ordinary working of competitive wage forces has not averted the menace of this poverty line. From a social and economic standpoint, the degeneracy and devitalization which goes on steadily within these classes is a national liability of the severest sort. The dehumanizing consequences of poverty are not a matter of guesswork but of scientific ascertainment. The death rate due to the vicissitudes of poverty is approximately double that prevailing among the classes who have higher incomes. The infant mortality rates among these impoverished groups is more than double that of the normal well-to-do groups in America. Perhaps even worse is the fact that the number of days of sickness in proportion to the number of days of health is between fifty and one hundred per cent. greater among the laboring than among the professional classes. The defective wages mean unfit

*Poverty and Social Progress, p. 106.
**"The Abolition of Poverty," Jacob Hollander, pp. 4-5.

diet, tenement crowding, scanty clothing, inadequate mental care, frequent disease, an enfeebled physique and a harassed and haunted mind. From a strictly scientific standpoint, economics is compelled to deliver a most scathing denunciation of the toleration of the poverty levels in American society.* (Pages 122-124.)

Public Health and Insurance. *Sir* ARTHUR NEWSHOLME, *K.C.B., M.D., F.R.C.P., Lecturer on Public Health Administration at the School of Hygiene and Publice Health, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Maryland; Late Principal Medical Officer of the Local Government Board, England. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press. 1920.*

There is much truth in each of the statements that poverty is responsible [for much disease, that disease is responsible] for the greater part of the total poverty in our midst, and that poverty begets poverty.

Poverty and disease are allied by the closest bonds, and nothing can be simpler or more certain than the statement that the removal of poverty would effect an enormous reduction of disease. The removal of poverty must, therefore, be in itself an object always fascinating to those whose study is the public health. The diseases which would be reduced by this means, include not merely those which physicians treat, but many moral diseases which persist because they are only to be avoided by the poor through the exercise of discipline and self-restraint far beyond what is practised by the average person in classes not subject to poverty. The happiness of a community being in itself a desirable object, a national asset, it is also not irrelevant to consider that the removal of poverty involves enlarged opportunities for enjoyment which, rightly directed, would be only of less value than the removal of disease. It is not surprising, therefore, that the first impulse of a student of the public well-being, in which the public health is the most important

*Hayes, "Introduction to Study of Sociology," pp. 98-99.

factor, is to attack disease by demanding the reduction of poverty, with its more or less inevitable accompaniments of overfatigue, privation, overcrowding, and dirt. And it must be freely admitted that when the most active public health administration, including adequate medical aid for the sick, has attained its utmost efficiency, and has in every respect done all that it can to reduce disease, there will still remain a cruel residuum which can be attacked in no other way than by the removal of poverty, or by the removal from poverty of the elements of personal privation which affect the public health. (Pages 184-185.)

Modern Economic History with Special Reference to Australia. H. HEATON. *Adelaide. Workers' Educational Association of South Australia. 1922.*

Poverty means slums and over-crowding. It was ascertained in about 1905 that one-fifth of the population of Glasgow was living in one-roomed tenements. Slums take heavy toil in mortality. In Paris in 1912 the death-rate was 7.9 per 1,000 in an aristocratic suburb and 33.5 in a poor region; for London the figures were 11.3 and 50. This mortality was heaviest amongst children, and in France three-quarters of the infantile mortality was due to preventable causes which mostly found their explanation in poverty. Some diseases pass by or touch lightly all but the poor; over-crowding, ignorance, bad or insufficient food, and the inability to afford the services of a doctor enable epidemics to run riot, and small ailments become serious. Mental deficiency, crime, and suicide can in a large percentage of cases be traced to poverty, and while drunkenness is sometimes the cause of poverty, it is often the result of fatigue and semi-starvation. The war, with its revelations of wide-spread physical unfitness, showed the chief belligerents the price they pay in ill-health for slums and low wages. (Pages 192-193.)

The Human Needs of Labour. B. Seebohm Rowntree. *Director, Rowntree & Co., Cocoa Manufacturers York, England. London, Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd. 1918.*

The war has torn the scales from our eyes, and forced us to see things as they really are, and by the light of this clearer vision we have come to regard many conditions as intolerable which before had only seemed inevitable. This is especially true of the conditions in which unskilled labourers, both in industry and agriculture, were living before the war. There is no denying the fact that the wages of the great majority of them were not, in any true sense, *living* wages. They did not provide for the reasonable human needs of men and women living in a civilized community.

As a nation, however, we acquiesced in this state of things. We were so familiar with it that its evils failed to impress us. Even in our progressive and sanguine moods, the utmost that we hoped for was a very gradual and a very tentative improvement. (Pages 9-10.)

I do not believe for a moment that in the future we shall allow millions of our fellow-countrymen, through no fault of their own, to pass through life ill-housed, ill-clothed, ill-fed, ill-educated. But if their conditions are to be remedied, the present scale of wages for unskilled labourers must be materially raised. (Page 10.)

We shall have to make a fresh start, in a fresh world. In that world, are millions of our fellow-citizens to go on living in slums? Is the death rate among the children of the unskilled workers to remain far higher than among the children of the well-to-do? Are we, in short, to restore or to perpetuate the old abuses, the old evils, the old resentment, the old wrong?

No; industry to-day is in the melting-pot. We must remould it in accordance with a juster standard. (Pages 135-136.)

I am profoundly conscious of the grave practical difficulties which the policy I advocate would involve. Its

adoption, more especially with regard to the fixing of minimum wages, would impose a heavy burden upon all those responsible for the conduct of industrial life, and agriculture would confront a yet more intricate problem. Yet I venture to submit, in all seriousness, that the nation must choose either difficulty or disaster. I submit that the day is past in which we could afford to compromise between the desires of the few and the needs of the many, or to perpetuate conditions in which large masses of the people are unable to secure the bare necessaries of mental and physical efficiency. (Page 144.)

(2) The Financial Burden Imposed Upon the State: The Increase in Public Expenditure.

Wages are a legitimate charge on any industry like other fixed charges. An industry paying less than a living wage to its workers is receiving a subsidy from some source. The workers in such a trade are supported or assisted by public or private aid. Public aid entails increased public expenditures, such as charges for hospitals, charities or reformatory work. The repair of the physical or moral deterioration due to underpayment thus constitutes a direct public tax. The state pays the deficit; the underpaying industry, in effect, receives a subsidy to maintain its employees.

Dependency Index of New York City, 1914-1917. I. M. RUBINOW. *American Economic Review. December, 1918.*

It is scarcely necessary to argue that the amount of actual dependency (i. e., the extreme condition of economic need and distress which culminates in an appeal of an individual or family for public or private aid in some form of another) is a matter of deep concern not only to the existing philanthropic agencies but to the community at large. . . . Dependency rises and falls with the general level of economic prosperity. (Page 714.)

General Index of Dependency.

By similar averaging of the miscellaneous indices the general index of dependency for New York City has been computed and is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2.—General Dependency Index.

Month	Average of twelve indices				Average of fifteen indices	
	1914	1915	1916	1917	1916	1917
January	226.5	280.7	124.1	107.2	119.6	106.6
February	188.5	232.7	106.2	99.2	105.7	96.6
March	207.1	234.6	118.2	109.9	110.7	107.2
April	189.6	180.7	98.8	95.2	98.5	94.5
May	146.9	158.2	103.0	101.3	104.9	101.6
June	139.2	137.5	105.3	94.4	105.5	94.3
July	140.8	125.4	89.6	88.5	91.9	91.4
August	124.6	120.7	88.6	86.5	93.0	87.6
September	137.3	104.5	85.4	75.5	85.7	74.9
October	162.6	115.1	87.7	82.7	89.2	82.7
November	191.4	114.9	95.3	81.1	94.2	80.7
December	252.5	123.6	102.7	85.3	100.2	83.8

(Page 731.)

The general conclusions to be derived from the figures given is, perhaps, not a startling one. The index of dependency begins with 226.5 in January, 1914; and barring the rise after the February depression (already sufficiently explained) it takes a downward course until August, 1914, reaching 124.6. The effect of the European war is immediately felt in the constant increase from September on, to which of course must be added the effect of the normal tendency during the winter months. The seasonal variations alone cannot, however, explain the rapid increase to 252.5 in December, 1914, and 280.7 in January, 1915. Though slight improvement in conditions is shown in the early spring of 1915, it does not produce any substantial effect until about June, from

which time it continues to fall under the effect of the industrial revival, so that even the winter of 1915 raises the index but slightly to 123.6 in December, 1915; 1916 shows continuous improvement, with a very slight rise towards the close of the year; and the curve for 1917 almost uniformly runs lower than for 1916, the general index for September, 1917, being the lowest on record since January, 1914. (Pages 732-733.)

Poverty and Social Progress. MAURICE PARMELEE, *Ph.D.* *New York, Macmillan. 1916.*

Let us now attempt an estimate of our own of the extent of pauperism in the United States at the present time. . . .

The census reports give some indication of the amount of pauperism in this country. The report on benevolent institutions gives the statistics for the following types of benevolent organizations, most of which are private: (1) Institutions for the care of children; (2) Societies for the protection and care of children; (3) Homes for the care of adults, or for adults and children; (4) Hospitals and sanitariums; (5) Dispensaries; (6) Institutions for the blind and deaf. The number of inmates of these institutions at the close of the year 1910 was 408,830. The total number of persons received during the year was 5,400,556, which was nearly six per cent. of the total population. It is impossible to ascertain how many of these were duplications, and how many of them do not properly belong to the pauper class. These are perhaps most likely to occur among the persons who are received at the dispensaries and by the societies for the protection and care of children. If we subtract these from the total, the number received by the remaining institutions was 2,960,538, which was a little over three per cent. of the total population. It must, however, be remembered that some of those received at dispensaries as well as at some of the other institutions represent families of paupers, so that these individuals would make up in part at least for the duplications. Furthermore, to the paupers enu-

merated in this report must be added the paupers in almshouses, which are enumerated in another report and which numbered on the first of January, 1910, 84,198. There must still be added a certain percentage of the insane and feeble-minded, many of whom are paupers. According to the census report on this subject there were on the first of January, 1910, 187,791 insane in institutions, and on the same date 20,731 feeble-minded in institutions. It is impossible to estimate how many of these were paupers.

So that so far as these census figures give any indication, the number of those receiving any charitable aid ranges from three per cent., which would be a very conservative minimum, to six per cent. of the total population. But it must be remembered that these figures do not include those receiving outdoor relief from public sources, or the large number of persons receiving such relief from the private charitable organizations and from individuals.

In view of the above facts, as well as various others which might be cited, it seems reasonable to assume that the number of persons in this country receiving charitable aid ranges from five to ten per cent., varying somewhat according to economic and other social conditions. This is an exceedingly rough estimate, but the available data do not permit of a more precise one. It simply means that, in all probability, the number of those pauperized to at least a slight extent by receiving charitable aid never falls below five per cent., while it may go as high as ten per cent. of the total population, without excluding the possibility of still higher percentage. (Pages 102-103.)

An Introduction to the Study of Labor Problems. Gordon S. Watkins, *Associate Professor of Economics, University of Illinois. New York, Crowell. 1922.*

In its social consequences, an inadequte wage scale imposes a heavy burden upon the community which, through its charitable agencies, must ultimately make up

the deficit in the earnings of labor. The families of underpaid workers become dependents and public charges, if, indeed, they do not become delinquents. The almshouses, public hospitals, and penal institutions of the world have always had among their inmates individuals who, had they been compensated adequately for their productive efforts in industry, would not have resorted to charity or public guardianship. Inadequate earnings are not the only cause of these social problems, but they constitute one of the most important causes. (Page 66.)

Poverty and Social Progress. MAURICE PARMELEE, *Ph.D. New York. Macmillan. 1916.*

The results from these conditions to the poor themselves can perhaps be best summed up in the one word misery. But there are certain evil results from poverty to the rest of society. Even though there are certain individuals who profit from the misery of the poor, society as a whole suffers from poverty in certain ways. As we have already noted, the prevalence of disase, crime and certain kinds of vice is stimulated by poverty, and, as all of these evils are more or less contagious, their prevalence is by no means limited to the poor themslves. The cost of caring for many dependents who might be self-supporting, and of a considerable number of criminals whose crimes are due to poverty, falls upon society as a whole. Looked at from the esthetic point of view, the presence of poverty is a blot and an eyesore upon civilization, and the life of society as a whole will be raised to a higher plane and made more refined if this blot can be removed. (Pages 226-227.)

The Church and Socialism. JOHN A. RYAN, *D.D., LL.D., Professor of Moral Theology at the Catholic University of America. Washington. The University Press. 1919.*

We have heard a great deal lately about the conservation of natural resources and the wasteful exploitation

of the soil. We easily realize that the cost of restoring our agricultural land to its normal productivity will be much greater than would have been the cost of preventing its deterioration, and that the average level of prices of agricultural products will in the long run be considerably higher than it would have been had the farmers adopted the method of prevention. The early saving in prices will not compensate for the later loss arising from deterioration of the soil. Neither will the assumed saving in the prices of the goods produced by the exploited workers equal the loss due to lower industrial efficiency, sickness, poverty and crime. If the underpaid workers were able to produce a normal amount of product annually during their shorter working lives, and if they were then so considerate as to disappear suddenly, leaving no burden of sickness or funeral expenses to the community, the process of exploitation might be socially profitable and expedient. "Might be," for the result is by no means certain. But the workers do not turn out a normal amount of product during their working years, and they do create abnormal burdens for the community. By expediency as well as by morality the parasitic industry stands condemned. . . . As a general rule, an industry that is not self-supporting, that cannot pay living wages to all its employes, has no valid reason for existing. If its products are not in sufficient demand to command prices adequate to this end, they ought not to be produced. (Pages 80-81.)

Report of the Industrial Conference called by The President. March 6, 1920.

Considered from the standpoint of public interest, it is fundamental that the basic wages of all employees should be adequate to maintain the employee and his family in reasonable comfort, and with adequate opportunity for the education of his children. When the wages of any group fall below this standard for any length of time, the situation becomes dangerous to the well-being of the

state. No country that seeks to protect its citizens from the unnecessary ravages of disease, degeneration and dangerous discontent, can consistently let the unhampred play of opposing forces result in the suppression of wages below a decent subsistence level. Above that point, there may well be a fair field for the play of competition in determining the compensation for special ability, for special strength or special risk (where risk is unavoidable), but below that point the matter becomes one of which the state for the sake of its own preservation must take account. (Page 37.)

Great Britain. Committee of Enquiry into the Working and Effects of the Trade Boards Acts. 1922. Documents Annexed to the Evidence submitted by Mr. Humbert Wolfe, C. B. E. Annex I. Report No. 246 of 1908, Select Committees of the House of Commons on Home-Work. October 14, 1921.

"On the other hand, if 'sweating' is understood to mean that work is paid for at a rate which, in the conditions under which many of the workers do it, yields to them an income which is quite insufficient to enable an adult person to obtain anything like proper food, clothing, and house accommodation, there is no doubt that sweating does prevail extensively. We have had quite sufficient evidence to convince us (indeed, it is almost common knowledge) that the earnings of a large number of people—mainly women who work in their homes—are so small as alone to be insufficient to sustain life in the most meagre manner, even when they toil hard for extremely long hours. The consequence is that, when those earnings are their sole source of income, the conditions under which they live are often not only crowded and insanitary, but altogether pitiable and distressing; and we have evidence that many are compelled to have recourse to Poor Law or charitable 'relief.'" (Page 60.)

Social Administration including The Poor Laws. JOHN J. CLARKE, *M.A., F.S.S. London. Pitman. 1922.*

Although ill-paid labour may enrich particular employers, it is inconsistent with a sound system of national economy. It makes for inefficient labour and entails in the end heavy burdens upon the taxpayer. It involves a restricted demand for commodities in the home market with a relative diminution of output. No less important are the indirect results of sweating, such as the degradation of the worker, the waste of life, and the physical deterioration of the worker and the family who, in insanitary dwellings, are often the cause of infection. (Page 246.)

The workers are usually women, and the wages are lower than those of men's, for the workers are unorganized. It is one of the weaknesses of the trade union movement that, while it has safeguarded the better-paid worker, it has left many of the underpaid trades virtually unprotected. (Page 247.)

Das Minimallohnproblem: Eine Kritische Studie. (The Problem of the Minimum Wage: A Critical Study.) ABRAHAM NATHAN. *Freiburg im Breisgau. Rebholz. 1920.*

And now for the question of the export trade. . . . If the introduction of decent wages would bring about such a rise in the production costs of the articles in question that in consequence of the higher price they would find no market abroad, it follows that the apparent success that these products . . . . had among foreign consumers was only obtained by the fact that the standard of life of the home workers engaged in their production had been depressed to a level endangering their life and health. Advantages were thus offered foreign countries at the expense of the most valuable source of national wealth, the labor power of large numbers of the home population,—a system of industrial robbery either leading to increased mortality among the workers handicapped

for foreign advantage, and thus to a partial failure of labor power, or compelling the State, that is, the total home population, to make up in charity the deficit of the home workers' wages. In both cases the home country is the sufferer; it must make sacrifices in order that the foreign consumer may buy cheap goods. The market is obtained by a sort of dumping, a sale at prices under production cost, in which the pressure does not fall upon the material elements of production, the raw materials—the employer in any case sees that he is repaid for these outlays in the price of the finished product—but the whole weight of the sacrifice falls on the worker, whose labor power, if wages are too low, cannot be kept up to its original level. While the outlay for material is the fixed charge in the calculations of the employer, unchanging and setting impassable limits to the movement of prices, the invisible organic factor involved in the product, the vital force of the active worker, receives less considerate treatment. The elasticity of human needs, the possibility of reducing the standard of living under pressure of necessity, and the weak resistance offered the employer by the home worker, without means and dependent on the sale of his labor power, makes it easy for him to throw the whole pressure of competition, in home or foreign markets, on the worker. The production or reproduction costs of the labor force, which the employer bears only in part, but which, from the point of view of national economy, make up a considerable part of the cost of national production and are paid from the basic fund of national prosperity, are less considered than the costs of the inanimate materials of which the output consists. In this inhuman attitude there is not only an injustice in sharpest contrast to human dignity, it is a wrong from the economic and therefore from the ethical point of view as well, because the country is furnishing the foreign consumer with wares produced under such conditions of work and wages, at a price below the costs of production. Under such conditions the exporting country is doing business at a loss.

It does not need to be emphasized that the parasitic character of home industries depending on starvation wages deserves no less severe a judgment if we consider products sold in the home market. The apparent advantage of cheap prices derived from inadequately paid work is here on the side of the home consumer; but in the position of the home worker forced below the necessary minimum it makes no difference that it is a compatriot who profits by his misery, and this parasitism of one class on the vital force of another is no better from the standpoint of economics than is exploitation by foreigners. The maintenance of a foreign market and of competition with other countries . . . . cannot be regarded as an economic success if they are balanced by so heavy a counterweight as under-nourishment, sickness, and increased mortality among the workers who have substantially contributed to the success of the foreign trade. (Pages 100-101.)

State intervention in favor of the home workers is thus not only a social duty but also a demand of economics. The effect of the compulsory minimum wage is to put the production cost of labor on an even base with that of the raw materials used in the products of home industry. By its means the employer is forced to take into account as a fixed charge in his calculations of price, the cost of the labor power used in production. He is made responsible for its full replacement by law in the form of an adequate minimum wage, and must reckon with it as he does with the other elements of cost. That is the object of the minimum wage. (Page 101.)

Decrease in Public Expenditure in England Coincident with War Wages.

Great Britain. Ministry of Health. First Annual Report, 1919-1920. London, 1920. Part III. Administration of the Poor Law.

The number per 1,000 of the estimated population, of the persons in receipt of relief (excluding lunatics in asylums, persons in receipt of domiciliary medical relief only, and casuals) was:—

at the commencement of the war....	16.7
at the armistice.....	11.9
at the end of March, 1919.....	12.4
and at the end of March, 1920.....	13.2

(Page 15.)

Great Britain. Ministry of Labour. Pauperism During the War. The Labour Gazette. February, 1918.

The steady decline in destitution during the war is clearly brought out by the statistics of pauperism over the quinquennium 1913-1917, a summary of which is given in the table below. The general upheaval at the beginning of hostilities was responsible for an increase in the amount of poor relief, but this was a temporary movement only, reaching its maximum before the end of August, 1914. Since then, service and other calls upon man-power have had their due effect, and the figures have steadily fallen, the total of paupers of all categories at the end of September, 1917, being nearly 19 per cent. smaller than in 1913.

The following table shows for England and Wales the total number of paupers in receipt of poor relief at the end of September in each of the years 1913-1917:

Persons in Receipt of Poor Relief at the end of Sept.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
Casual paupers	7,279	5,587	3,804	3,321	1,845
Paupers in receipt of out-door medical relief only.	16,167	17,521	14,238	14,169	13,551
Lunatics in lunatic asylums*	99,262	100,941	102,975	100,182	97,356
Other classes of paupers..	611,448	641,028	566,725	516,876	483,436
Total	734,156	765,077	687,742	634,548	596,188

*The numbers given are for 1st January of each year.

To supplement the above the following table has been compiled from the figures published monthly in the Labour Gazette, based upon information supplied by the Local Government Boards in England and Wales, Scotland and Ireland. It gives for the years 1913-1917 the average rate of pauperism per 10,000 of population in thirty-five selected urban areas of the United Kingdom, calculated on the basis of returns relating to the number of paupers on one day in each month; the classes of paupers and the areas included in the figures are shown in the table on page 75.

	Average Rate per 10,000 of Population During the Years				
District.	1913.	1914.	1915.	1916.	1917.
Metropolis	228	226	203	180	165
West Ham	222	220	202	179	164
19 Urban areas in England and Wales	163	165	151	131	119
Scotland	207	208	196	180	165
Ireland	219	211	200	189	190
Total, 35 urban areas	190	190	174	154	142

The only increases recorded in the annual averages for the past four years are in regard to Scotland and the extra-metropolitan urban areas for the year 1914, due to the temporary increase in pauperism at the outbreak of the war, and in Ireland for the year 1917, for which an average rise of 1 per 10,000 is shown. With these exceptions the figures for all the districts show a steady

decline throughout the war period, the average rate in December, 1917, for the thirty-five selected urban areas being 27 per cent. lower than in July, 1914, the month immediately preceding the outbreak of war.

Finally, some figures relating to the work of the Distress Committees formed under the Unemployed Workmen Act, 1905, may be added. The numbers of persons in England and Wales receiving relief from these committees during September in each of the five years under consideration were as follows: 1913, 436; 1914, 4,141; 1915, 44; 1916 and 1917, nil. Thus, after a large increase consequent upon the outbreak of war, there was a rapid fall in the claims put forward, and before the end of the second year of war (in June, 1916) they had altogether ceased. (Pages 52-53.)

Report of the Local Government Board (England and Wales). 1916-1917. London. 1917.

Administration of the Poor Law.

Total number of persons in receipt of relief.

The total number of persons in receipt of poor law relief on the 29th December, 1916, was 637,327. (Page 6.)
Monthly Returns of Pauperism During the Year 1916-17.

Pauperism decreased continuously during the first seven months of the year (from April to October), after which the influence of the usual seasonal increase was apparent. This increase continued for four months, but the decrease recommended in March, 1917. At the end of October, the numbers (exclusive of casual paupers, paupers in receipt of medical relief only, and lunatics in lunatic asylums) were the lowest of the year and stood at 514,757, as compared with 562,494 at the end of October, 1915.

This general decline in pauperism took place almost uniformly over the whole of England and Wales. The numbers on the last Saturday in each month of the year 1916-17 are set out for England and Wales in the Table in the Appendix No. 1. (Page 10.)

Great Britain. Report of the Local Government Board (England and Wales), 1917-1918. London, 1918.

Part III. Administration of the Poor Law.

Total number of persons in receipt of relief.

The total number of persons in receipt of poor law relief on the 29th December, 1917, was 586,785.

As compared with the number (637,327) for the 30th December, 1916, this shows a large reduction of over 50,000 paupers in the course of the year. (Page 36.)

Monthly Returns of Pauperism During the Year 1917-18.

Pauperism decreased continuously during the first seven months of the year (from April to October), after which the influence of the usual seasonal increase was apparent. This increase continued for three months, but the decrease recommenced in February, 1918. At the end of March, the numbers (exclusive of casual paupers, paupers in receipt of medical relief only, and lunatics in lunatic asylums) were the lowest of the year and stood at 474,720, as compared with 521,093 at the end of March, 1917. This general decline in pauperism took place almost uniformly over the whole of England and Wales. (Pages 39-40.)

Part IV. Special Work Arising Out of the War. The Prevention and Relief of Distress.

The exceptionally favorable conditions of employment which prevailed during the previous two years continued in the twelve months now under review, and, with the exception of the East Coast towns and the districts affected by air raids, the work of the local representative committees has again been limited to temporary assistance in sporadic cases of distress and the relief of dependents in this country of British civilians interned in Germany. (Page 42.)

Great Britain. Report of the Local Government Board (England and Wales). 1918-1919. London, 1919.

Part III. Administration of the Poor Law.

Total Number of Persons in Receipt of Relief.

The total number of persons in receipt of poor law relief on the 28th December, 1918, was 554,617.

As compared with the number (586,785) for the 29th December, 1917, this shows the large reduction of over 30,000 persons in the course of a year. (Page 88.)

Monthly Return of Persons Relieved During the Year 1918-19.

The number of persons relieved decreased during the first six months of the year (from April to September), with the exception of a small increase in July, after which the influence of the usual seasonal increase was apparent. This increase continued for six months, and at the end of March the numbers (exclusive of casuals, persons in receipt of medical relief only, and lunatics in lunatic asylums) stood at 465,579, as compared with 474,720 at the end of March, 1918.

This general decline in the number of persons relieved took place almost uniformly over the whole of England, but from November, 1918, to March, 1919, the figures for Wales were from 1.7 to 5.2 higher than in the preceding year. (Page 92.)

Old Age Pensions. Number of Claims to Pensions.

. . . . It will be seen that the number of claims made during each year since the 31st March, 1916, was considerably less than the number made in the four preceding years. A marked decline is shown for the year ended the 31st March, 1915, but the claims made in the four following years were respectively 17.6, 16.8, 17.3 and 14.9 per cent. less than in the year ended the 31st March, 1913, if the year last-mentioned be taken as representing an average year. It is probable that the

reduction in the number of claims during the war results from increased income received by many of the aged poor owing to (1) the grant of dependents' separation allowance in respect of unmarried sons or grandsons in the Navy or Army, and (2) the shortage of labour and the consequent opportunity of obtaining employment at comparatively high wages. (Page 94.)

Part IV. Special Work Arising Out of the War. The Prevention and Relief of Distress.

During the period immediately following the outbreak of war there was considerable dislocation, and temporary assistance was afforded by Local Representative Committees in a large number of cases. The situation, however, rapidly improved and by the end of 1915 problems arising out of unemployment amongst the industrial classes had almost disappeared. The favourable conditions of employment continued throughout the war and, with the exception of the East Coast towns and the Isle of Man and districts which had suffered from air raids, the work of the Local Representative Committees has been confined to the provision of temporary assistance in isolated cases of distress. Since the armistice there has been a considerable change in the conditions of employment, but as a result of the institution of the out-of-work donation there has been no material change in the work of the Local Representative Committees. (Page 98.)

Social Administration including The Poor Laws. JOHN J. CLARKE, *M.A., F.S.S. London. Pitman. 1922.*

Since the passing of the Poor Law Amendment Act, 1834, the number of paupers receiving relief in England and Wales has steadily declined with an occasional fluctuation. . . . . During the past 25 years the improvement has been even more manifest as is shown in the table given on page 312, taken from the Report of the Ministry of Health, 1919-1920. (Page 311.)

Statement showing the Mean Numbers of Persons in Receipt of Poor Law Relief in England and Wales, and the Rates per 1,000 of the Estimated Population: Years 1895-96 to 1919-20.

Mean Numbers of Persons (not being Lunatics in County and Borough Asylums, Registered Hospitals, and Licensed Houses, or Casuals) in Receipt of Relief:—

Year ended March	Total — Mean Numbers	Total — Rates per 1,000 of Estimated Population
1911	782,991	21.9
1912	675,532	18.7
1913	676,985	18.6
1914	641,832	17.6
1915	644,440	17.4
1916	590,655	15.9
1917	541,110	14.4
1918	501,853	13.3
1919	469,404	12.5
1920	478,761	12.7

(Part of table.) (Page 312.)

Report of the Local Government Board for Scotland, 1916. London. 1917.

Poor Law.

The total number of persons in receipt of relief in Scotland at 15th May, 1916, was noticeably smaller than at the corresponding date of the previous year. This decline in pauperism was, of course, most marked in the industrial areas, but, generally speaking, most parishes showed a decrease in the number of poor chargeable. This satisfactory condition of affairs is directly attributable to the favourable conditions of employment to which we referred last year, conditions which grew increasingly advantageous during 1916. (Page viii.)

As compared with last year (1915) there has been a decrease of pauperism of 7,215, a result due to the great increase in the demand for labour—both male and female—consequent upon the war. (Page ix.)

Report of the Local Government Board for Scotland, 1917. London. 1918.

Poor Law.

As compared with last year (1916) there has been a decrease of pauperism of 6,078, a result due to the great increase in the demand for labour—both male and female—consequent upon the war. (Page xxvi.)

Report of the Local Government Board for Scotland, 1918. London. 1919.

Poor Law.

As compared with last year (1917) there has been a decrease of pauperism of 6,282, a result due to the great increase in the demand for labour—both male and female—consequent upon the war. (Page xlii.)

Report of the Local Government Board for Scotland, 1919. London. 1920.

Poor Law.

As compared with last year (1918) there has been a decrease of pauperism of 1,783. (Page xliv.)

Great Britain. Board of Education. Annual Report for 1916 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education. (England and Wales.) London. 1917.

The decline in school feeding in 1915 and 1916 is remarkable. Fewer children are being fed today at the cost of the State than when the Acts were first put in operation. Before the war the average number of children fed per annum was approximately 150,000. In 1915

it was 422,000, and in 1916 117,000. Immediately on the outbreak of war the figures rose rapidly, but after October 1914, they as rapidly declined. The following returns, for instance, show the number of children requiring free meals in the early days of the war in Birmingham, as compared with corresponding periods in the years 1915 and 1916:—

Week ended	Daily Average of Meals Supplied			Total Number of Meals Supplied		
	1916.	1915.	1914.	1916.	1915.	1914.
Oct. 14 ..	103	299	9,083	720	2,090	63,580
Oct. 21 ..	99	301	6,663	696	2,106	46,642
Oct. 26 ..	101	293	5,935	708	2,054	41,548
Nov. 4 ..	109	290	5,217	763	2,031	36,520
Avge. for 4 weeks .	103	296	6,725	722	2,070	47,073

The causes of this decline are obvious. There was a great increase in wages associated with a rapid increase in employment. In due time this profound social change reflected itself in the homes of the people and in the feeding and clothing of the children. The evidence from school doctors and the Board's medical inspectors in all parts of the country is to the effect that in 1916 the children were, on the whole, better fed and better clothed than at any time since medical inspection was introduced. There were no doubt exceptions, but broadly there can be no question of the betterment which revealed itself. Hence the demand for school feeding disappeared and the evidence of the malnourished child became less conspicuous. (Pages 141-142.)

Great Britain. Board of Education. Annual Report for 1917 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education. (England and Wales.) London. 1918.

178. The experience of the School Medical Service in 1918 has been significant from two points of view.

First, medical inspection has shown an improvement in the nutrition of the children examined; secondly, representative authorities have found by inquiry that, in spite of the food restrictions (up to the spring of 1918), school children are faring well in regard to food. As illustration of the first characteristic, it will be sufficient to quote the report by Dr. Hamer for London (an area which undertakes, as a rule, about as much school feeding as the rest of the country put together): "The progressive reduction in the number of children found with poor nutrition has been maintained, the figures in this respect being better for 1917 than 1916, and (for the leavers) less than half the pre-war figures. It is noteworthy that this reduction has been continued right up to the end of 1917. On the other hand, the percentage of children returned as of good nutrition, as opposed to fair nutrition only, has shown diminution. This is no doubt to be explained by the anxiety of many parents to fall in with the voluntary rationing schemes suggested by the Food Controller." (Page 131.)

179. That London is not unique in this respect, two typical areas, one urban and one rural, may also be reported. Dr. Fraser (Hull) states his experience throughout the year as follows:

"The results found under the head of nutrition are extremely satisfactory, considering that at the end of the year the country had entered on the fourth year of the War, and that rationing, though not yet legally compulsory, had practically become so on account of the high price of provisions. Taking both sexes together, the percentage proportion of children of all ages whose nutrition was reported to be normal was 80.1, comparing favourably with the figure for last year, which was 76.53; on the other hand, the number reported as 'excellent' was slightly reduced, 8.18 per cent., as against 9.69 per cent. To counterbalance this the numbers under the heads of 'below normal' and 'bad' are both less than last year, 11.50 per cent. and .22 per cent., as against 13.34 per cent. and .44 per cent. respectively."

. . . . With regard to nutrition, Dr. May reports for the schools in the St. Alban's Urban District:—"In most of the schools I noticed that the children appeared better nourished than usual. This has also been noticed by the head teachers, and is due, no doubt, to increased wages." Dr. Dunn, for his district, reports:—"I have seen no evidence of malnutrition owing to want of food." Dr. Buchanan, for his schools in the Watford Urban District, states:—"There has been a steady decline in the number of ill-nourished children notified during the War; owing to abundant employment and high wages, the poorest classes have more money to spend on food." Dr. Evill, for the Barnet Urban District, states:—"I noticed fewer children obviously suffering from under-feeding; most cases of children obviously under-nourished were tuberculous."

180. The quarterly returns furnished by the Local Education Authorities throughout 1917 indicated almost universally a considerable decrease in the amount of school feeding as compared with the previous year, because children were being sufficiently fed otherwise. Several interesting inquiries were made which threw light upon the subject.

(i) An inquiry held in May, 1918, by the Local Education Authority, into the physical condition of children in Lancashire furnished some interesting information. It appears that the maximum need for the provision of meals occurred in October, 1914, when meals were supplied in 92 schools. The number of individual children fed at the schools was 2,948 out of a total average attendance throughout the county of 127,000. In May 1918 it was only necessary to make provision for feeding in one school situated in a slum area outside Liverpool. There are a number of communal kitchens in the area for the use of children and adults. The physical condition of the children is stated by the School Medical Officer (Dr. Butterworth) to be better than ever. In support of this opinion, Dr. Ferguson mentioned the case of a

school which prior to the War contained a constant stratum of 30 children backward from physical causes. Under improved conditions of labour the children are better cared for, and this class of difficult children has disappeared. The general impression obtained from this inquiry is that the nutritional condition of the children is satisfactory. (Page 132.)

(iii) A valuable inquiry was undertaken in January 1918 in Bedfordshire, concerning the manner in which school children were being affected by the food problem. A questionnaire was addressed to all head teachers, and the questions and summary of replies are given below . . .

The Director of Education states that from an examination of the replies "he is forced unhesitatingly to the opinion that on the whole the children *at present* are not adversely affected by the food problem, but are actually better clothed, better shod, better fed, and in better health than they were in pre-war days. These replies confirm what the Acting School Medical Officer and the Director of Education had observed on the occasion of their visits to schools. This satisfactory condition of affairs is undoubtedly due to the fact that even with the shortage of food the children are provided with more food than in pre-war times, as their parents are financially better off and can buy more food even under present conditions than they could in times when food supplies were greater and wages lower." (Pages 133, 134.)

Great Britain. Board of Education. Annual Report for 1918 of the Chief Medical Officer of the Board of Education. (England and Wales.) London. 1919.

The number of necessitous children fed during the year ending 31st March, 1919, is the lowest on record since power was given to Local Education Authorities to make arrangements for the provision of meals to school children. This undoubtedly resulted from the fact that unemployment was practically non-existent during the

year, and there was consequently a lessened need for free meals.

The following table gives the important figures concerning this service for two years preceding the outbreak of war and the succeeding years:—

Year.	Number of Authorities which fed under the Act.	Total Number of children fed in the Year.	Total Number of Meals supplied in the Year.	Av. Total Cost per Meal in Pence
1912-3	137	358,306	19,001,729	2.32
1913-4	98	156,531	14,525,593	2.43
1914-5	134	422,401	29,560,316	2.47
1915-6	116	118,114	9,957,634	4.1
1916-7	94	65,301	5,777,147	5.42
1917-8	88	60,633	6,518,174	5.26
1918-9	86	52,490	5,502,063	5.87

In this connection it is interesting to compare the returns of Local Education Authorities for the year ending 31st March, 1914, the last normal year before the outbreak of war, with those for the year ending 31st March, 1919, showing the total numbers of meals provided in each year. Some of the most striking instances are as follows:—

Area	——Number of Meals Supplied—— Year ending 31st March, 1914.	Year ending 31st March, 1919.
Birmingham	269,719	13,587
Bristol	249,385	21,731
Hull	196,638	58,115
Leeds	136,535	3,409
Newcastle-on-Tyne	204,752	74,502
Ashton-under-Lyne	46,696	8,400
Barking Town	35,255	7,251
Cardiff	18,326	105

(Pages 174-175.)

Dr. Hamer (London) writes:—

In both sexes and at all ages there was a continuous decline in the percentage of children returned as poorly

nourished, and in each section the number of such children was in 1918 less than half the number found in 1913. The entrant infants continue to be better nourished than their elder brothers and sisters. (Page 175.)

231. Dr. Hamer's report is as follows:

As in 1917, the number of children receiving free meals remained phenomenally low, but the presence of food restrictions was becoming increasingly felt. (Page 181.)

[Dr. Chetwood of Sheffield:]

"Happily in 1918 the school doctors were able to report a decided improvement in the nutrition of the children. This finding has been fully confirmed by the unprecedented reduction in the number of children on the free meals list, and it must be remembered that this has taken place in spite of the necessary restrictions on the food supply." (Page 182.)

Great Britain. Ministry of Health. First Annual Report, 1919-1920. London. 1920. Part IV. Administration of National Health Insurance.

Repayment of State Portion of Contributions in Low Wage Cases.

As stated on page 55, an employer was required from July, 1918, to stamp the cards of all ordinary employed contributors at uniform rates (7d. or 6d. a week) and where the State contribution of 1d. a week was due he was entitled, under Section 9 of the Act of 1918, to submit on the appropriate form a claim for the return of the State contribution in respect of all workers paid by him at the low wage rate.

For the first half-yearly period (July to December, 1918) that the revised scheme was in operation, a sum of £279 0s. 4d. was paid in respect of claims from 141

employers, and for the succeeding half-year, the payments were about the same.

These figures show a great reduction in the amount of the State grant to low wage earners, as compared with periods prior to the passing of the 1918 Act; this may be attributed to:—

(1) The higher level of wages prevailing in all trades since the beginning of 1918 and the tendency to a further increase. (Page 57.)

Respectfully submitted,

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February 5, 1923.

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